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THE GLEN-SANDERS MANSION AT SCOTIA, NEAR SCHENECTADY

Note four figures of the date on the right front.

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# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

January, 1926

## Old-Time Schenectady

By CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



HERE has never been a time when the people were more disinclined to study the history of our country than at the present day. So rapid of late have invention, wealth and world distinction developed, thus engrossing the attention and enjoyment of young and old, that there is little leisure or desire to investigate our rich stores of historic accumulations. No State of the Union has an earlier or more interesting volume of annals than the State of New York, and within its borders can no city boast of a more absorbing story than that which, through its existence of two hundred and sixty-four years, Schenectady has been steadily developing. Unlike most towns, it has had a wilderness, pioneer experience, fraught with hardship and tragedy; it arose in the long-past years to a great mercantile and forwarding center, to lapse into somnolent decades of indifference to trade, and with grass growing in the cobble-stone streets where a world traffic once thundered. Then, in more recent years, it has awakened from its dreams by the shock of electrical progress, and "Old Dorp" (Old Town), the last place in the world which would have been considered for so colossal a plant, has become the home of the General Electric Company, employing as many as 26,000 hands in works covering five hundred and twenty-three acres of ground. As if by magic the city has grown from a population of 15,000 to about 100,000, the cobble-stone streets have been repaved with modern surfaces, city limits have been widely extended, noble buildings erected, and in all respects the place has a Rip Van Winkle resurrection.

Schenectady lies fifteen miles west of Albany and on the south bank of the Mohawk river. This distance, however, is by the direct route of today; in early times the roads used were circuitous and "twenty odd" miles length, one bending west via Normans Kill, and

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the other east through the village of Niskayuna, on the south bank of the Mohawk. The site of the city with the lands surrounding it had been for centuries cleared, and cultivated as corn fields by the Indians, for the extensive alluvial flats here were fertile and bore perennial crops without fertilization. It is believed that the Mohawks once had a village at this point and that a trail leading from the Mohawk Valley to the vicinity of Albany, crossed the river at this place. Owing to the interruption of navigation by the Cohoes falls on the Mohawk, a few miles west of its junction with the Hudson, it was more convenient for the Indians to go by land from Schenectady to Albany, rather than to carry around the falls and paddle down the Hudson eight miles to their destination. It is not unlikely that in the earliest times the localities of Albany and Schenectady were thus recognized as desirable locations, even before a trading post had been established at the former place; for Albany was practically the outlet of the Mohawk;—the way to that favorable passage to the West which then as now, is utilized by our entire eastern country. Moreover, Albany was but a few miles below the navigable water limit of the Hudson, and hence tapped the trade of the Mohawk and Hoosac Valleys, and all northern parts to Canada.

The first white man's government set up in the State of New York was that of the Dutch West India Company, which was chartered by the States-General of Holland in 1621. This organization was frankly a trading, money-making concern, whose purpose was to derive as much profit as possible from the territory and people under its jurisdiction, irrespective of the interests and welfare of the inhabitants. The patroon system, which it introduced, carried out its policy of repressing individual and collective liberty, and the great land-lords having been granted vast blocks of the most desirable lands and invested with almost absolute authority, ruled in feudal arrogance over those so unfortunate as to be their tenants or in anyway under their power. The patroons, (patrons) had the privilege of naming magistrates in the towns of their domains and in other ways to exercise control in their government;—they prohibited all trade with the Indians of a kind to interfere with their own, and they forbade the manufacture of cloth, and in other restrictions made themselves obnoxious to all those living within their territories. This grasping and domineering method of government

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discouraged immigrants from entering the boundaries of the patroons, who owned most of the desirable lands along the Hudson which at that time embraced about all that had been even partially settled in the colony. On the other hand, New England, with a less fertile soil and a rugged surface, attracted through a liberal policy more settlers and developed more rapidly than New York, as a study of statistics will reveal. The pursuit of the Indian fur trade being the chief enterprise of the Dutch, agriculture languished in the colony and a large part of its subsistence was procured from Holland.

The Manor of Rensselaerwyck was a tract of land in which were contained, besides other parts, the present counties of Albany, Saratoga and Rensselaer, the non-resident patroon of which was Killian Van Rensselaer, a rich diamond and pearl merchant of Holland. He was interested in the Dutch West India Company, in the formation of which he had been active, and though his vast estate here was carried on without his personal supervision, he was so fortunate in the selection of its efficient superintendents that it came to be the most successful and prominent manor in the colony, its population in 1638 being equal to that of the entire Province. The relations between the patroons and the West India Company, owing to the fact that both were merely venal adventurers jealous each of the other, were far from amicable. Thus, Colonel Peter Stuyvesant, Director General of the West India Company, and Brandt Van Slechyenhorst, Director of the Rensselaer Manor, became embroiled in dispute concerning matters of trade and authority. The inhabitants of Beverwyck (Albany), had nothing to gain and everything to lose through the rivalries of these selfish and unscrupulous trading governments, and being of independent proclivities and longing to be separated from the humiliating and unjust methods of rule under which they lived, determined to found a settlement of their own further out on the frontier.

The prime mover and leader in this venture was Arendt Van Curler, a Hollander of excellent ability, energetic and popular with the Dutch, French and Indians. He was a cousin of the patroon of the Van Rensselaer Manor and had served as its superintendent from 1630 to 1646; from his long experience he was well qualified to father and lead out the proposed undertaking. He had become acquainted in his travels over the Manor with the beautiful vale and



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the fertile flats at Schenectady, concerning which he said in 1642, after returning from the Mohawk, "A half-day's journey from the Manor, on the Mohawk river, there lies the most beautiful land that the eye of man ever beheld," a remark which can be endorsed by any person who has looked into this charming valley from the campus of Union University. I find in Bryant's "History of the United States" a singular phenomenon of nature cited in regard to Schenectady (Vol. III, p. 19), "At the river Mohawk, a little above the town, sunset has a peculiar marvel at that spot, which even savages have observed. The range of southern mountains on its western side is so curved that the red ball of the sun, seen through the mists of the river, seems to roll slowly down the ridge to its repose."

The lands which Van Curler coveted, called by the Dutch "Groote Vlaete," (Great Flat) were located just west of the site of Schenectady and embraced about 700 acres of alluvial soil, now occupied by the works of the General Electric Company. It had been, as already remarked, the location of a Mohawk village or "castle," but had been abandoned since the coming of the Dutch, who had tramped the forests south of it and killed so much of the game as to render the situation undesirable. The Indians, therefore, had removed westward twenty-one miles to Fort Hunter on the Mohawk, where it is joined by the Schoharie river. Even thus early in their associations with the white man, the Indians were experiencing the destructive effects of his rum and gunpowder, and with diminishing numbers had begun their western march towards extinction.

Van Curler and his friends, having secured from the Indians a deed of the Great Flat, dated July 27, 1661, settled there in the following year. But before they could gain permission to occupy the lands, they were obliged to submit to the humiliating conditions imposed by the West India Company, who ruled the Province with the primary purpose of extorting gain. Van Curler and his associates were compelled to make over their lands to them, with the understanding that the purchase price would ultimately be made good, and to promise that they would refrain from trade with the Indians of a nature to injure the interests of the Company. As the settlement became established, however, this prohibition of trade in peltries was ignored by the Dutchmen of Schenectady and a profitable



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business was carried on surreptitiously in spite of the constant interference of the Company's agents at Albany. They came to the frontier village insolently searching houses, making arrests, and hauling the culprits to Albany, imposed fines upon them. But it was impossible to prevent the contraband trade, for being located near the Indians and on excellent terms of friendship with them, having also in many instances intermarried with them, they had the first choice of the furs and were the most popular dealers among the whites. With the profits arising from this trade and with the rich flats ever producing abundant harvests of corn and wheat, the proverbial industry and provident habits of the Dutch settlers won for them as much of coveted independence and prosperity as was possible under the unfavorable circumstances.

Arendt Van Curler and Alexander Lindsay Glen were the most prominent and influential men in the emigration to Schenectady and they were intimate friends, both ambitious for the success of the village. Van Curler, though a man of force and positive opinions, was of a kindly and sympathetic nature, ever ready to extend a helping hand to white prisoners of the Iroquois. Besides many in individual rescues, he succored a force of 600 French who, in an expedition made in December, 1666, against the Mohawks, found themselves not far from Schenectady suffering with cold and without provisions. Van Curler and the people of the town supplied them with food, their wounded were brought in and sent to Albany for treatment, and the enemy returned to Canada. He is eulogized by O'Callaghan in his "History of New Netherlands" in these words:

"In his death this country experienced a public loss and the French of Canada a warm, efficient friend. His was a humanitarian life that should live in history. Our early annals are full of his efforts to rescue unfortunate captives from the barbarities of the Mohawks and their confederate allies. Father Jogues, in 1663, and Father Beresari, in 1664, and M. Fontaine, in 1667, are only three individual cases among the number."

Unfortunately, colonial characters of Van Curler's stamp are not mentioned in popular histories or in reference books, though there are many such who in the early, struggling days of the country with able hands laid the foundations of the Republic. He stood high in the estimation of the Colonial and the Canadian governments both of whom sought his counsels, and it was while traveling to

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Quebec in 1667 on invitation of De Tracy, Governor of Canada, that he was drowned in a storm on Lake Champlain. Van Curler's home was in the center of the village, now corner of Church and Union streets, where today a tablet, fittingly inscribed, marks the historic spot. Associated with Van Curler in the settlement of Schenectady were the following persons:

Philip Hendrickson Brower, Alexander Lindsay Glen, Swear Tunise Van Velson, Symon Volkert Sen Veeder, Peter Adriance, Cornelius Antonisen Van Slyck, Gerrit Bancker, William Teller, Bastian De Winter, in his own right and also, as attorney for Catalyn, widow of Aarent Andreas Bradt, Peter Jacobse Borsboom, Peter Danielse Van Olinda, Jan Barentse Wamp and Jacques Corneliuse Van Slyck, fifteen in all.

All were Dutch except Alexander Lindsay Glen, who was a "Scotch refugee" to Holland and had been a trader at Albany for many years. He was a powerful man physically and mentally, progressive, energetic and of the pioneer spirit. Both he and Van Curler were men of better education than their fellow villagers and were thus able not only to take leading parts in the management of local affairs, but were influential with the home colonial government and with the Canadian authorities. He was ever rescuing prisoners from the Mohawks, remaining, notwithstanding, the friend of the savages. He was a man of wealth, and having in 1655 secured lands of the Indians on the north side of the Mohawk, opposite Schenectady, he erected there a large stone mansion in 1658, four years before the settlement south of him on the Great Flat. His community here he called "Scotia," after the land of his birth; it still bears the name and is now a village of about 5,000 inhabitants. It was, therefore, a matter of course that he would be a member of the colony taking up these rich neighboring lands, and of the original number of those owning a building lot in the village. Though Van Curler and Glen were the most prominent men in the roster of the settlement, a perusal of the genealogies of all the others will disclose many honorable and distinguished names, and their descendants may be found in all parts of the country.

The Dutch with mathematical precision laid out the village of Schenectady as a rectangle with four blocks, each a square of 413 English or 400 Rhineland feet. The center of the town as thus designed was crossed at right angles with Church Street, running

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north and south, and Niskayuna Street, running east and west. These streets derived their names, the former from the First Reformed (Dutch) Church which originally stood at the south end of Church Street, while the latter was so called, from its leading easterly to the village of Niskayuna. Church Street is still bearing its ancient name, but Niskayuna is now Union, leading past the grounds of Union University. Front Street bounded the settlement on the north and still retains its name, though it has been somewhat deflected towards the north at its eastern extremity. Ferry Street, running along the east side on the line of the stockade which was erected around the village, and which led on the north to the river ferry, has its name unchanged. The boundary on the south side, after the massacre of 1690, was called Martelaers' Street (Martyrs'), from the melancholy fact that the tragedies of that awful night were the most horrifying in this part of the town. The change of this appropriate and historic name to State Street, as with no sufficient reason it is now called, is thought by some to have been both unjustifiable and unfortunate. On the west margin was Handelaers' Street (Traders'), a name which it bore till the massacre, after which it was known as Lion Street till the close of the Revolution, when it took the name of Washington, which it still bears.

It was an interesting and stirring event when the Dutch pioneers from Albany awoke the echoes of that solitary place with the sound of the axe, falling timber, and the rattle of chains as the men cut down and with oxen hauled up with lusty shouts the logs for their homes and the stockade. The latter were timbers of pine, hewed to fit closely and with sharpened upper extremities extending around the four sides of the town. There were two gates, located at the north and south end of Church Street, which as has been remarked, ran through the middle of the village.

In no city, perhaps, in the United States is there so interesting a plot of ground as is comprised in the four blocks described above, and they are in their boundaries practically as they existed more than two centuries and a half ago. Descendants of those who dwelt here or perished or were made captive on the night of the massacre, may today go to the exact places where stood their homes, and read in the annals which have been carefully prepared and preserved of the experiences of each family on that winter's



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night of blood, fire and agony. As comports with the ancient history of Old Dorp, these streets and squares are now segregated from the rush and roar which obtain in the business portion of Schenectady and here may be found quietness, and the same broad avenues which the Dutch, under the direction of Van Curler and Glen, laid out in anticipation, perhaps, of the years when greatness would come to the town. And here may be found dwellings dating back to the early times of the place, and stately mansions of a later period, telling of days when Schenectady dwelt in an era of dignity and hospitality, when character and love of home and domestic enjoyments were the moving forces in American civilization.

To each of the settlers was equitably apportioned four different plots of ground: A village lot consisting of one-fourth of one of the four blocks into which the town was divided; a farm on the Great Flat just west of the town, or on one of the islands there; a pasture ground on the lands to the east; and a garden on the rich soil near the west border of the limits and not far from the Binne Kill. This is "a deep and sluggish arm" of the Mohawk, extending south and is a part of a lagoon system of channels and islands which reaches along the south side of the river for a considerable distance and north of the Great Flat. The farms of some of the pioneers were located on these Venetian parts, which, from their facilities for navigation were not undesirable on account of their separation from the main land.

Unlike the mother city which has been known under a number of different names,—Fort Orange, Beverwyck, Williamstadt, Fuyck (bend in the river) and Albany,—Schenectady has never had but one. It should be said, however, that owing to the great respect and admiration which the Indians entertained for Van Curler they designated the town "Corlear," a term which the French borrowed from them and employed in referring to it. The savages, having Schenectady nearest them of any white settlement and being on friendly terms with the townspeople, seemed to feel that they and their leader constituted the essential power of the Province, and hence called the different Colonial Governors as they frequently came and went, "Corlaer." There is a wide diversity of opinion as to the derivation of the name which Schenectady bears, but the most satisfactory seems to be that of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, a scholar deeply versed in subjects of this kind. He says.

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In the Mohawk tongue

Gaun-ho-ha signifies "door."

S'Gaun-ho-ha signifies "the door."

Hac-ta-tie signifies "without."

Thus, S'Gaun-ho-ha-hac-ta-tie, abbreviated is, S'Gaun-hac-ta-tie, "without the door." To render this more intelligible it should be said that the Mohawk tribe was the head of the Five Nations, or Iroquois. They claimed the exclusive power to initiate treaties with other tribes and foreign powers; in their figurative language they, the Mohawks, were the door of the cabin, that is, of the Confederacy. All ambassadors to the Five Nations approached the Confederacy by the Mohawk tribe. . . . It is well known that the present site of Schenectady was early occupied as a Mohawk settlement, probably the chief town of the tribe. What name could then be more significant than S'Gaun-ho-ha, "the door?" But when their principal settlement was removed west to Fort Hunter at the mouth of the Schoharie, S'Gaun-ho-ha, "the door," would become S'Gaun-hac-ta-tie, "without the door."

The growth of the town, considering the handicaps under which it existed, was astonishing. It was located on the extreme frontier, in the midst of continual danger, surrounded by an untamed wilderness peopled by untrustworthy savages and exposed to forays of the French and Indians of Canada. Moreover, it was under the despotic rule of Albany, to the authorities of which town they were compelled to submit in a most slavish way. For a period of one hundred and thirty-six years Schenectady was under the thrall of the mother town and obliged to submit to her dictations in matters of local government and legal affairs. At the time of the sack of the place in 1690 the town was very prosperous and contained eighty substantial and well furnished dwellings with a population of about 400, and only twenty-eight years having elapsed since its settlement. And it should be remembered that at this time the Colony of New York was practically without inhabitants except the limited populations in New York, Kingston, Albany, Schenectady and a few other smaller communities.

But while the Dutch people of the Colony were not generally enjoying so rapid a growth as other parts east of them, they were having much domestic happiness in their own old-country and simple ways. While New England, with more material and numerical

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prosperity, was beset with religious and political controversies, the men and women of Schenectady were calmly working by day, and at evening time, with their horses and cows comfortably secured within the stockade, were sitting on their little porches or "stoops," or before their fire-places in the cold season, indifferent to everything except the joys of their own homes and the common affairs of their immediate surroundings. As to their souls, they embraced a simple, trustful faith which was embodied in the creed of the Dutch Reformed church, and they were too well contented with themselves and their homely comforts to borrow trouble and mental weariness by arguing about things which were irrevocably fixed in their own slow-moving but sensible minds. Home life was their boundary, the Ultima Thule of their existence, for Schenectady was "a Holland town dropped down in the wilds of America."

The houses stood with their gables facing the street, and above the roof was the quaintly made weather-cock. The little garden at the door, laid out with Dutch exactness, was fragrant with old-fashioned flowers, among which no weed might be found, while children swarmed in the streets, it being not unusual for from ten to fifteen to belong to one family. Passing in through the stoop with its side-benches, the interior would be found to be of painful cleanliness, with a sanded floor, which to use Irving's words, "was curiously stroked into angles, and curves, and rhomboids with a broom." It might be mentioned in this connection that a tradition exists to the effect that it was the desecration of such a spotless Schenectady floor that sealed the fate of the town. It is told that Major Glen sent a squaw to the village on the afternoon preceding the night in which the massacre occurred, to warn the villagers, and that entering the home of Dominie Tessemaker without cleaning her moccasins received such a berating from the Dominie's housekeeper, that she left the place without telling her errand. The diversions of the townspeople were simple,—social gatherings were attended by young and old and conducted with the utmost propriety. Early rising was the rule and there was little use for candles in Schenectady, for the folks were wrapped in sleep not long after sunset. It was under conditions like this in the happy, hospitable and comfortable village that the townspeople were living on that cold, stormy winter's night of February 8, 1690, when after some enjoyable fes-



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tivity, the town at 11 o'clock was silent and asleep, the north gate open, with the French and Indians filing in on their devilish errand.

During the greater part of the time from the settlement of Schenectady to the year 1760, when Canada was made by force of arms an English colony, the place was exposed to the ferocity of the French and Indians. Even dating back from the discovery of the Hudson and the exploring expedition of Champlain, both events in 1609, the French and their Indian allies had been bitterly hated by the Iroquois, several of whom had been shot down by Champlain's men on the shore of the lake which he discovered and which bears his name. Time had not assuaged the animosity of the Five Nations and in 1642, and again in 1689, strong bodies of their braves invaded Canada, killing and ravaging the French and Indians and threatening the extinction of both races. That a force of 1,500 Iroquois, the number composing the expedition of 1689, was able to accomplish such an appalling execution is surprising only when it is not realized how weak in numbers the Canadians were at this time. The year before the massacre at Schenectady, the white population of Canada was but 12,000, while the English colonies had more than 200,000; in 1754, at the beginning of the French and Indian war, Canada's population was 80,000, and that of the English colonies 1,500,000. Had the English been as adventurous as the French, who went prospecting into the West along the Great Lakes and down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, planting their banner, erecting forts and claiming all for France, they might easily have subdued their ambitious and peripatetic enemies of the North.

In the same manner that the Five Nations and the Algonquins of Canada cherished against each other an undying animosity, the English and French were fiercely opposed on account of the rivalry for land and the Indian trade, and the larger part of the time owing to the frequent wars between the mother countries in Europe. In these perennial quarrels the Indians served as convenient bloodhounds, the Five Nations for the English and the Algonquins for the French.

With the ascension of William and Mary to the throne of England in 1688, and its consequent war with France, the embers of armed strife were rekindled between their respective colonies in America. Uneasiness began to be experienced for the safety of Schenectady, while Albany took measures to strengthen its means of

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defense. That the French were capable of sending out formidable expeditions had been demonstrated in 1666, when five hundred men made an unsuccessful attempt to devastate the Mohawk valley, and again in the year following when 1,300 ravaged it; though the Iroquois escaped, the French burned their wigwams and supplies of winter stores. At this time they set up the French standard and claimed by right of conquest the lands they had overrun. It was these bold invasions, and other smaller ones, which led to the fearful retaliatory expedition of the Five Nations into Canada in 1689, referred to above. It was now time for Schenectady and the Indians along the Mohawk to look for murderous demonstrations in return for the barbarities of the Iroquois practiced in Canada the past year. In preparation for defense, Captain Jonathan Bull arrived at Albany with eighty-seven Connecticut troops on the 25th of November, 1689, and four days later twenty-four men of the company were despatched to Schenectady to garrison the little fort there, which stood at the northwest angle of the settlement. The "Committee of Safety" met in Albany occasionally during the fall and winter months to devise plans for defense, and learning that certain of the people of Schenectady, fearing an attack, were contemplating leaving the place, posted a proclamation forbidding such abandonment "upon ye Penalty to be Esteemed, Pursued, & followed after as fugitives, Cowards, Runnaways and Vagabonds."

Notwithstanding these warnings and despite the fact that the preparations for the public safety were embarrassed by the rivalry which fermented between the followers of Leisler, the self appointed Governor of the Colony, and the anti-Leisler party, and which existed in Albany, Schenectady and throughout the Colony, it seems from the general tenor of the records of the time that there was little real apprehension in the exposed frontier village on the Mohawk. No considerable body of men from the North had ever crossed the river, and with Canada two hundred miles away and the snow deep upon the ground, it was thought highly improbable that danger was to be apprehended, particularly on that stormy and bitterly cold night of February 8, when the town was stricken. Hitherto, practically all of the marauding expeditions had been small groups, which, prowling in the woods back of the settlements, massacred isolated settlers, and hence the Schenectady people would feel secure with their many able bodied men found in their popula-



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tion of 400, and with a detachment of soldiers in their fort. Indeed, they reckoned well and reasonably, for they would have had little difficulty in holding at bay and even defeating the force that was coming against them, had that one north gate been closed and sentinels posted. But the gate was open, and for sentinels snow-men were standing there, which the boys of the village had erected as a joke upon the fear mongers!

In June, 1689, Count de Frontenac, a brilliant French general, received instructions to repair to Canada and direct movements for the subjugation of the Colony of New York. The great raid of the Five Nations in the previous year into Canada had nearly overwhelmed that Province and it was deemed necessary to send there a man of the greatest ability which the French government could command. Frontenac had previously served as Governor of the Province in 1672, and in the following year had erected Fort Frontenac at what is now Kingston, on Lake Ontario. He was an exceedingly active, resourceful and courageous man, of whom the Five Nations stood in more fear than of any man who had directed affairs in Canada. The instructions given him for the conquest and control of the Colony of New York constitute racy reading, as amusing as the most popular funny-book. With great solemnity and with an oracular style he is told just how to take the town of New York by land and water forces and what disposal he is to make of the people, and it is ordered that "the officers and principal inhabitants, from whom ransoms can be exacted, must be detained in prison."

The sack of Schenectady or Albany, one or both, was a part of Frontenac's scheme, and the expedition, well officered under his astute supervision, proved successful under very great obstacles; though he was two hundred miles away, it was really Frontenac who wielded the weapons of death at Schenectady and it was his incendiary hand which applied the torch to the homes of that peaceful little town. His crafty mind chose the season for the raid—the winter time, when with navigation closed the town would be cut off from succor, the carrying of alarm, or escape, would be difficult, and above all, the blow would be least expected.

The expedition against the frontier of New York left Montreal on the 17th of January, 1690, with twenty-two days provisions and commanded by Lemoine de Sainte Helene. The force consisted of 114 Frenchmen and ninety-six Indians—210 in all. Their march

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was down the Hudson-Champlain valley, past Ticonderoga, and thence perhaps down the valley to Schuylerville, then Saratoga. The French commander desired to attack Albany, or Fort Orange, as it was then called, but the Indians, who were acquainted with the defenses of the town, considered the place too strong for the party, and they also stood in mortal terror of the cannons which they knew were mounted there. It was decided, therefore, that the march to Albany should be abandoned and that Schenectady should be their destination. The French account of the expedition states that the final decision for Schenectady was made at a place where the road to the south divided, one leading to Fort Orange, the other to Schenectady; and that nine days were consumed in a very difficult march to the doomed town. Writers differ as to just where this place may have been, some believing it to have been at Ticonderoga, and others that it was at Schuylerville, which by the State road is but thirty-four miles.

The experience of the invaders during these nine days was arduous in the extreme. A thaw had supervened, rendering travel through the deep snow very laborious, the men slumping down in the drifts and wading in water through the lower grounds. This warm spell was followed by a sudden fall in temperature, and a snow storm with a cold cutting wind, so that when on the 8th of February they arrived at 4 o'clock in the afternoon within five miles of Schenectady, they were ready to perish with cold and exhaustion. Their situation was desperate and they afterwards acknowledged that had there been any force opposed to them they could not have defended themselves; they even entertained an idea of abandoning the attack and of throwing themselves upon the mercy of the townspeople without striking a blow, for besides being almost helpless from the cold, their provisions were nearly or quite exhausted. But they were encouraged by their officers, scouts were sent forward to learn of the prospects which the place afforded for an attack, an Indian hut was discovered in which squaws were living, and where those of the party who were suffering most from the cold warmed themselves. Proceeding again, the scouts were met returning, and their favorable report, added to the encouraging information derived from the squaws, decided them on the feasibility of their plan.

They drew near the village at 11 o'clock at night, but deemed it safer to postpone the assault for the space of two hours, that the set-







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tlement might be the better wrapped in sleep, but so severe was the cold that it was not deemed prudent to delay, and accordingly the men entered at the north gate which was opened and unguarded. Having passed within the stockade and found the streets silent and deserted, the Commander with one party passed around to the south side of the village, while his Lieutenant with the rest went by the other side, having thus surrounded the place. Small squads were placed in front of each house, and everything being ready, all planned with cool, fiendish intelligence, the awful war-whoop of the savages arose and the massacre began. Doors were staved in and the enemy rushed through shooting, tomahawking and stabbing any and all whom they found. So sudden and unexpected was the onslaught that the people were dazed and helpless and were destroyed or made prisoners ere they could make an attempt to rally for defense. Rev. Peter Tessemaker was killed and his church (Dutch Reformed) was burned.

After the massacre and plunder of the place the houses and barns were fired and the town in the space of two hours was desolated. Besides the homes within the stockade, there were a considerable number along the Albany Path, outside, on what is now State Street, to all of which the torch was applied. The only houses spared from the flames was one owned by Major Glen, of Scotia, who was favored by order of the authorities in Montreal, and the other the home of a Widow Bradt, with six children, in whose dwelling a wounded French officer, M. de Montigny, reposed. There were killed in this awful night thirty-eight men, ten women and twelve children; twenty-seven prisoners were made, and the enemy with fifty horses, freighted with plunder, left the ruined town for Canada at 11 o'clock on the next day. The French had lost in the rush but two men killed,—a Frenchman and an Indian. The home and family of Major Glen were spared by special command, on account of kindnesses he had shown the French on different occasions. At an early hour of the morning French officers visited his home to assure him of his safety, and were entertained by Major Glen at breakfast, a hospitality which must have been accorded with very poor grace, in the light of the ruin they had wrought upon a place in which he was as much concerned as any of its people. He then visited the smitten town, crossing the river on the ice, and begged of the Commander to

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release certain of the prisoners and was to a considerable extent successful.

Major Glen (known as Major Condre by the French and Indians), was at this time living in the old Glen mansion at Scotia, north of the river, and about a half mile from Schenectady. He was a son of Alexander Lindsay Glen, one of the original settlers, and at this time was forty-one years of age. He was occupying, like his father before him, a prominent place in the affairs of the village and was the military Commandant of the place and Justice of the Peace. The fact, however, that he was opposed to the Leisler faction had rendered him obnoxious to many, who had outlawed him from the town, and his counsel, therefore, to prepare for the worst and to station sentinels had been ignored. This condition of affairs lends color to the tradition before alluded to, of a squaw having been sent in by Major Glen to warn the place, which may have been one of the four whose cabin some of the attacking party had visited in the afternoon preceding the fatal night. But it is impossible to believe that had he entertained any suspicion of immediate danger he would not have gone personally and done everything possible to secure the village. The present historic Glen mansion at Scotia, standing not far from the original stone edifice and constructed in part from materials taken from it, was erected by Major Glen in 1713. The place has been in the ownership of the Glen family for a period of 266 years and has many interesting associations. It is known as the Glen-Sanders mansion from a marriage connection of these families.

There were doubtless many acts of heroism on the part of the men of Schenectady on the night of their terrible visitation, but there is no detailed account of the tragedy, indeed, there was little opportunity for the display of courage, for the people were smitten ere they were hardly awake and with weaponless hands were ignominiously struck down in their homes. The names of two men, however, stand prominently out in the lurid light of the sack of Schenectady, to be ever held in praise and admiration. One was Adam Vrooman, whose home was at the southeast corner of Front and Church Street, and concerning whose family the tragic report of the massacre says, "Engel, the wife of Adam Vrooman, shot and burnt her childe, the brains dashed out against ye wall." He fired steadily at the foe, shot after shot, his son loading, until he was offered

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safety if he would desist and surrender, which he did. His two sons were made prisoners and were taken by the raiders to Canada. He died at Schoharie in 1730 and was buried at Schenectady on his premises there.

The other hero was Symon Schermerhorn, who, escaping on his horse through a rain of lead, carried the warning to Albany, reaching there at 5 o'clock in the morning. He went by the way of Niskayuna, telling the people along the route of the tragedy and of the danger, for the number of the enemy in the first reports were greatly exaggerated. There is a tradition that when Schermerhorn had ridden into Albany that his horse fell dead and himself fainted, which is not unworthy of belief when it is considered that he had been shot through the thigh, that he had ridden more than twenty miles through extreme cold and deep snow, suffering in body and frenzied in mind with visions of horror, one of which was the killing of his son Johannes and his three Negroes. Schermerhorn's name appears in a list of persons sending supplies from New York to the refugees from Schenectady in Albany, and three years after the destruction of the town he is known to have been a skipper sailing a craft on the Hudson river. He died in New York about the year 1696, leaving a son Arnont, thus perpetuating the name of Schermerhorn in the City of New York. His home at Schenectady is thought to have been at the west corner of Church and Union Street.

Great alarm prevailed in Albany as the news spread rapidly through the town and immediate preparations were made to resist the enemy, who were expected shortly to appear before the place. Confirmation of the fearful ruin of Schenectady was brought in by fugitives with frozen feet and haggard faces, as they came straggling into the town in the early hours of the day (Sunday). The townspeople were stupefied with astonishment, grief and horror, for many or most of the stricken ones had relatives here; everything was done, however, that was possible, cannons were fired, messengers were dispatched to surrounding towns giving warning and soliciting aid; a party of Mohawk Indians who were in the town were sent to Schenectady with instructions to forward the news to the Mohawk castles up the river, "but unhappily said Indians coming to Skinnectady were soe much amazed to see so many People murthered an Destroyed that they omitted ye sending up to ye Castles according to their Engagement."



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Several pursuing parties were sent out, but they seem to have accomplished little, though some writers claim that a number of the raiders were killed and that rescues of prisoners were made. The first attempt to overtake the French was made by horsemen on the day following their retreat, but owing to the difficulty of traveling through the deep snow, they soon returned. Another and larger force, with whom were a band of Mohawks, followed the enemy to Crown Point and beyond, coming in sight of but unable to reach them. The French report states that the loss sustained in the expedition was twenty-one men: two killed at Schenectady, "the others were lost on the road," but whether by exposure, capture or from the shots of the pursuers, is not explained, though it is stated that a party of French "strayed away" and failed to return. In Smith's History of New York (1756) I read that "the Mohawks joined a party of young men from Albany, fell upon the rear of the enemy, and either killed or captivated five and twenty." It is known that the expedition experienced great sufferings on their retreat and were compelled to slaughter many of the Schenectady horses for food, only sixteen of the fifty taken remaining when Canada was reached.

The effect upon the Colony of the destruction of the town was like that which the French had hoped—it spread dismay throughout the frontiers and interrupted the colonization of the Province to the north and west; but in another respect, the design of the enemy to win the co-operation of the Five Nations by an exhibition force, failed utterly, the Indians of the Mohawk valley remaining true friends of the Dutch, and pursuing the French towards Canada. The sparing of a party of Mohawks, who were at Schenectady on the night of the massacre, was for the purpose of conciliation, as a bid for their friendship. Every art of persuasion, in which the French were proficient, was employed to remove their fealty from the colonists, but in vain. The Mohawks urged the Dutch to rebuild the village, promising support, but so horrified were they, and so impoverished and grief-stricken that practically all sought refuge in Albany, New York and other parts.

The shadow of an awful calamity lay like a pall upon the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, the very naming of Schenectady caused a shudder to run through the nerves of the people far and near, and the place seemed destined to remain forever uninhabited. In vain



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the authorities at Albany endeavored to check the alarm and to discourage removal, for with the occasional visits of small bodies of Indians from the North, to the vicinity, with the killing of settlers, the future of the town was unpropitious. But after a time the villagers began slowly to return, safe-guarded by a force of Mohawks who were making their home at the place, and reaping the wheat which had been sown the previous fall. Five years after the calamity twenty-six houses had been erected and the continuance of the existence of the town was assured.

Despite the dangers of frontier life, settlements along the Mohawk westward began slowly to develop, the friendly attitude of the Five Nations affording considerable assurance of safety from the French and Indians, while the northern wilderness, from the dread entertained of these ferocious people, remained practically uninhabited until the English became masters of Canada in 1760. Schenectady gradually obtained importance as a navigation terminal and shipping point, for trade and travel in those early days, owing to the primitive roads, followed almost entirely the water routes. After the year 1727, when free trade was granted in the Province, the place, which had so long been under the prohibitive rule of Albany, sprang to renown as a great shipping and trading town. In the early days transportation on the river had been by canoes alone, but as the demands became greater, larger boats, called batteaux, were added, and these proving of not sufficient capacity, the "Durham," as it was called was introduced. This was a flat-bottomed vessel carrying from fifteen to twenty tons, equipped with sails and propelled also with oars and poles. For a distance of twenty-one miles west of Schenectady, or to Fort Hunter, the Mohawk has many rifts and shallows, and the current being swift, difficulty was experienced, particularly during low water, in navigating the large boats. This difficulty was in part overcome by the removal of stones from the channel and disposing them in a V shaped manner, pointing down-stream, so that a sufficient depth might thus be obtained. As the volume of trade increased to large proportions, a company was formed which devoted itself to improving navigation by means of dams, and of canals around the more difficult places.

The east bank of the Binne Kill, just west of what is now Washington Avenue, became a busy place of wharves, storehouses and shipping companies, with the Binne Kill crowded with Durhams and

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smaller craft, while the streets adjoining were filled with trucks setting out for or coming in from Albany. Boat building had grown to a great industry along the Mohawk, with Schenectady the chief center of this occupation, in which were engaged here numerous concerns; the Van Slycks, Vrooman & Van Epps and others. Among the freighting companies were Yates & Mynderse, Jacob S. Glen & Co. and other firms. Finley & Elias and John Duncan & Co., both wholesale merchants, had branch houses in Montreal, Detroit and London. It is difficult to realize the vast volume of trade which Schenectady handled in those years and the extent of its influence upon the development of the country. Through its gates passed the traffic, freight and passenger, to and from the rapidly growing West, for it lay upon the only direct water route then, as now, to the western parts of the country, and it later became the most available line by canal and rail.

But all this prosperity, developed slowly through many years and from the smallest beginnings, was blasted by the great fire of 1819 which swept away the entire business and forwarding portion of the town, ceasing not until more than a hundred buildings had been consumed. The wharves, storehouses and freight establishments which lined the Binne Kill were destroyed, and the resulting desolation rendered reminiscent of the burning of the same portion of the town in 1690. But Schenectady from other causes had come again to a time of folding of hands and of silence, for the hand of destiny had drawn the line of limitation for a season to Schenectady's business and manufacturing enterprises; the Erie Canal was being excavated to be opened six years later, while the advent of 1831, when a railway between the town and Albany began to be operated, was not far away. Under these conditions the buildings along the Binne Kill were never restored, the place subsided into a quiet, inland city and that portion which had been a noisy place of traffic, became a community of fine old mansions and sedate, conservative families. Greater things, however, were in store for Schenectady; the very advantages of transportation, trade and shipping which had appealed to Van Curler and Glen, were to make it the path of the Erie Canal and of the great four-track railway which passes through the city, and to attract to it the great manufacturing plants which have given it a name throughout the world.

Its WGY broadcasting station is flashing its fame to unnum

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bered thousands, and strange to say, the Binne Kill is again the scene of activity after its long term of hibernation, for the wharves of the terminal of the Barge Canal are now upon its bank, and instead of the little Durhams lading and unlading there, huge barges with their enormous cargoes of 2,500 tons tie up to the docks of that ancient place of traffic. Great manufacturing industries have from time to time adopted Schenectady as their home; in 1851 John Ellis was the leading spirit in the beginning here of the manufacture of locomotives, which in later years developed into the American Locomotive Company employing more than 3,000 men, and now, as throughout the many years of its existence, a leading source of Schenectady's prosperity and wealth. Then the Westinghouse Company moved their plant to the city and developed their great agricultural machinery industry, and in 1886 the General Electric Company, which has proved the most colossal asset of the city's material resources, began its great career, which has been alluded to.

Of Schenectady's interesting educational and church history, particularly of Union University and the First Dutch Reformed church, which latter organization has existed practically since the first settlement of the town, nothing at this time can be said; nor is there room to even mention many other phases of this old town's annals which render it of rare value to the student of American history. But above and beyond all other interest which Schenectady possesses is the spirit of civil and religious liberty which the place has stood for and fostered since the first settlement of it was made. Not only those two most conspicuous heroes of the early days, Arendt Van Curler and Alexander Lindsay Glen, but all the number of the original proprietors were men of strong convictions concerning the rights of man. They knew that the place they had chosen wherein they might lived unvexed, so far as possible, by the venal and oppressive rule of the two rival powers at Albany, was a dangerous situation. Immediately about them were the Mohawks, friendly as the friendship of savages may be counted, but fickle and treacherous, with their goodwill principally due to the facility with which they could obtain rum and firearms from the Dutch. To the North was ever the threatening cloud of the French and their allied Indians, small parties of which, like famished wolves, were frequently prowling along the Mohawk. But the settlers counted the cost, assumed the risk, that they might at least have the semblance



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of a republic in their little exposed frontier village. Their primary object was not trade or agriculture, but freedom.

Here might well have been erected the Capitol of the State of New York, as was proposed during the Revolution by prominent citizens of the Commonwealth. Under date of October 7, 1779, John Jay wrote Governor George Clinton as follows:

"There is another matter which I think deserves attention; it is the seat of Government. On this subject I have bestowed much thought. The Result is, perfect and Full Conviction that Schenectady is the only proper place in the State, and the sooner the Idea is adopted and carried into Execution the better." . . .

Just what arguments in favor of the plan were advanced are not available, though no doubt the place being the gateway of the East to the West, rendering it at that time easily accessible to citizens of all parts of the State, was prominent as an inducement to establish the State government here on the high grounds south of the Mohawk. But while Schenectady lost the Capital, it has a distinction greater than magnificent architecture or high statesmanship can endow,—a history born of liberty, chastened by tragedy, exalted by religion, cultivated by education and enriched by industry.

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# Pacific Coast Place Names in the State of Washington

By FRANCIS E. SMITH, TACOMA, WASHINGTON



LACE names belong, in a great measure, to the language of the past. All over the United States a very large proportion of the place names are derived from the aboriginal language of the Indians, English, Colonists, Spanish and French explorers. Many of the Pacific Coast place names in the State of Washington are derived from the aboriginal language of the Indians, and from the language of American and British explorers. With the American explorers the most popular names for geographical features were the names of Revolutionary heroes, such as Washington, Hancock, Montgomery and others. With the British explorers the most popular names for similar purpose were those of their king and men who served in the British navy during the American War for Independence. With Spanish explorers these names were chosen from their saints.

*Bellingham Bay*—Vancouver distinguished the bay on whose shores the city of Bellingham stands, as Bellingham's Bay, without any explanation as to the man for whom he named the body of water. The Spaniards discovered the bay in 1791. Vancouver named other geographical features with names of minor importance.

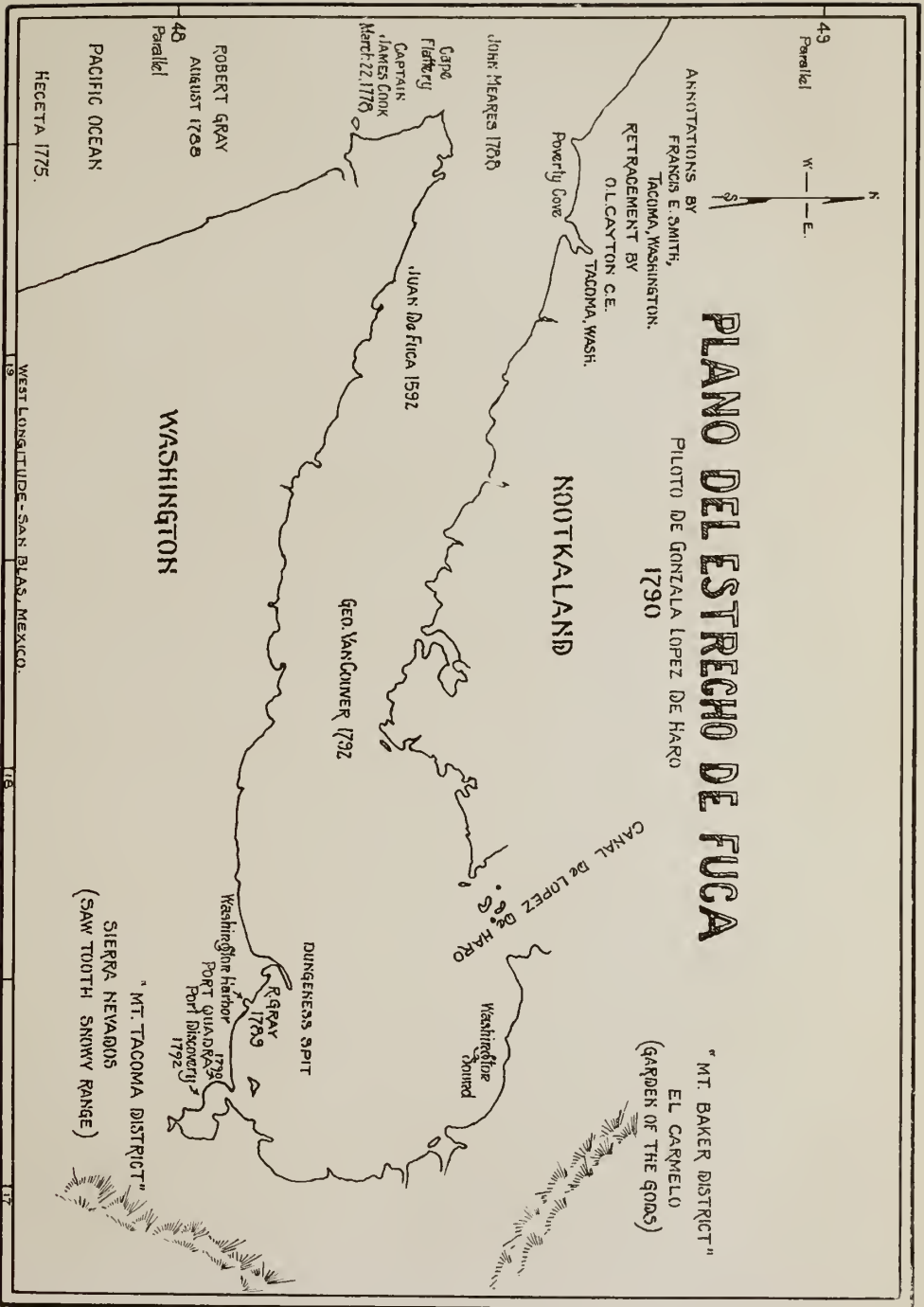
*Cape Disappointment*—August 17, 1775, Spanish navigators discovered indications of a river on the south side of Cape Disappointment; they named the cape, San Roque. If they had followed up the indications of a river they would have discovered the Columbia River, the Great River of the West. John Meares followed the Spanish navigator, July 6, 1788, and examined the bay on the south side of Cape San Roque for the river mentioned by the Spanish navigator; not finding it he wrote in his journal that no such river existed. He named the point of land, Cape Disappointment,

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and the outlet of the river, Deception Bay. The Meares names remain on the maps of the United States to this day.

*Cape Flattery*—Cape Flattery is a conspicuous promontory at the entrance of the great inlet of the sea named "Strait of Juan de Fuca." The first mention of the cape is found in the record of Juan de Fuca's voyage in the year 1592. Cape Flattery rises abruptly from the bosom of the ocean to a height of 1491 feet above sea level. It is detached from the foot hills of the Olympic mountains by a narrow valley extending from Neah Bay on the north to Mukkaw Bay on the south, a distance of about three miles. Neah Bay is an indenture in the land from the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Mukkaw Bay is an indenture in the land from the Pacific Ocean. A small stream flows southward across from near Neah Bay to Mukkah Bay. At the mouth of the creek is a slough or tide flat, of several hundred acres in extent, which has the appearance of being a harbor to navigators approaching from the Pacific Ocean. March 22, 1778, Captain James Cook, British navigator and explorer, approached this slough in the hope of finding a harbor where he could refit his ships. Approaching nearer, he discovered the supposed harbor was low land. Because he was flattered with the prospect of finding a harbor, he named the promontory "Cape Flattery." George Vancouver named the promontory "Classet" April 29, 1792, in honor of an Indian chief. Later, in October, the same year, he resumed Captain Cook's appellation of Cape Flattery, having discovered that the Indian chief was not a person of distinction.

*Columbia River*—The discovery of the Columbia River is one of the most important events connected with our Northwestern History. The Great River of the West was mentioned on French and Russian maps as early as 1746. The Jeffrey map of 1768 and the Carver map of 1778 also mention the Great River of the West. Vancouver passed the mouth of the river, April 27, 1792, deciding that if any river or inlet did exist, it must be a very intricate one, not accessible to ships of the burden of the vessels connected with the expedition. Vancouver reported to the Lords of the British Admiralty, under date of October 1, 1792, that Captain Gray had entered the inlet, which proved to be a river, which he had named Columbia. He also stated that he would stop on his way south and examine the river, as he considered it an important post from the surrounding



MAP OF HISTORICAL DISCOVERIES IN AND AROUND THE STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA, GIVING DATES OF DISCOVERIES BY AMERICAN, SPANISH, AND BRITISH NAVIGATORS





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country, the country at the back of it appearing delightfully pleasant and capable of producing every essential and luxury of life. Captain Gray entered the river May 11, 1792, and named it after his ship, "Columbia's River." The name appeared on the Spanish map of 1792, and on a British map in 1795, before Vancouver arrived in England from his voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America. The lower river became a great commercial center as early as 1811, and remains such to this day.

*Destruction Island*—The next oldest name in the State of Washington is that of Destruction Island. July 14, 1775, Spanish navigators needing wood and water went ashore on Destruction Island. Indians rushed upon them, killed them, and began to tear the boat to pieces for the metal. The Spanish officers named the island, "Isla de Dolores," island of sorrows. Later in 1788 British explorers named the island, "Destruction Island."

*Gray's Harbor*—Gray's Harbor was discovered by Captain Robert Gray, May 7, 1792, after a diligent search of the coast for inlets which gave promise of being harbors. From the behavior of the Indians he had every reason to believe that his ship was the first vessel from the civilized world to enter the harbor. The record of naming the harbor is found in the log book of John Boit, reading as follows:—May 11, 1792, "Weigh'd and came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the bar. Named the harbor we had left, after our Captain. Standing to the South." The name appears on the Spanish map of 1792, published with other data in the Water Boundary Dispute between the United States and Great Britain, 1870. The name also appears on the map of Vancouver's discoveries, published in 1798.

*Hood's Canal*—Vancouver explored the western arm of the interior sea between May 8 and 13, 1792, which he named after Lord Hood of the British navy. Hood served on the West India station under Admiral Rodney, during the American War for Independence. His duty was to support Cornwallis, but the American armed ships prevented him from doing so.

*Mount Olympus*—August 10, 1774, Spanish navigators discovered Mount Olympus and named it Santa Rosalia. July 4, 1788, John Meares saw the mountain and mentioned it in his journal as Mount Olympus. From this circumstance, the range of mountains

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nearest the ocean in the State of Washington have received the name of Olympic Mountains.

*Mount Rainier*—Captain Gray discovered the excessively high mountains, covered with perpetual snow, of the State of Washington, during the month of August, 1788. Vancouver saw the mountains for the first time, April 30, 1792, he named the one near the forty-ninth parallel, Mount Baker; he saw the one near the forty-seventh parallel May 8, 1792, and named it Mount Rainier, after his friend Peter Rainier, an officer in the British navy. Rainier served on the "Maidstone" from January, 1774, to April, 1777, and on the "Ostrich" from May, 1777, to July, 1778. The "Maidstone" served on the West India station from May, 1774, to April, 1777. The "Ostrich" served on the West India station until July, 1778, under the command of Rainier.

*New Dungeness*—Vancouver named the low sandy point of land at the upper end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, New Dungeness, from its great resemblance to Dungeness in the British Channel. It was in the bay on the east side of this point of land that Captain Gray, American navigator, in command of the American sloop, "Lady Washington," found a harbor of refuge, March and April, 1789. Vancouver claimed that he had advanced further up the inlet than Captain Gray, or to his knowledge, any other person from the civilized world. The Spaniards had preceded Vancouver two years before.

*New Georgia*—Vancouver determined to take possession of the region he was exploring in the name of, and for, His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors. To execute this purpose he went on shore the 4th day of June, 1792, accompanied by some of the officers, and took possession of the Pacific Coast of North America from Cape Mendocino, California, to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, all of the islands within said strait, together with the continent binding the interior sea, which he honored with the name of the Gulph of Georgia, with the islands situated in the interior sea. On this vast region he bestowed the name of New Georgia in honor of the King of England. The name "New Georgia" remained on American maps as late as 1829. (See the Robinson map of 1829, Connecticut). The region is subdivided into the states of Oregon and Washington.

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The name of New Georgia has disappeared from the maps of the United States.

*Point Grenville*—George Vancouver named Point Grenville April 28, 1792, in honor of Lord Grenville, British Foreign Secretary, 1791. Lord Grenville informed the Lords Commissioners of the British Admiralty that the King of England judged it expedient that an expedition should be sent to the Pacific Coast of North America for the purpose of acquiring a more complete knowledge of that portion of the earth's surface than had as yet been obtained. Vancouver was appointed to the command of the expedition. He was instructed to acquire commercial advantages wherever possible. As a means to an end, he named several geographical features in honor of certain British citizens.

*Port Discovery*—The Spaniards discovered Port Discovery in 1790, revisited it in 1791, and there refitted their ships. Vancouver entered the port, May 1, 1792, and named it Port Discovery. Of this incident, Vancouver in his narrative report to the British Admiralty on the negotiations at Nootka Sound, dated October 1, 1792, says:—"Sigr. Quadra requested that in the course of my further exploring this country I would name some port or island after us both. . . ; which I promised to do; . . . I have therefore named this land (which by sailing at the back we have discovered to be an extensive island) The Island of Quadra and Vancouver: which compliment he was excessively pleased with; as also my retaining the name of Port Quadra to that which in May last I had called Port Discovery, but finding it had been formerly explored and named after this officer, I had since adopted that name."

*Port Gardner*—Vancouver named the channel on the east side of Whidby Island after Captain Alan Gardner, the officer who commanded the "Maidstone" on the West India station, in the British navy, 1774 to 1777. The "Maidstone" operated between the island of Jamaica and New Foundland. The name of Port Gardner has been removed and is known at the present time as Saratoga Passage. Port Gardner applies to the harbor of the city of Everett.

*Port Orchard*—Vancouver named the port where the United States navy yard is located after one of his lieutenants.

*Port Townshend*—Port Townshend was named by Vancouver



## PACIFIC COAST PLACE NAMES IN STATE OF WASHINGTON

May 8, 1792, in honor of the Marquis of Townshend, it is supposed that Vancouver had in mind the general who officiated at the battle on the Plains of Abraham, at Quebec, but there is an uncertainty as to the person for whom Vancouver did name the port. The first men from the civilized world to view the town site of the city of Port Townshend were Archibald Menzies and an officer of the Vancouver expedition. Mr. Menzies was botanist of the expedition.

*Puget Sound*—Vancouver dispatched Peter Puget and Mr. Whidby on a boat expedition to examine the southern parts of the interior sea, May 20, 1792. In commemoration of Mr. Puget's labors, Vancouver named the southern extension of the interior sea, Puget's Sound. Since then the name has become generic for the entire body of water within the limits of the United States. It is said that Mr. Puget acted as one of the editors in the production of the publication known as the "Vancouver Journal."

*Restoration Point*—Vancouver named a point on Bainbridge Island in honor of the restoration of King Charles to the throne of England.

*Strait of Juan de Fuca*—John Meares, British navigator and explorer, saw the entrance to the great inlet of the sea, June 29, 1788, and named it, John de Fuca Strait, a name which appears on the maps of John Meares, published in the year 1790. Vancouver entered the Strait, April 29, 1792. Vancouver under date of April 29, 1792, says:—"The inlet he (Captain Gray) supposed to be the same that De Fuca had discovered, which opinion seemed to be universally received by all modern visitors." Sir George Simpson in his narrative of his journey around the world says: "Juan de Fuca discovered the strait which bears his name; and Admiral de Fonte penetrated up one of the more northerly inlets. Though both these explorers mingled a vast deal of fable with the truth, pretending to have made their way right through to the Atlantic Ocean, yet they clearly ascertained the character of the coast to the extent just stated." The name "Strait of Juan de Fuca" appears on the maps of all nations at the present time.

*Tacoma*—Tecomaxochital is the Mexican word for the Trumpet Flower (See the Ogilvie-Annandale Imperial Dictionary, Webster's International Dictionary, The Funk and Wagnall's Standard

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Dictionary of the English Language). Tecoma is a Mexican word for vessel, Xochitl is a Mexican word for a flower or blossom. The word "tecaoma" was carried to the Pacific Coast of the State of Washington by Mexican mariners attached to the Juan de Fuca expedition in the year 1592. The Mexicans would speak of their ship as a "tecaoma," the same as an Englishman would speak of his ship as a vessel. The natives, naturally, would enquire of the Mexican mariners what they called their strange craft, in reply, the Mexicans, naturally, would say "tecaoma." The natives, in their effort to explain the strange craft to their countrymen who had not had the privilege of seeing it, would point to the snowy peaks of the Cascade mountains and say, "tecaoma." A full rigged ship with all canvas spread has something of the appearance of the snowy peaks of the Cascade mountains as viewed from the bosom of the interior sea of the State of Washington.

The natives of the shore line of the State of Washington spoke a language unpronounceable for English speaking people. The natives no doubt imitate a dental defect of one of their ancestors. They have elaborated an indistinct, half-dental contact, half-guttural, into a pure guttural. This has caused a confusion among English speaking people in their efforts to translate the native languages. The word "tecaoma" has been no exception, but has gone through various spellings by various writers as each understood the word. Theodore Winthrop, American traveller and author, was the first writer to put the word in writing. His spelling is "Tacoma."

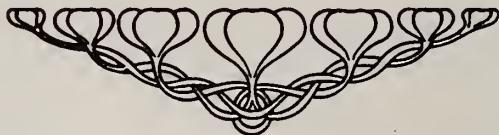
The word "Tacoma" is the oldest civilized word in use among the natives of the Pacific Coast of the State of Washington

*Vashon Island*—Vancouver named the extensive island lying between the cities of Seattle and Tacoma, Vashon's Island, after his friend Captain Vashon of the British navy. Vashon served on the "Maidstone" along with Peter Rainier, under the command of Captain Alan Gardner. Vashon Island is nearly divided into two parts by quite an extensive harbor. The eastern part was named Maury Island, by Captain Wilkes in 1841. Maury was serving as lieutenant on the "Vincennes," one of the ships connected with the Wilkes expedition of the United States navy. Maury became distinguished as an astronomer and hydrographer. His treatise on navigation is adopted as a text book in the navy and his observations enabled him

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to write his "Physical Geography of the Seas." His works on the Gulf Stream, Ocean Currents, and Great Circle Sailing are standard authority, while his sailing charts are a great advantage to the commerce of the world.

*Whidby Island*—Vancouver named the largest island within the borders of the United States after Mr. Whidby, a member of the expedition and one of its most useful men. He examined the east side of the island which bears his name and later he discovered the passage which separates the island at the north from the mainland. He surveyed Gray's Harbor in October, 1792, and from this circumstance he was given credit by many geographers for having discovered the harbor. The channel separating Whidby Island from the mainland on the north received the name of Deception Pass.







HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPH OF THE GREAT MOUNTAIN OF THE  
NORTHWEST, THE CENTER OF THE TACOMA-RAINIER DISPUTE

Photograph taken from sand island in Commencement Bay previous to 1900. Cannot be duplicated  
because the low land in the foreground is covered with manufacturing plants and docks.



## Wherein "Nordics" Excel

By JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



THE term "race," strictly speaking, implies a group having a common ancestry, and blood relationship. It does not depend upon the superficial matter of complexion, nor upon artificial names of governmental territories. The so-called German territory east of the Elbe, is, with the exception of Mecklenburg, merely colonized within the modern era, among non-Germans.

The scientific method of research is to collect facts, either by personal observation or from the records of personal observations of others, and only then to determine by the weight of the facts which points to a certain common underlying cause, the principle or law which explains best the most of the essential facts. The main body of recent scientists decide against Lamarck's theory that characteristics acquired during the lifetime of the subject, are transmitted to progeny, provided actual instances of such transmission are not produced, which they have not been hitherto. Universal observation establishes the fact that in identically the same climate and soil, the vegetable world, which is directly affected by both, heredity is stronger than both, and the beech continues a beech, and the maple by its side a maple, with no cross-fertilization of offspring. In the same Egypt lived the ancient founders of a mighty civilization, and the dull fellahin; and in corresponding south latitude and climate in the same Africa, the Bushmen, nearly the lowest type of men in intelligence and mode of life; and a parallel case is found between the whites and the aborigines of Australia. No stock-breeder expects to improve the chief and most valuable quality of his stock by breeding it with a scrub; or in other words, to breed upward by breeding downward. If indiscriminate mixing of races tended to improvement, Sicilians ought to be excellent. Upon a ground of aborigines, a layer of Sicilians, and successively Carthaginians, and Roman prisoners of war from the Oriental conquests; but the psychological effect is universal distrust and secretive conspiracies, the settling of private quarrels by assassination, and the

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use of intimidation by the branches of the great secret society, the Mafia, which honeycomb society over most of the island, to prevent the punishment of crime perpetrated by its members. Murder and robbery were perhaps not more common than among the much mixed multitude of New York city, in recent years. Most of the steps of the world's advance from savagery to present civilization, comfort, and enlightenment, have been initiated by individuals; but breed-relationship is, in the main, associated with psychological or mental breed-characteristics. Sir Francis Galton has shown by a large number of known instances, that genius or special mental ability runs in certain families; and recent criminologists have traced the breed-tendency to vice in the so-called "Jukes family" and the "Kallikak family." The genius of insight and creative thought, which is the divine fire in art, literature, and philosophy, was surpassing, almost unique, in the Ionic Greek group. Let us study the genius of application and continuity of thought in the field of general practical utilities which mark modern life. In a survey of inventions involving applied mechanics and physics, the two most prominent facts are: first, that almost all fall within the last two hundred years: secondly, that the line of geographical demarcation is as plain as the chronological; indicating the pre-eminence of the Germanic race in its three great branches: Low (or North) German, High German, and Scandinavian; including the Frankish and the Burgundian (of eastern France), the Norse-Saxon or Anglo-Saxon of England and the Scottish Lowlands, and the Norman of northern France. Invention-groups follow:

*Aerial Navigation*—First (hot) air balloon, Montgolfier brothers (French) 1783. First gas balloon, Clark (English), 1783. First successful dirigible, Renard and Krebs (French), 1884. First successful motor-driven aeroplane, Orville and Wilbur Wright (American) patent 1906. First airship in regular passenger service, Count Ferdinand Zeppelin of Baden, 1910.

*Agricultural Machines*—The ancient Egyptian and Greek ploughs were wooden, the point tipped with iron; and there was no great improvement until the modern plough with mould-board to turn over broken soil was invented in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century: the share being of wrought iron, the mouldboard of wood covered with sheetiron, until James Snede (Scotch), in 1784

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invented the castiron mouldboard. The modern American plough patented by Jethro Wood in 1869, had the share, landside, and mould-board of cast iron, each a separate casting; later, of cast steel. The grain-threshing machine was invented by Andrew Meikle (English) in 1788. The first commercially successful grain-harvesting machine was Cyrus B. McCormick's (Scottish-American), 1831; to which he added a self-raker in 1845. Inclined platform reaper by J. S. Marsh, American, in 1858. Self-binder by Jacob Behel, American, 1864. Sulky-plough invented by H. Brown in 1844; but the first practical one by B. Slusser, German-American, in 1868. The roller flour mill, by F. Wegman, American, 1878. Twine binder by M. L. Gorham, American, in 1873. Barbed-wire machine, by Glidden and Vaughn, Americans, in 1874. Rotary disk cultivator, by Mallon, American, in 1878. Steam plough, by W. Fry, American, in 1879. Combined harvester and thresher by Matteson, American, in 1886. Automobile mower, by the Deering Harvester Co., American, in 1901. Gladstone of Kirke, Scotland, had made in 1807, a side-draught reaper; Robert Salmon of Woburn the same year devised the cutter-bar idea; and Henry Ogle of Remington, England, in 1822 made a cutter-bar with guards; foreshadowing the essential features of the modern reaper.

*Automobiles*—First steam automobile, by Cugnot (French), 1769. First chain transmission in auto, by G. Gurney, English, in 1829. First gasoline-propelled vehicle, with internal combustion engine, by B. Selden of Rochester, N. Y., patent applied for in 1872. Application of gas engine to vehicle, by Gottlieb Daimler and Carl Benz, working independently of each other, Germans, in 1886. First bicycle, by Blanchard and Megurier (French), in 1779. Safety appliance by Dalzell (Scotch), about 1845. Rear-driven chain safety bicycle, by Geo. W. Marble, American, in 1887. Pneumatic tire for road-wagon, invented by H. W. Thompson, English, in 1843. The mechanical framework of the bicycle was the velocipede of 1690, improved into the celerifer of De Sivrac, French.

*Electrical Inventions*—The suggestion of the practical use of electricity is in Wm. Gilbert's *De Magnete*, published in 1600. He was English. The first frictional electricity machine, by Otto von Guericke, a German of Magdeburg, about 1681. The discoverer of conductors and insulation was Stephen Gray, English, who lived



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1696-1736. The first to discover that electricity is of two kinds was C. DuFay, French; lived 1696-1739. Leyden jar by van Kleist, 1745, and P. van Musschenbroek, Dutch, 1746. Lightning rod, and identification of lightning as electricity, Benjamin Franklin, American, 1732. Electro-plating, by Luigi Brugnatelli, Gallo-Italian, born at Pavia, 1805. Voltaic pile, Alex. Volta, Gallo-Italian, born at Como, 1745, died 1827. Voltaic arc light, by Sir Humphrey Davy, English, 1808. Storage battery, by Ritter, German, 1803. Electromagnetism, discovered by H. C. Oersted, Dane, 1819. Galvanic battery, by Luigi Galvani, Gallo-Italian, born Bologna, 1737, died 1798. Galvanometer, by J. Schweigger, Bavarian, born 1779, died 1857. Motion of a magnet by electric current, Michael Faraday, English, 1821. Thermoelectricity proved by Seebeck, German-English, 1821. Principle of electrodynamics discovered by Ampere, French, 1823. Ohm's law of electric circuits, by Geo. S. Ohm, Bavarian, 1826. Magneto-electric induction, by Faraday, 1831. Electric telegraph invented by S. F. B. Morse, American, 1832; who sent the first wireless telegraphic message across a canal 80 feet wide near Washington, D. C., Dec. 16, 1842, and constructed the first telegraph line, from Baltimore to Washington in 1844. Constant electric battery, and the Daniell cell, by J. F. Daniell, English, in 1836. First electric motor, by M. H. Jacobi, a German in St. Petersburg, in 1839. Induction coil invented by H. D. Ruhmkorff, Hanoverian, in 1851. First practical duplex telegraph, by Stearns, American, about 1855-60. First electric transmission of speech, or telephone, by Philipp Reis, of Gelnhausen in Hesse, 1860. Atlantic telegraph cable by Cyrus W. Field, American, 1866. Dynamo by coil by I. K. Wilhelm (Sir Wm.) Siemens, of Lenthe, Hanover, but settled in England, in 1866. Ring armature, by Gramme, French, 1868. Electro-magnetic theory of light published by Clerk Maxwell, English, 1873. Quadruplex telegraph, by Thomas A. Edison, American, 1873. Siphon recorder, by Sir William Thomson, English, 1874. Telephone, varying current, by Alex. Graham Bell, a Scot in the U. S., 1876. Though P. Jablochkov, Russian, made the Jablochhoff electric candle, involving two carbon points, it was unsuited to practical use, and rejected in favor of the Brush system of electric lighting, by C. F. Brush, American, 1878. Incandescent lamp with carbon filament, by Edison, put into use 1878. First electric locomotive, by Werner Siemens, brother of Sir William, 1879. Telephone transmitter, by Francis Blake, of

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Mass., 1886. Electric welding, by Elihu Thompson, American, 1886. Electric waves discovered by Heinrich Hertz, of Hamburg, Germany 1883-84, by experiments while Professor of physics at Karlsruhe; published in 1886. Newcomen made a steam engine in 1705. Thomas Savery made one for pumping water in 1698, both English; but James Watt, Scotch, improved it, 1763, to commercial success. John Fitch invented and ran a steamboat in 1786; and improved, it ran 7 miles an hour in 1790. Robert Fulton, also American, invented a submersible torpedo boat in 1800, and made the steamboat in 1807 commercially successful. A wooden railway was used at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1602. Travethick made a locomotive in 1804; but George Stephenson made the first satisfactory steam locomotive with his steam engine of 1814, both British. The first castiron arch bridge by Abraham Darby, English, 1779, and successful iron truss bridges were made in England in 1850; later, steel cantilever truss bridges, the longest 1710 feet across the Firth of Forth: suspension bridge by Finley, American, 1801. The screw propeller, patented by William Lyttleton, English, in 1794. The English built the first railway for carrying passengers and goods in 1825, and the Americans soon after. The steam turbine was invented by C. A. Parsons, American, in 1884; though J. B. Francis improved the turbine wheel, American, 1849; and the first reaction water turbine was worked, Barker's, English, in 1740. The germ of the spinning jenny was used in Nuremberg 1530, for flax only; but Richard Arkwright's invention in 1769, and Samuel Crompton's mule spinner, 1779, and Edward Cartwright's, the first successful power loom, 1785, all English inventions, revolutionized the textile industry, and led to factory weaving in place of weaving by hand: more than that, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney, American, in 1793, made the growing of cotton an immense industry, and its manufacture, another. The invention of the lockstitch sewing machine by Walter Hunt of New York in 1832-34, followed by the successful, complete sewing machine of Elias Howe of Mass. in 1845, relieved from the slow drudgery of hand sewing. In short, Nordic labor-saving inventions have not only revolutionized the industries from the condition when

“Man works from sun to sun,

But woman's work is never done,”

to the eight-hour day.

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Not only has the common worker time to become acquainted with the world he lives in, but Nordic inventions have diffused knowledge by the invention of movable type, whether Koster or Gutenberg were first to print from such type; improved upon by Otto Mergenthaler, German-American, by the linotype, and by the cylinder press; and the "copy" prepared by the type-writer invented by the American, Christopher Sholes. J. H. Schultze, German, was the Columbus of photograph, 1727; Thomas Wedgwood, English, the first to produce pictures by the action of light on a sensitized surface; and John W. Draper of New York produced the first sunlight picture of the human face. Coal gas was used as an illuminant first, by William Murdock, a Scot, in 1792; and in 1805 he was lighting the cotton mills of Manchester, England, by it. To cover Nordic useful inventions in detail would fill volumes; but this sketch of the most familiar ones is sufficient to prove that men of Nordic race have a special genius for mechanical invention.

Yet not only is constructiveness and mental resourcefulness a Nordic characteristic, but there is behind it an individual pride of self-respect which will not accept defeat of one's purpose; a firm and resolute persistence in the face of great obstacles, as, for instance, Elias Howe and Charles Goodyear endured years of privation and poverty in attempts to perfect the idea of an invention. It was English setness which saved the battle of Waterloo; but behind it was the spirit to which Nelson appealed at the battle of Trafalgar, "England expects every man to do his duty;" a sense of individual responsibility, and fidelity to one's trust. It is this which makes a league or covenant entered into by Nordics, the stable foundation of a volunteer army like Cromwell's or the Scotch Covenanters'; of a League of States, like that of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden in 1291, which formed the nucleus of the republic of Switzerland, none but the 13 German-speaking cantons having joined until 1798; and of the similarly formed United States of America. As to the racial character of the founders of our republic, James Savage, who devoted twenty years of expert study to tracing the lineage of the first three generations of settlers of New England and English Long Island says, "From long and careful research, I have judged the proportion of the whole number living here in 1775, that deduce their origin from the Kingdom of England, to exceed ninety-eight in a hundred. A more homogeneous stock cannot be seen." Tacitus



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used the virtues of the old Germans to shame the vices of his countryman. What was the "culture" which the Roman Empire represented and possessed? Militarism, imperialism, for the ruling classes: for the great mass of the population, slavery, in conditions hardly tolerable for cattle. The pyramids and massive temples of Egypt are monuments of barbarous despotism and superstition; for Egypt shares the bad pre-eminence for cruelty to slaves, with Rome at the period of conquest, especially about 150 B. C. to 100 A. D., when prisoners of war were added to the regular importation of slaves; 150,000 captives being sold after the victories of Aemilius Paulus in Epirus, alone; so that for the period 146 B. C. to 222 A. D. there were three times as many slaves in Italy as free men. By the original Roman law, the master had absolute power over the slave, including the power of life and death; and it was cheaper during the period of conquest, to work the slaves to death, than to save them. The gladiators were commonly slaves, "butchered to make a Roman holiday:" and the rural slaves wore chains day and night: the worst slavery being on the great plantations in Sicily. It is an obvious falsity to call this "civilization," and the "apogee of religion and ethics, as well as other esthetic, spiritual and material expressions of humanity." The principle of reason and humanity, borrowed from the Greek stoic philosophy, was applied to the subject of slavery by Seneca the younger, (3 B. C.—65 A. D.), the creed of the later stoics being less a philosophy than a religion; but Dio Chrysostorn was the first Greek writer who burst the bonds of ancient precedent, and declared slavery to be contrary to the laws of nature; he being the adviser of the emperor Trojan, A. D. 98. The cessation of Roman conquest reduced the supply of slaves, and enhanced their value, and made it profitable to preserve them and their health; and the influence of Christianity becomes stronger under Theodosius, and still more in the laws of Justinism, and there is a transition from slavery to serfdom. The mass of the common people as well as the slaves, were, until modern times, wholly illiterate and grossly ignorant. Literary culture, which was borrowed from the Greeks, was only for the patricians, and later, the higher ecclesiastics. Modern Italian, which was derived from the language of the common people, is a standing evidence that classical Latin was only a widely different language, limited to books and to scholars. Between upper caste and lower caste in India, in Egypt, and in



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Rome, there is a great gulf fixed. The Nordic nations did not and could not borrow from them the idea that all men were created free and with equal rights, nor the idea of universal elementary education; for both were original with them. Nor did they borrow science or mechanical invention from either Romans or Jews; nor Christianity from the Jewish race, which rejected it.



# The Upper Ohio Valley

By DR. GEORGE P. DONEHOO, HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA



NO section of Pennsylvania offers a more interesting field for archæological and ethnological investigation than does that part of the State lying at the head waters of the Ohio River. This "Gateway to the West," as it has been called in historical times, seems to have been a "Gateway to the West" to the prehistoric peoples who once, back in the dim past, lived along the shores of the Ohio or Allegheny River.

It must be remembered that in all of the early records and maps, the name Ohio and Allegheny, as well as other names of the stream, were applied to the present Allegheny and Ohio as being one and the same river. The Monongahela was regarded as a tributary of this main river, which has its head waters in Potter County, and which flows into the Mississippi. The names given to this stream are as varied as were the tribes once living upon its shores. It is most difficult, if not impossible at present, to give these names in their chronological order; just as difficult as it is to try to give the chronological order of the occupancy of the aboriginal tribes once living along it.

The legend on Herman's map of Virginia and Maryland mention of the Ohio as "the Black Minquaas River." Herman also states on this map of 1670, in referring to this unidentified tribe, "where formerly those Black Minquaas came over and as far as the Delaware to trade, but the Sasquehana and the Sinnius Indians went over and destroyed that very great nation, and whether that same river comes out into the Bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known."

This tribe, which belonged to the Iroquoian group, has been the source of much discussion. They were destroyed by the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks before 1670. Previous to that time they traded with the Dutch on the Hudson River and with the Dutch

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\*From advance sheets of "Pennsylvania—A History," by Dr. George P. Donehoo, former State Librarian of Pennsylvania, to appear early in 1926 from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.

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and Swedes on the lower Delaware. Their chief trading, however, seems to have been done with the traders on the Hudson and the upper Delaware. They reached these traders by way of the old trail from the Ohio to the upper Delaware, by way of Lock Haven, Sunbury, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton, crossing the Delaware at Cochection and then on to Esopus and Kingston.

According to Van der Donck, they were called "black," not because they were dark in color, but "because they wear a black badge on their breasts." They were also mentioned by Hudde, in 1656, as "Black Indians." In 1662 William Beekman informed Director Stuyvesant of these facts: "The chiefs informed us among others, that they (the Susquehannocks) were expecting shortly for their assistance 800 black Minquaas, and 200 of this nation had already come in, so that they were fully resolved to go to war with the Sinnecus next spring and visit their fort." (Archives of Penna., Second Series, VII, 695).

The "Black Minquaas" were evidently living along the Ohio at this time. It may have been because of their alliance with the Susquehannocks, that the Iroquois destroyed them just previous to the final destruction of the Susquehannocks in 1675.

On the Louis Franquelin map (1684), the river Ohio is called "Ohio ats Mosopeleacipi ats Olighin." The Mosopelea is another of the unidentified tribes. In 1682 La Salle met a Mosopelea chief who was living among the Taensea, to which place he had gone after the destruction of his village by some unknown enemy. On Franquelin's map, about midway up the Ohio, there is the notation, "Mosapelea. 8 Vil. detruit" (Mosopelea. 8 villages destroyed). These villages, according to the map, are situated between the mouth of the Sciota and Pittsburgh.

Van Keulen's map of New France (1720), notes the river as "Riv. d'Ohis apelec Acansea Sipu." The latter name is the "River of the Akansea." Gravier stated in 1701 that the Ohio River was known to the Miami and the Illinois as "the River of the Akansea," as that people had formerly lived upon it.

The Akansea, or Arkansa, was a Siouan tribe, living in 1701 on the Arkansas River. The members of this tribe, who went down the Ohio and then up the Mississippi were called Omaha, or those "living up the river," and the members who went down the river were called Kwapa, or those "living down the river." The Osage

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Indians also have traditions which carry them back to the head waters of the Ohio. Catlin, Dorsey, Sibley, and others, heard this same tradition from members of the various tribes related to the Akansea. A full and most interesting account of these "Siouan Tribes of the East" is found in the monograph of James Mooney, 1894.

The tradition concerning the Alligewe, or Cherokee, and their occupation of the river valley is given in Chapter I of this history. The name Allegheny is a corruption of Alligewe-hanna, or "River of the Alligewe." This people was also driven out of the Ohio Valley by the Iroquois, going to their historic habitat in the South.

The Alligewe may have been the first of the Indian tribes to occupy the Ohio Valley. They, like the Akansea, were driven out of it by the Iroquois. The Akansea occupation may have been the last one of the period preceding the historic occupation of the Delaware and Shawnee. In the account of Father Anastasius Douay, the priest who was with La Salle on his last expedition down the Mississippi, it is stated that they passed the mouth of the "Ouabache," meaning the Ohio, on the 28th of August, 1688. He says: "The Akansas were formerly stationed on the upper part of one of those rivers, but the Iroquois drove them out by cruel wars some years ago." It may not have been many years before that date (1688) that the Akansea migrated southward. Between the time of their migration and the coming of the Delaware and Shawnee from the Susquehanna and the Delaware, there seems to have been no permanent inhabitants of the entire upper Ohio Valley. The Iroquois had driven out of it all of the various tribes which had occupied it, and it was not until they gave permission to the Delawares to settle in it that any occupation was attempted.

It seems highly probable that the many "Indian mounds" found in the Monongahela and Ohio valleys, as well as in southwestern Pennsylvania, were erected by the Alligewe, or the ancestors of the historic Cherokee. We know that they occupied the region, and we also know that the Cherokee were mound builders, even within historical times. They seem to have always occupied the Allegheny Mountain region from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee to Alabama. Their name, which signifies "cave people" would naturally associate them with a mountain or hilly country.



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The present, or historic, name of the river, the Ohio, is of Seneca origin, and was the name first given to the French explorers and officers by the Seneca. In all of the early journals and maps of these Frenchmen the river is called Ohio or Oyo, which is translated "La Belle Riviere," or "The Beautiful River." In the "Code of Handsome Lake," the Seneca prophet, the name is given the form of "Ohi-io," with the meaning, "River Beautiful."

The Delaware name of the river was first Alligewe-hanna or Alligewe-sipu, and then Kit-hanna, or the Great River.

On the map of Lewis Evans (1755), the Shawnee name is also given, "Palawa-Thepiki." The journal of Rev. David Jones states that the Shawnee call the river "Pellewa Theepee, *i. e.* Turkey River."

The various facts and traditions given in this section will impress the reader with the fact that the head waters of the Ohio has always been, as it is at present, a "Gateway to the West and South." Many tribes of the aborigines used it as it is being used to-day by the peoples of every race and clime who pass through it. So far as we can discover, the first white man to cross the State of Pennsylvania from the waters of the Delaware to the Ohio, was Arnold (Arnhout) Viele, the Dutch trader from Albany. He was, so far as is known, the first white man who left behind him any record of his trip to the Ohio.

Aronld Viele, accompanied by eleven white men and a party of Mohegan and a few Shawnee, left Albany in the autumn of 1692 and spent the winter of 1692-3 in the Shawnee villages on the lower Ohio. He did not return until the summer of 1694, giving him ample time to descend the Ohio River and to make the journey to Fort Saint Louis on the Mississippi.

This trip of Viele is recorded in a letter by Iberville, founder of the French colony in Louisiana, to the French minister, dated August 30, 1699. He says, in part: "I am well aware that some men, twelve in number, and some Maheingans, who are savages whom we call Loups, started seven years ago from New York, in order to ascend the River Andaste (Susquehanna) in the Province of Pennsylvania, as far as the River Ohio, which is said to join the River Ouabash (Wabash) emptying together into the Mississippi." Hanna, ("Wilderness Trail," II, 124).

There is no evidence whatever that La Salle ever descended the

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Ohio River from its head waters, as is often stated. La Salle and other French explorers mistook the Wabash River for the Ohio.

Viele returned in the summer of 1694, bringing with him a very large party of Shawnee, who settled above the Delaware Water Gap, at the village known afterwards as Pechoquealin. The course followed by Viele, both in going to the Ohio in 1692 and in returning from it in 1694, was in all probability the course followed by the "Black Minquas" in their trading trips to the Hudson River. This trail followed the Mamakating Valley, north of the Shawangunk Mountain, and the valley along the Mohawk branch of the Delaware, to the Minisinks, near the Delaware Water Gap.

The time of the historic occupation of the upper Ohio Valley by the Delaware and Shawnee cannot be fixed with any degree of accuracy as to the exact year. Heckewelder says that about 1698 some Shawnee had settled on Montour's Island, about six miles below Pittsburgh. It is possible that this date is correct, as the northward migration of the Shawnee from the Potomac region into Pennsylvania was made in that year. Opressa, the chief of the Pequea Clan of the Shawnee, and a company of his people, settled on Pequea Creek, near the Conestoga, in 1698. It seems highly probable that the Asswikale (Hathawekela) Clan migrated directly from the Potomac to the Ohio at about the same time, going over the trail from the Shawnee lands on the Potomac to Oldtown, Maryland, and then by the trail along Will's Mountain to the present Bedford and then westward over the Allegheny Path to the Ohio. They left behind them various names which belong to their passage through this region, such as Sewickley Creek (Sewikley is a corruption of their clan name of Asswikale). This name is scattered through various parts of Fayette, Allegheny and Beaver counties. The Pequea Clan moved northward along the Susquehanna to New Cumberland, near Harrisburg, and about 1726, under the leadership of Peter Chartier, commenced their migration westward to the Ohio, settling at Chartier's Old Town, on the Allegheny River. They did not remain long in this place, going down the Ohio to Logstown and then on down to Shawneetown, on the lower waters of the Ohio.

The westward migration of the Delaware commenced soon after the landing of William Penn. The various land purchases of the Penns in the region of Philadelphia drove the Delawares northward to the "Forks of the Delaware" and into the Wyoming Valley.

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From 1683 until 1789, when the "Erie Triangle" was purchased, the last Indian land purchase in the State, the migration of the red men of Pennsylvania was constantly westward. Two causes led to this westward emigration, the land sales on the Delaware and the Susquehanna and the unrestricted sale of rum. From the time of Penn's first treaty with the Indians until 1729 all of the transactions for the purchase of lands in the province were made directly with the Delawares.

The famous, or infamous, "Walking Purchase" of 1737, by which the Delawares lost a part of the lands in the Minnisinks, which had been the ancestral home of the Munsee Clan for many generations, together with the treaty of 1736, in which the Iroquois sold all of the lands belonging to the Delawares, south of the Blue Mountains, led directly to the alienation of the Delawares and their "cousins," the Shawnee, and caused a general migration of both the Delawares and the Shawnee to the Susquehanna and the Ohio. Many of these tribes went westward to the Wyoming Valley, the West Branch, and to the Ohio.

Among the first Indian villages on the Ohio, which were occupied after the commencement of this westward migration, were Venango, Kittanning, Shannopin's Town, Logstown, Sacunk, Kuskuski and other smaller villages. The most prominent were Kittanning and Logstown. The occupation of these villages commenced about 1726. From about that time until after the commencement of the French and Indian War, in 1754, these villages were trading posts, attracting the Indian traders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Canada.

As the rivalry of the Netherlands, Sweden and Great Britain for the possession of the Indian trade on the Delaware led to the struggles of these nations for the conquest of the Delaware, so the rivalry between France and Great Britain for the Indian trade on the Ohio led to the struggle of these two nations for the conquest of the rich and fertile valley of the Ohio. There was, however, another element of rivalry entering into this struggle, making it more complex than had been the conflict on the Atlantic seaboard. From the very commencement, the rivalry between the traders of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, chiefly between those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, had far-reaching results in the development of the settlement and the history of southwestern Pennsylvania. The



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struggle of the two nations led to the French and Indian War, and the rivalry of the two colonies led to the "Virginia Boundary Dispute," which lasted long after the French were driven from the Ohio.

To rightly understand the history of Western Pennsylvania, the main facts in both of these conflicts must be taken into consideration. After Great Britain had finally established her claim to the Ohio Valley the question as to the jurisdiction over this valuable territory between the rival claimants of the two colonies became most bitter. This question was unsettled until years after Great Britain had lost her jurisdiction over the Ohio Valley and also over the greater part of the Continent by the birth of a new Nation.

*Pennsylvania's Attempts to Win the Friendship of the Ohio Indians*—All of the early treaties of the provincial authorities at which land purchases were made from the Indians were held with the Delawares, but after the treaty of 1736, and especially after the treaty at Lancaster in 1744, when the Iroquois realized that land had a real money value, and used the fast growing influence of Conrad Weiser to present their claims for all of the lands in the province, the treaties and land purchases were made directly with the Iroquois.

After the treaty at Lancaster, 1744, the Iroquois chiefs returned to their council fire at Onondaga to talk over what had taken place. These wily diplomats were fully aware of the importance of the points which they had gained at this treaty, by which both of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia had recognized the validity of their claims to the rightful ownership of the lands of their conquered foes.

As a result of this condition, which placed them more and more in the background, the Delaware and Shawnee, who had moved to the Ohio in great numbers, were neglected by the provincial authorities and were getting to be more ready to listen to the French traders, who were going among them in ever increasing numbers. The proud chiefs of the Lenape, who remembered the honor bestowed upon their tribe by William Penn, felt the slight which had been given them, not only by their masters, the Iroquois, but also by the very race which had once honored them. The Shawnee and Munsee, because of the sale of their lands along the Delaware, and because they had been driven from place to place, hated the English as the



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cause of all of their troubles. The Seneca, far removed from English interest and directly under the influence of the French, were fast taking sides with the traders from Canada.

The Iroquois as a Confederation, hated the French because of their conflict with Champlain, and at the same time realized that they had a rich source of income from the lands of Pennsylvania, and that the best play they could make was to remain neutral in any discussion or conflict which might arise between the French and the English. No doubt Conrad Weiser had much to do with impressing the Iroquois with this opinion.

To counteract all of the influences which were being brought to bear on the Indians of the Ohio by the French traders and officials, and to win back the alienated Delaware and Shawnee was a problem which the authorities of the province realized must be solved. The Iroquois Confederation had been appealed to and urged to use its influence to recall the Delaware and Shawnee back to the Susquehanna, where they would be away from the influence of the French and under that of the English. But both of these tribes on the Ohio flatly refused to listen to either the pleas or the commands of the Iroquois. They were breaking away, not only from the English influence but also from the control of the Iroquois.

It was at such a time as this that the Provincial Council realized that something had to be done to win back these alienated tribes. Had the province of Pennsylvania dealt wisely with the Delaware and Shawnee on the Ohio at this time the long years of bloodshed and terror on the frontiers might have been avoided. In failing to keep the friendship of the Delaware and Shawnee at this critical time the province made possible the French occupation of the Ohio, Braddock's defeat, and the long years of border wars which followed. The Neutrality of the Iroquois was worth much, far more than was then known, but the alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee cost the province an awful price.

Peter Chartier, a Shawnee half-breed, who had lived with the Shawnee on the Potomac and also on the Susquehanna, and who had led a party of them to the Ohio, tried to persuade the Shawnee to leave the upper Ohio and to get nearer the French posts on the Mississippi. A number of the warriors of this tribe went with him against the orders of the Iroquois. The news of this matter reached the Council at Onondaga, and Scarouady, an Oneida chief, was ap-

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pointed to have charge of all matters on the Ohio, relating to the Shawnee and Delaware. The title of "Half King" was given by the English to Scarouady and his successor. Under the influence of this wise and friendly Oneida chief many of the Shawnee who had gone down the Ohio with Chartier returned and sought forgiveness for what they had done. One of their chiefs, who had heard the rebuke which was administered to his tribe at Lancaster in 1744, said: "We have been a foolish people, and have acted wrong, altho the sun shone bright and showed us very clearly what was our duty. We are sorry for what we have done, and promise better behaviour in the future." He then presented the copy of the treaty which had been made with William Penn in 1701, and which had been renewed in 1739, and asked the proprietor and the Governor to sign it afresh, in order that "all our former crimes may be buried and entirely forgot." Then was the time to have forgiven and won back the friendship of the Shawnee and that of the Delaware. But this plea for forgiveness was refused and the treaty was not signed. The other tribes present at this conference at Lancaster in 1748 received presents, and the Iroquois were more pleased than ever to see the proud Shawnee on their knees before the English. There can be no doubt whatever but that Conrad Weiser was back of this treatment of the Shawnee. He was at heart unfriendly to the tribe. He was an Iroquois by adoption and always used his influence on their behalf. It is admitted on all hands, however, that the friendship of the Iroquois was necessary for the preservation of the English settlements in the province, if not on the Continent. The friendship of the Iroquois Confederation had to be preserved at all hazards. But, in order to preserve this most necessary friendship, it was not necessary to lose that of the Shawnee and with it the friendship of the greater part of the Algonquian tribes of Ohio and the Northwest. In 1748 the Shawnee could have easily been held under English control. If this had been done, it is doubtful if France could ever have gained a foothold on the Ohio. It certainly would have prevented the fearful defeat of General Braddock in 1775, and the darkest period in Pennsylvania's history which followed this disaster. The effect of this treatment of the Shawnee at Lancaster, in 1748, was felt in many a white settlement along the frontiers in the years that followed. Many a Shawnee warrior yelled his wild "death-hallo" on the hills of Pennsylvania, and many a log cabin was left a smould-

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ering ruin because of the blunders which were made at Lancaster in 1748. Walton has well said (in his "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 127). "In this affair Conrad Weiser again permitted seed to be sown which in a few years led the Shawnee into a French alliance and steeped Western Pennsylvania in blood."

After the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 the English traders along the Ohio became more and more numerous and venturesome. Their ponies crossed the mountains, by the winding Indian trails, laden with all sorts of merchandise and the ever-asked for rum. Their canoes floated down the Ohio and were paddled up its various tributaries to the many Indian villages where trading posts had been established. Here these traders from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia came into competition with the French traders from Canada. They offered their goods to the Indians at better prices, and gave them more for their furs and peltries than did the French, who had run down the price of furs and peltries until the Indians became enraged. One day a French trader offered an Indian a charge of powder and a bullet for a beaver skin. The Indian sank his tomahawk in his skull and walked away with his scalp. A number of French traders were killed and scalped by the disgusted Indians in 1744. The scalp of one of these traders was sent with a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, with the promise of more scalps. This letter fell into the hands of George Croghan, who wrote a letter and enclosed it with the scalp in a package which was sent to the Governor. The package never got beyond Thomas McGee's, a trader who lived on the Susquehanna. Here Conrad Weiser saw the scalp and heard of its history from the Indians who were carrying it. He was urged to send it and the letter to the Governor, but refused to do so, saying that he had nothing to do with the Indians on the Ohio, but simply with those of the Six Nations. In his letter concerning the matter he says: "I told him that I had been concerned in Indian affairs these many years, but that I never knew that the Government of Pennsylvania had given the hatchet, or employed anybody to kill Frenchmen, and therefore, I could not receive the scalp, and as I was well informed that the scalp had been taken in time of peace, I could in no way receive it; all white people would look upon such action with contempt." (Colonial Records of Penna., V, 138).

During these times when the relative claims of the French and



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English were being presented by the representative traders on the Ohio, the provincial authorities were aroused to action by a letter which was received from George Croghan, the best known and the most informed English trader of the period. Croghan says in this letter, in which he is urging that a present be sent to these western Indians, "If they don't get it, I am of the opinion, by the best accounts I can get, that they will turn to the French, who will be willing to make up with them again. So, if there be no provision made to send them a present by some of the traders directly, send me an account by the first opportunity, for, if there is nothing sent, I will not send out any goods or men this year for fear of Danger." (Colonial Records, V, 119).

This letter of Croghan's was shown to Conrad Weiser, who agreed with the suggestion made and said that a suitable man should be found to take the present to the Indians on the Ohio and along Lake Erie. After some discussion by the Provincial Council it was decided to send the present if a suitable man should be found to take it. Conrad Weiser, in a letter to the Council, strongly recommended that George Croghan be sent. He says in this letter: "I think that George Croghan is fit to perform it. I always took him for an honest man, and have as yet no reason to think otherwise of him." This letter shows Weiser's real appreciation of Croghan, and also his own largeness of heart, in his judgment of the one only rival he had in the field of Indian affairs during his whole life. (Colonial Records, V, 212. Archives of Penna., First Series, I, 762).

In November Weiser, who had been thinking the whole matter over, decided that the most important place for Pennsylvania to make the attempt to regain the friendship of the Indians, was not on Lake Erie, but on the upper Ohio.

"In this conclusion Weiser's keen insight into the future marks him as the only man outside of the French, up to that time, who grasped the fact that the Ohio basin would be the seat of the future great struggle between the French and the English. (Walton, "Conrad Weiser," 168). Might it not be just as truly said that in selecting the forks of the Ohio, rather than the shores of Lake Erie, for the scene of this first mission of the English to the western Indians, that Weiser, to a great extent, selected the stage on which the great events in the drama of the period were to be enacted.



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Conrad Weiser selected the battle ground for the struggle for the possession of "La Belle Riviere."

Within a short time after the receipt of Weiser's letter, word was received from Croghan that his wagon was in Philadelphia, waiting to carry the goods to the Ohio. The Council decided that as no suitable man had been found to go with him, the goods should be taken to Harris' Ferry and held there until some arrangement could be made for sending them to the Indians.

While these preparations were being made a number of Indians stopped at Lancaster and saw Weiser, whom they told that they were from the Ohio and were on their way to Philadelphia, to hold a council with the authorities of the province. On the 13th of November, 1747, these ten Indians, accompanied by Weiser, came before the Provincial Council at Philadelphia. Their speaker stated that they were then living on the Ohio, although they belonged to the Six Nations; that the old men at Onondaga were anxious for them to remain neutral, but that the young warriors were "resolved to take up the English Hatchet against the will of their old People, and to lay their old People aside as of no use but in time of peace." (Colonial Records, V, 146).

After Weiser had gotten all of the information possible from these Indians, in a private conference with them, he came before the Provincial Council, where he gave his opinion as to what should be done. He said that he thought Providence had "furnished this Province with a fine opportunity of making all of the Indians about the Lakes their Friends, and warm Friends, too." He advised that presents be given to the Indians who were present, as a "Salutation Present," with the promise of a larger one during the summer.

The president of the Council, Anthony Palmer, then called in the Indians, to whom he made a "speech," in which he informed them that a present of goods awaited them at Harris' Ferry, to which place Conrad Weiser would accompany them to see that the goods were given to them. (A list of the goods in this present is found in the Colonial Records of Penna., V, 151).

On November 28, Weiser wrote a letter from Paxtang, near Harrisburg, to Richard Peters, in which he informed him that he had that day delivered the presents to the Indians, who had urged him to be sure to send the other present promised as early in the

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spring as possible, and to send someone in advance in order that the Indians might be gathered together to receive them when they arrived.

Weiser said in his letter: "They spoke to me and to George Croghan, who must be my guide. I made answer that nothing should be wanting that I could do, and if I was alive and well I hoped to see them in their Country next Spring before the Grass comes out, or at farthest when they begin to plant their corn." (Colonial Records, V, 167).

The Assembly, at the meeting of the Council on January 9, 1748, sent a message in which it was stated that the Assembly approved of the present which had been made to the Ohio Indians, and also of the larger present to be sent in the spring. The strong Quaker element in the Assembly, however, was opposed to any attempt to encourage these Indians to engage in war, and consequently urged "that they will do well to have due regard to the opinion of their old and experienced Men, whose Advice, from the account they give seems to have been laid aside; most of Us are sensible Men of Peaceable Principles, and the Presents we gave (and those formerly given on behalf of this Government, so far as we understand) were to supply them with the Necessaries towards acquiring a Livelihood and to cultivate the Friendship between Us, and not to encourage their entering into War."

Governor Palmer then sent letters to the Governors of the colonies of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, in which he invited them to join the province of Pennsylvania in sending presents to the Indians on the Ohio. As there had been much complaint concerning the sale of rum to these Indians, by the traders, the Governor gave instructions to the Council to prepare a proclamation against carrying rum into the Indian country, and to have Weiser take it, under the great seal of the Commonwealth, to the Indians on the Ohio, when he went to meet them in the spring (a copy of this proclamation is recorded in the Colonial Records, V, 194).

All of the arrangements were made for buying the presents for the Ohio Indians and for sending them by Weiser when the spring would open, when a new difficulty arose. Shikellamy, the Oneida chief, who represented the Iroquois on the Susquehanna, with headquarters at Shamokin (Sunbury), visited Weiser at his request. Weiser said in a letter to Richard Peters that he had sent

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for Shikellamy in order to consult with him about his visit to the Ohio and to hear what was going on among the Indians on the Susquehanna.

There is no doubt but that Weiser had been thinking matters over after his trip to the Council at Philadelphia, and had come to the conclusion that there might be more to the mission to the Ohio than he had at first thought, and that this mission might in some way influence his relations with the Iroquois. So, in order to find out just what might be the reaction upon the Iroquois, he placed the whole matter before his old friend, the Iroquois deputy. Shikellamy, who was a wise diplomat, at once saw that this mission to the Ohio would put the Delaware and Shawnee upon an entirely friendly basis so far as their relations with the province were concerned, and that it might also weaken the power and authority of the Iroquois over them, and, anyhow, why give the presents to these subject tribes, why not give them to the Iroquois? So he told Weiser that the Indians on the Ohio "were altogether subject to the Six Nations," and could not declare war or do anything else without permission of the Iroquois. And, as an additional reason for Weiser not going upon this trip, he told him that the Six Nations, at a council at Onondaga, had decided to send some of their chiefs to Philadelphia during the spring for a conference with the Provincial Council concerning the Delaware Indians and their deceased "King," Allumapees (also called Sassouman), and that Weiser, as the official intrepeter of the Six Nations, would have to be present.

When this information was received by the Provincial Council the other letters of Weiser were compared with this one, and, as "there appeared to be some inconsistency between them and this present letter," the members of the Council were of the opinion that Weiser and Shikellamy should both appear before them to explain matters. Weiser was also instructed to tell George Croghan that if his affairs would not permit of his waiting for Weiser's return from Philadelphia, that he was to go on to the Ohio at once. (Letters of the Council to Weiser and Croghan, Colonial Records, V, 213-214).

On April 11 Weiser, with Shikellamy and his son, appeared before the Council and made the same statements as had been contained in Weiser's letters. Shikellamy asked that Weiser's trip to the Ohio be delayed until after the deputies of the Six Nations



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had made their visit to Philadelphia. After considering the entire situation the Council resolved to postpone Weiser's journey to the Ohio until after the proposed visit of the Iroquois deputies.

In the meanwhile, the members of the Provincial Council became thoroughly aroused to the need of getting immediate control of the trade on the Ohio. To do this it was necessary to make an alliance with them as soon as possible. Matters were taking on a very active form in that region, and, while the good Quaker element in the Assembly was opposed to anything which might lead these Indians to "take up the hatchet," they were just as strongly in favor of doing anything to gain the rich trade in furs and peltries, which was now fast slipping out of their hands. The French were becoming thoroughly awake to the realization of the value of this trade on the Ohio. In order to hold the trade of the Western Indians, even to the Mississippi, it was absolutely necessary to hold the trade of the upper Ohio. But, of far greater importance, it was necessary to establish the claim of France to the rich region west of the Allegheny Mountains before the British should gain a foothold in it. The crucial moment had arrived. The Provincial Council, the Governors of the colonies of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and most of all, the French Government in Canada, all realized that the time for action had come. The Iroquois Confederation also saw that a new day was about to break over the waters of the Ohio, and that the closing of this day might bring with it the close of the dominant power of the "Long House."

At such a time as this it was rank folly to go on listening to all of the objections of Shikellamy and all of the excuses of Weiser. It was resolved, therefore, to get around the matter, to keep Weiser in Philadelphia for the conference with the Iroquois, and to send George Croghan to the Ohio at once, with a present for the Indians, and with the promise that Weiser would follow with a larger present after the council with the Six Nations had ended.

George Croghan departed for the Ohio in the month of April, 1748, and upon the 28th of the month he held a council with the Indians at Logstown. In his "Narrative" of this meeting he gives the "speeches" made by himself and by the Indians. (Colonial Records, V, 287-289).

One of the interesting facts stated by the Indians at this



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time was "that there is 750 Men of us of the Six Nations settled here on Ohio & able to go to War, exclusive of other Nations which make up as many more, and all we wait for is for our Brothers the English to tell us where & when we shall go." (Colonial Records, V, 289).

While the mission of Conrad Weiser later in the summer is usually referred to as the "first official mission of the Anglo-Saxon race to the Indians on the Ohio," this mission of George Croghan was in reality the "first official mission" to these Indians. Croghan, in his address to the Indians at Logstown, stated that he had been "sent here by the Honourable, the President & Council of Philadelphia to return to You thanks for the French Sculp You sent down last Spring . . . and to acquaint You that their Honours have provided a large Present of Goods for all their Brethren that are Settled in and about Ohio; & they have sent You by me this Present of Powder, Lead, Vermillion, Knives, & Flints, to supply You to kill Meat for your Families till the rest of the Goods can be brought up, which are to be brought by Conrad Weiser, Esqr., and will be here at your Towns by the first of August next." He also read the proclamation concerning the sale of rum, which was forbidden, and gave directions "that you may stave the Casks containing such Liquors and likewise make information of the Trader's Names, that they may be prosecuted as the Law directs."

This proclamation of 1748, concerning "bootlegging," was the first official one of the sort ever issued by Pennsylvania in Western Pennsylvania. As such, it has a great interest in present conditions.

The account of George Croghan for the total amount of money due him by the province for buying and taking this present to the Ohio, with an inventory of the goods, is of interest. To transport the goods, Croghan hired two men and twelve horses, and for the "carriage" of them from Philadelphia "to my Place," near Silver's Spring, in the Cumberland Valley, to the Ohio, he charged fifty pounds. The total amount due him for this present of goods, service and transportation was two hundred and twenty-four pounds five shillings. (Colonial Records, V, 294-295).

The author has gone into these preliminary matters relating to the efforts of Pennsylvania to win back the Indians on the Ohio somewhat at length, as an understanding of these matters is neces-

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sary to an understanding of the vitally important events to which they led.

*Logstown on the Ohio—Treaty at Lancaster, 1748*—Logstown, on the Ohio, was, in every respect, the most historic Indian village on the upper Ohio Valley from 1747 until 1754, and, even after that time, it was one of the most historic sites on the Ohio. It bears about the same relation to the development of the Ohio Valley and the relations of the successors of William Penn to the Indians that Shackamaxon bears to the Delaware and Penn's treaties with the Lenape. But, unlike the early history of Shackamaxon, the early history of Logstown is founded upon official documents. The treaties which were held here are recorded in the archives of the State or in the Archives of the French Government of Canada. And yet, historic as this place is, few readers outside of Western Pennsylvania know little about it, or its exact situation.

It is one of the few, if not the only, Indian village of prominence in the province which is known by an English rather than an Indian name. The origin of the name is in doubt. Some writers state that it was due to the log houses which the French built for the Indians, after they came to the Ohio. But, this can hardly be possible because the name is recorded in the Colonial Records and Archives before the year 1749, when the French first came to the upper Ohio. The author thinks that the name is probably a descriptive one, due to the great quantities of logs and other driftwood which were deposited along the shores of the Ohio in that region after a flood in the river. This fact is still true. The author noticed great quantities of logs along the shore of the Ohio near this place last month. The Indians may have gathered up these logs and built huts for themselves, or the early traders may have done so in the building of their trading houses, which we know they had at this place at an early day. Or, there may have been an Indian whose name was translated "the Log," who gave his name to the place, which is frequently referred to as "The Log's Town" in the early records. The author, however, has hunted in vain for an Indian having such a name. The French name for the place was "Chiningue." Father Bonnecamp, who was with Celoron de Bienville in 1749, says, in his journal of this expedition:

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‘We call it Chiningue, from its vicinity to a river of that name’ (referring to the Beaver River).

Logstown was situated on the north bank of the Ohio, on a rich and fertile river terrace, about eighteen miles below the “forks of the Ohio,” where now stands the city of Pittsburgh. The Economite Society settled at this place in 1824, after which it was known as Economy. The entire sweep of the beautiful Ohio Valley at this place is now covered with great steel plants, and the site of Logstown, with the exception of the main buildings of the old Economite Society, is now covered by the large town of Ambridge—this name being a short compound of the name of the American Bridge Company.

During the recent centennial celebration of the Economite Society, a monument was erected at “French Point,” where, under the spreading limbs of a large oak tree, the Economites spent their first night in 1824. May not this old oak tree have been the one near which the first Indian treaty on the Ohio was held by George Croghan and Conrad Weiser in 1748? It was the site where the French held their council with the Indians in 1749, which was the same as that where Weiser had held his council the year before. The huge oak tree must have been a witness of all of these historic gatherings, one of which we know took place under its limbs.

Logstown came into prominence as an Indian village and trading point soon after the migration of the Delaware and Shawnee to Ohio. It attracted, not only the Indians of the upper Ohio Valley, but also of the region westward to the Wyandot and Miami country. The traders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and the French traders from Canada were attracted by the rich trade in furs and peltries which all of these Indians brought to Logstown, which for ten years was the central trading post on the upper Ohio. When George Croghan was there in the early summer of 1748 there were about 1,200 Indians who received presents.

After the conference at Logstown, a number of Indians who had attended it went on to Lancaster for the purpose of paying their respects to and of holding a council with the authorities of the province. On July 14, Weiser wrote to Richard Peters, from Lancaster, informing him that these Indians were on their way from Harris’ Ferry to Lancaster, and that they desired some of the



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members of the Provincial Council to meet them at Lancaster, "they being very weary of their Journey, and almost starved for want of provisions, and that they are affaired that the City of Philadelphia is sikly." The Council had been notified that these Indians were on their way from Logstown and had sent Andrew Montour, whom Weiser had introduced to them as "a Person who might be of Service to the Province in quality of an Indian interpreter & Messenger," to Harris' Ferry to meet them, and if possible, to persuade them to go on to Philadelphia. (Colonial Records, V, 290; Archives of Penna., II, 9).

*The Treaty at Lancaster*—Andrew Montour had met these Indians and had found out that for the reasons stated they would not go to Philadelphia, but desired that the council be held at Lancaster. After much deliberation the Council of the province appointed Thomas Hopkinson, William Logan, Benjamin Shoemaker and Joseph Turner as commissioners to go to Lancaster to treat with these Indians.

On July 16, 1748, the commission and instructions for this delegation were issued. The commission is issued in the name of "George the Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To our Trusty and beloved Shoemaker," etc. (Colonial Records, V, 299). Both the commission and the instructions to it are worthy of reading, as these documents show the different attitude of the Provincial Council to the Shawnee and Iroquois. At every step in the development of the Indian policy at this time, the proud warriors of the Shawnee are dealt with as offenders to be punished, rather than as brave men whose friendship is sought. On the other hand, the Iroquois are always made to feel their importance. Such a method of dealing with the Shawnee was not solving the Indian problem, as the warriors of this tribe were as proud as were the warriors of the Iroquois, but rather complicating it in every way. The Delaware felt that they had been unjustly dealt with and the Shawnee had almost unlimited power with the tribe, so that an alliance of these two strong tribes with each other was made more and more certain.

While these preparations for the treaty at Lancaster were under way, a new complication arose. Governor Palmer received a letter from Governor Glen, of South Carolina, in which he informed



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him of the difficulties which had arisen because of the wars of the northern Indians with those of the South. The Indians which surrounded the frontier settlements of the southern colonies, consisting of the Cherokee, Creek, Catawba and Chockta tribes, had been brought into friendly relations with the white settlers. But the northern Indians, chiefly the Iroquois, were engaged in a relentless warfare with these southern Indians, especially the Cherokee and Catawba. In the forays of the northern Indians not only were the settlers along the trails bothered, but the people living on the southern frontier were involved in the fights and were sometimes carried into captivity by the northern Indians. Such a case had happened on the frontiers of South Carolina, and the Governor was anxious that the raids should stop and the captives be returned. The Governor of South Carolina said: "I must, therefore, earnestly desire that You will strongly recommend it to the several Indians in Amity with your Government not to come to War against them, nor to join the French and their Indians in their Incursions upon these People, as I am informed they have done."

Governor Palmer then issued a letter of additional instructions to Conrad Weiser bearing upon this subject, which he was to bring up for consideration when he should hold the council with the Indians at Logstown. (Colonial Records, V, 304).

On Tuesday, July 19, 1748, the treaty with the Indians was held at the court house at Lancaster. There were present, besides the commissioners appointed by the Governor, Conrad Weiser, who was to act as interpreter for the Six Nations; Andrew Montour, who was to serve in the same capacity for the Shawnee and Miami; the magistrates of Lancaster County, and a number of the inhabitants of the town. Fifty-five Indians, representing the Six Nations, the Shawnee, the Delaware, the Miami and the Nanticoke tribes, were present. Of these eighteen were from the Ohio region. Scarouady, the Iroquois deputy on the Ohio, was to have been present, but was unable to attend on account of a fall. By his request Andrew Montour acted in his place. Montour opened the treaty on the second day of the gathering, with an address in which he outlined the various matters relating to the Miami.

The vital part of the address, and of the Council, had reference to the Shawnee. He said: "Brethren; We beg leave before we conclude to become Intercessors for the Shawonese, who have given

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you just Cause of Complaint. They have told us that the Governor of Pennsylvania sent a Letter some Years ago requiring them to come down, but being conscious that they had acted wrong, they had delayed hitherto to do it, & have taken this opportunity of our coming to make use of us, desiring us to ask that for them which they dare not ask for themselves: that is that they may be again received into favour, they having owned their fault, and given us the strongest assurances of their better behaviour for the future. Forgive us, therefore, if we entreat you wou'd be pleased to drop your resentment, and however they behav'd hitherto, we hope a sense of your goodness will prevail with them to become good & faithful Allies for the future."

At the meeting of the Council and commissioners on July 21, Weiser was sent to have a talk with Scarouady concerning the Shawnee situation. Weiser held this conversation in the presence of Montour. He was told that the Shawnee chiefs on the Ohio confessed their fault in having been led away by Peter Chartier and in listening to the promises and asked to be forgiven and restored to favor. In order to present this plea for the Shawnee, three of their leading chiefs had come to Lancaster, among them Keke-watcheky, the old "King," who had always been friendly to the English. He had formerly lived on the Susquehanna at Wyoming, and had gone westward to the Ohio, where he had been born. Another of the chiefs at Lancaster was Neuchecomno, who had joined Chartier, but who had repented of what he had done, and who had returned to the upper Ohio. Both of these chiefs were men of great reputation and influence among the Shawnee. The French would have been only too glad to have forgiven these two strong men, as representatives of their tribe.

On Friday, July 22, the commissioners delivered their answer to the various "speeches" which had been made by Montour. This answer is full of regard for the Six Nations, and of welcome to the Miami. But, when the request of the Shawnee was taken up, the entire tone of the answer changed. The speaker said: "Brethren: Your intercession for the Shawonese puts us under difficulties. It is at least two years since the Governor of Pennsylvania wrote to Kekewatcheky a Letter wherein he condescended out of regard to him & a few others Shawonese who preserved their fidelity, to offer those who broke the Chain a Pardon on their sub-

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mission on the Return to the Towns they had deserted, and on their coming down to Philadelphia, to evidence in Person the sincerity of their repentance. This they should have immediately complied with, and they wou'd have readily been admitted into favour, but as they did not do it, what can be said for them? You who live amongst them best know their dispositions, and wou'd not, it may be hop'd, become Mediators for them were you not persuaded they wou'd return to their Duty. Some of them it may be allowed are weak People and were perverted from their Duty by the persuasions of others, but this cannot be the Case with Neucheconno & a few more. As, therefore, you have taken upon you the Office of Intercessors, take this string of Wampum & therewith Chastize Neucheconno and his Party in such Terms as shall show a proper Severity with them, tho' the expressions are left at your discretion, and tell them, the delinquent Shawonese, that we will forget what is past and expect a more punctual regard to their Engagements thereafter." Here was delivered a string of wampum.

" 'Tis but Justice to distinguish Good from Bad: Kekewatcheky and his Friends who had virtue enough to resist the many fine Promises made by the Emissaries of the French, will ever be remembered with Gratitude & challenge our best Services. To testify our Regard for these we present them with this Belt of Wampum. And have ordered our Interpreter, who is going to Ohio, to give them a present of Goods." (Colonial Records, V, 314-315).

Thus far nothing had been said to hurt the feelings of the proud and haughty warriors of the Shawnee. They would themselves acknowledge the justice of the rebuke administered to them. In the afternoon, Taming Buck, a Shawnee chief, said that they had been foolish and were fully sorry for what they had done, and then said, as he presented the paper: "We produce to you a Certificate of the renewal of our Friendship in 1739, by the Proprietor and Governor. Be pleased to sign it afresh, that it may appear to the world we are now admitted to your Friendship, & all former Crimes are buried & entirely forgot."

Now was the time for the commissioners to show these warriors that they were forgiven and were received back into the league of friendship which had been made in 1701 and renewed in



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1739. But the commissioners received the deed, but refused to sign it.

The treaty at Lancaster ended on July 25, 1748, when the Indians went back to their villages. The Iroquois were satisfied that everything had "gone their way." The Shawnee felt humiliated and that their mission had been fruitless. They went back to their villages on the Ohio—to wait.

*The Mission of Conrad Weiser to Logstown*—The treaty at Lancaster ended on July 25. Conrad Weiser set out from his home at Womelsdorf, on his mission to the western Indians on August 11. The course followed by Weiser on this trip to the Ohio was that of the Indian trail from the Susquehanna to the Ohio. This pathway of the Red men was that which was followed by the early traders to the villages on the Ohio. Early in the eighteenth century the traders from Lancaster had carried their goods over this winding pathway, through the forest covered mountains, to the Indian villages on the upper Allegheny, the Ohio, the Beaver, the Tuscarawas, the Muskingum and the Scioto rivers, and even to the villages along the lakes. When Conrad Weiser made his journey in 1748, the "Allegheny Road" was a well known pathway to these venturesome rangers of the mountains and forests. But the "backwoods" was an unknown wilderness to the authorities of the province and to the residents of Philadelphia and the cities east of the mountain ridges. The tide of Anglo-Saxon migration was just beginning to sweep across the Susquehanna into the Cumberland Valley, where a few settlements had been made in the region of Carlisle and Shippensburg. The capital of the Commonwealth was simply a crossing place, known as Harris' Ferry.

Conrad Weiser left his home at Womelsdorf on August 11, and reached George Croghan's, at Silver's Spring, five miles south of Harrisburg, on August 12. Here the real journey over the mountains to Logstown commenced. Weiser went from Croghan's over the Frankstown branch of the Allegheny Path. He reached Frankstown on August 20, where he overtook the goods which Croghan was taking to the Ohio. From Croghan's to Frankstown, by the trail, was a distance of one hundred and thirty-two miles. From this place he went to Chartier's Town, on the Allegheny



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River, by way of the trail crossing the Kiskiminetas Creek, near Apollo. The distance from Frankstown, near Hollidaysburg, to Charter's Old Town, was one hundred and eight miles. He reached the latter place on August 25, and left it on the 26th, going the balance of the journey by canoe. "Our Horses being tyred." For the use of this canoe he paid the sum "1,000 Black Wampun." He arrived at Logstown on the evening of the 27th, being received by the Indians with great joy, which was expressed by firing "about One hundred Guns."

On the 29th the Indians set out in three canoes to go to Charter's Town to bring down the goods which Weiser had left there, and also the goods which Croghan was bringing with him. On the same day Andrew Montour and a party of Indians went to Kuskuski, near the mouth of the Mahoning River. Montour returned on the 30th "with a Message from the Indians there to desire of me that the ensuing council be held at their Town. We both lodged at this Town (Logstown) at George Croghan's Trading House."

On the 31st Weiser sent Montour "back to Coscosky (Kuskuski) with a string of wampum to let the Indians there know that it was an act of their own that the ensuing council must be held at Logs Town, they had order'd it so last Spring when George Croghan was up, & at the last Treaty in Lancaster the Shawonese & Twightwees (Miami) have been told so, & they stayed accordingly for that purpose, & both would be offended if the Council was to be held at Coscosky, besides my Instructions binds me to Logs Town, & could not go further without giving offense."

Weiser seems to have had troubles of his own even after reaching the end of his long journey, for the next day, "The Indians in Logs Town having heard of the Message from Coscosky sent for me to know what I was resolv'd to do, and told me that the Indians at Coscosky were no more Chiefs than themselves, & that last Spring they had nothing to eat, & expecting that they would have nothing to eat at our arrival : order'd that the Council should be held here : now their corn is ripe, they want to remove the Council, but they ought to stand by their word: we have kept the Twightwees here & our Brethren the Shawonese from below on that account, as I told them the Message that I had sent by Andrew Montour; they were content."

On September 3 Weiser made history on the Ohio. He says:

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“Set up the Union Flagg on a long Pole. Treated all the Company with a Dram of Rum: the King’s Health was drunk by Indians and White men.” This was the first flag to fly over the waters of the upper Ohio, and at this time was the most westerly point on the Continent where the flag of Great Britain flew. The same flag was taken down in the summer of 1749 by the order of the French commander, Celoron de Bienville, and in its place was put up the flag of France.

A great many Indians arrived at Logstown that evening. Weiser states that there were also about twenty English traders. The celebration was evidently too much for Weiser, as he was sick that night and the next day. On the 5th, Scarouady, the Iriquois deputy on the Ohio, called to see him and to talk over matters relating to the council which was to be held.

While at Logstown Weiser requested of the deputies of all the nations of Indians settled on the waters of the Ohio to give him a list of the number of their fighting men. This was done by each deputy giving him “so many Sticks tied up in a Bundle,” with the following result: “The Senecas, 163; Owendaets (Wyandot), 100; Shawonese, 162; Tisagechroanu (Missisagua), 40; Mohawks, 74; Mohickons, 15; Onondagers, 35; Cajukas, 20; Oneidos, 15; Delawares, 165, in all 789.” It will be noticed that the Shawnee, Seneca and Delaware make up 490 of this total.

The entry in Weiser’s journal for September 10th is of interest. He says: “A great many of the Indians got drunk; one Henry Noland had brought near 30 Gallons of Whiskey to Town. This Day I made a Present to the old Shawonese Chief Cackawatcheky, of a Stroud, a Blanket, a Shirt, a Pair of Stockings & a large twist of Tobacco, & told him that the President & Council of Philadelphia remember’d their Love to him as to their old & true Friend, & wou’d Cloath his Body once more, & wished he might weare them out so as to give them an opportunity to cloath him again. There was a great many Indians present, two of which were the Big Hominy & the Pride, those that went off with Chartier, but protested against his proceedings against our Traders. Catchawatcheky returned thanks & some of the Six Nations did the same, & express’d their Satisfaction to see a true man take Notice of, altho’ he was now grown Childish.” This notice of the Shawnee “King” reveals how old he was at this time.

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Another item of interest in Weiser's journal is that for the day of September 11. "George Croghan & myself staved an 8 Gallon Cag of Liquor belonging to the aforesaid Henry Norland (mentioned before as Noland) who could not be prevail'd upon to hide it in the Woods, but would sell it & get drunk himselfe." This is the first act of legal confiscation of liquor on the upper Ohio.

Weiser became worried because the goods which Croghan was bringing, by his helpers, had not arrived, and on the 12th he sent two Indians and a white man to meet this party, with orders "not to come back before they saw them, or go to Frankstown, where we left the Goods." On the 14th this party returned with the information that they had gone as far as Chartier's Town, but had seen nothing of the goods. On the 16th the goods arrived, the men having been delayed on account of rain and swollen creeks and because they had been obliged to send a sick man back to "the Inhabitants," with another to accompany him.

Continued rain prevented Weiser from holding the general council until the afternoon of the 17th, when Weiser told the assembled Indians of what had taken place at the meeting of the Provincial Council and then presented the goods, saying in part: "Brethren: You have of late settled the River Ohio for the sake of Hunting, & our Traders followed you for the sake of Hunting also. You have invited them yourselves. Your Brethren, the President & Council, desire you will look upon them as your Brothers & see that they have justice done. Some of your Young Men have robbed our Traders, but you will be so honest as to compel them to make Satisfaction. You are now become a People of Note, & are grown very numerous of late Years, & there is no doubt some wise Men among you, it therefore becomes you to Act the part of wise men, and for the future be more regular than You have been for some Years past, when only a few Young Hunters lived here."

When Weiser came to the "Liquor Problem" he said, in part: "You know very well that the Country near the endless Mountain (the Kittatinny ridge) affords strong Liquor, & the moment the Traders buy it they are gone out of the Inhabitants & are travelling to this place without being discover'd: besides this, you never agree about it—one will have it, the other won't (tho' very few) a third says we will have it cheaper; this last we believe is



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spoken from your Hearts (here they Laughed). Your Brethren, therefore have order'd that every—(gallon?) of Whiskey shal be sold to You for 5 Bucks (busk-skins) in your Town, & if a trader offers to sell Whiskey to You and will not let you have it at that Price, you may take it from him & drink it for nothing."

Weiser then divided the "goods" into five shares. A share was given to the Seneca, a share was divided among the Cayuga, the Oneida, the Onondaga and the Mohawk, a share to the Delaware, a share was divided among the Wyandot, the Missisagua and the Mohickon, and a share to the Shawnee. (Weiser's Journal, Colonial Records, V, 348-358).

The Indians present were thankful for the gifts which had been given them by the province, and by Virginia, and promised to remain true in their friendship to their "Brothers." Weiser left Logstown on September 19, "in Rainy Weather," and reached George Croghan's house at Silver Spring, on the 28th. The "Journal" was evidently written at Croghan's, as it is dated, "Pennsbury, Sept. 29th, 1748."

The immediate effect of Weiser's mission to the Ohio was to arouse the French in Canada to the danger which threatened the French claim for the Ohio Valley, and to arouse Virginia to the danger which threatened her claim to this rich and profitable field of trade. The one led directly to the French expedition under Celoron de Bienville, in 1749, and the other to the carrying out of the plans of the "Ohio Company" by Virginia, of building store-houses on the Ohio forts to protect them, and then settling the country.

It seems strange to us, in these days of rapid communication by the telegraph and telephone to realize how rapidly the news of the events of this early period, when it was carried by messengers on foot or horseback, reached distant points. It was not possible for France to make any active movements in the autumn of 1748, as the season was too far advanced, winter was coming on with frozen rivers and lakes, and winter would be followed by the rains of spring, with trail made impossible by mud. But, the plans were made for the expedition which should start as early during the coming year as the weather permitted. And, to the Indian, winter was not the season for war. That was the time for hunting.

The general effect of the treaty at Logstown, so far as the In-



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dian on the Ohio was concerned, was good. But, this good was not lasting. The signing of the "Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship" at Aix-la-Chapelle, filled the forests of Western Pennsylvania with unlicensed rum traders from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The abuse of this trade led directly to all sorts of crimes. Bitter rivalry between these traders of the three colonies became more and more intense. The traders of Pennsylvania did everything possible to prejudice the Indians against the traders of Maryland and Virginia, who carried out the same sort of tactics with the Indians. The result was disastrous to Indian and trader alike.

"The French, on the other hand used the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to their own advantage. With their system of trade thoroughly organized and controlled, they began a careful method of regaining the lost friendship of the Western Indians. No horde of rum traders and Indian debauchees were permitted to follow the regular French traders. (Walton, "Conrad Weiser," 195).

*The French Claim of the Ohio Valley*—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed October 1, 1748, settled nothing so far as the boundaries of the French and British possessions in America were concerned. It normally ended the contest between these two great world powers for supremacy, but it was in reality nothing but a truce, during which both of these nations rested and got ready for the inevitable conflict which loomed in the near future. Even immediately after the signing of this treaty the feeling of hostility along the borders of the disputed territory of France and Great Britain in America grew more and more tense. And, while the treaty officially ended the war, it did not stop the preparations for the conflict which had to come.

The French claims for all of the vast region west of the Alleghany Mountains, drained by the Mississippi River, were based upon the discoveries of Marquette and La Salle and the formal taking possession of these lands for the King of France. In 1682 Robert Cavalier, known in history as Sieur La Salle, made his voyage of discovery down the Mississippi River. On his way down this river he passed the mouth of the Ohio, which he noted as being five hundred leagues in length and which was the roadway of the Iroquois war parties descended to make war on the Indian tribes of the West and South. La Salle reached the mouth of the Mis-

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Mississippi in April, 1682, when he took formal possession of the entire region drained by the river by erecting a column on which was inscribed the Arms of France, with the legend, "Louis the Great King of France and Navarre reigns this month of April 1682." The British Empire, and afterwards the United States of America, always recognized the validity of the French possession of the territory which was later known as Louisiana, but refused to recognize the claim to all of the vast region drained by the Mississippi.

The main facts on which the French claims in America were based are found in the "Memoir of M. De Denonville on the French Limits in North America," done at Versailles, the 8th of March, 1688, and signed by King Louis and Colbert. Archives of Penna. Sec. Series, Vol. VI, 36-45).

It must be remembered that when La Salle took possession of the Mississippi River and its various tributaries, in 1682, that there was not a single settler of either France or Great Britain living in the Ohio Valley, which was to be the battlefield for the impending struggle. William Penn was just commencing his "Holy Experiment" on the shores of the Delaware. The vast territory west of the Susquehanna was a trackless and unknown wilderness, inhabited by nothing but the wild animals and, perhaps, a few bands of roving hunters of the Indians from the scattered villages along the Susquehanna. As has been previously mentioned, the upper Ohio valley had been swept clean of all Indian occupants by the Iroquois warriors.

The migration of the Delaware and Shawnee to the Ohio in the early days of the eighteenth century led to the mission of Conrad Weiser to Logstown, which was followed by the increasing number of English traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Governor Clinton, of New York, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in May 22, 1749, says:

And as we have gained a considerable Influence over these Nations to the Westward, & who before knew little of the English, while the French have at the same time lost theirs. We ought, I think, not to be negligent in using all the means in our power to preserve these advantages which we have got. I shall be well pleased with every information or advice which your Honour shall think proper to give me for this purpose. And as your Traders go among the Indian Nations to the Westward, I do not doubt you will

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take care to employ the means you may have thereby of promoting the British Interest among them, and of defeating the Designs of the French. (Archives of Penna., II, 28-29).

The presence of the ever increasing number of English traders on the upper Ohio alarmed the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain General of New France, as these traders were not only endangering the French claims for the Ohio, but were also cutting into the very heart of the rich trade of Canada with the Indians on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It was not realized by students of this Ohio Indian trade that France was not simply anxious to hold the trade of the Ohio valley, but fully knew that the holding of this trade was necessary for the holding of the trade on the Wabash, the Miami and the Muskingum. As early as 1684 La Salle said: "Almost all of the peltries of the English pass by this lake (Erie), except those which come from the direction of the Illinois, whence the Iroquois bring them by the River Ohio." (Archives of Penna. Second Series, VI. 16).

The establishment of the English on the upper Ohio would be a severe blow at the Indian trade of Canada, as it would draw the Indians to it from the lakes and from the rich fields westward to the Mississippi. It was vital to the Indian trade of Canada to hold the Ohio valley.

With a full realization of this fact the Marquis de la Galissonniere, the Captain-General, or Governor, of New France, made preparations for sending a military expedition to the Ohio for the purpose of taking possession of the river and its various tributaries.

On June 23, 1749, Governor Clinton, of New York, sent a letter to Governor Hamilton, in which he informed him that he had received word from Oswego, by Captain Marshall, that this expedition was on its way to the Ohio River to prevent the English from settling there. Governor Hamilton immediately informed the Pennsylvania traders on the Ohio what they had to expect. George Croghan, in a letter dated July 3, 1749, says, after having heard of the matter:

Last night I Received yr favor by Express from the Governor & after Considering ye Accounts Related By ye two New England Men of ye Frenchs Designe to hinder the English from Makeing a Setlement on Ohio, Must Proceed from an alarm that Mr. Cresap



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& Mr. Parker Spread amongst ye Ingans Last fall that ye Virginians was going to Setle a Branch of ohio Calld Yougagain (Youghioghenny) & that then they wou'd Suply ye Indians with goods Much Cheaper than they Col'd be Suplyd from Pensilvania, Butt to my Certain knowldge that Report had nott its Desired affectt, for Instead of gaining an Interest Amongst ye Indians itt gave them an aversion to Mr Parker, for the Indians Dos nott like to hear of there Lands being Setled over Allegany Mountain, & in particular by ye Virginians, Butt My Opinion is that they will nott Come To Ohio, Butt Rather go by Lake Erie towards Wabauce (Wabash) in order to Secure a very Considerable branch of Trade amongst ye Twightwees (Miami) which has been out of thire hands Some years past and of Considerable advantage to this Province. & itt is well known ye French will Spare no Trouble to advance thire Trade, Nor No people Carries on ye Indians Trade in So Regular a manner as the French. (Archives of Penna., II, 31).

Croghan's letter is of great interest in that it reveals the feeling which existed at this early date between the traders of Pennsylvania and those of Virginia. It also shows that the plans for the Virginia settlement of the Youghioghenny region by the Ohio company were known a year in advance of the exploration of the region by Christopher Gist. Croghan, later on in this letter, says. "I wish with all My hart ye Government of this Province wol'd Take Some Method to Regulate ye Indian Trade, & to prevent Many Disorders which arises from ye Carring of Sperits in ye Indian Cuntrys." The lack of control of this rum trade on the Ohio was the cause of much of the trouble with the Indians.

Croghan was mistaken in attributing the rumors about the French expedition to the Ohio to Cresap and Parker having made statements about the intention of Virginia to settle the region, for early in the summer of 1749 the expedition commanded by Celoron de Bienville floated down the Ohio, formally taking possession of the Ohio territory for King Louis XV of France.

The command of Captain Celoron, "Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis," consisted of two hundred and fifteen French and Canadian soldiers and fifty-five Indians of various tribes. His principal officers were: Monsieur Pierre Claude de Contracoeur, who afterwards commanded at Fort Duquesne; Coulon de Villers, who afterwards commanded the force which defeated Washington at Fort Necessity; and Chalbert Joncaire, who re-



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mained on the Ohio for some time. Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit Priest, accompanied the expedition as its chaplain. His journal is of much value in giving the facts concerned with the happenings which took place.

The expedition left La China on June 15, 1749, and went up the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario. They coasted along the shores of this lake to Fort Niagara, which was reached on July 6. From here they went along the shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of Chautauqua Creek, which they ascended, crossed the portage to Chautauqua Lake, and then went down the Conewango to the site of the present city of Warren, where they reached the Allegheny River on the 29th of July. The first leaden plate was deposited at this place.

The record of the deposition of this plate reads:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, captain commanding a detachment sent by order of the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain-General in Canada, and the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried at the foot of a red oak tree, on the South bank of the River Ohio, and opposite the point of a little island, where the two rivers, Ohio and Kanaougon (Conewango), unite, a leaden plate, with the following inscription engraved thereon:

### INSCRIPTION

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France.

We, Celoron, commanding officer of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain-General of New France, to reestablish peace in some of the Indian villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Rivers Ohio and Kanaouagan, this twenty-ninth day of July, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and all the lands on both sides, up to the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to enjoy, the same, and have maintained themselves there by arms and treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle. We have, moreover, affixed the King's arms at the same place to a tree. In testimony whereof, we have signed and drawn up this present proces verbal.

Done, at the mouth of the Beautiful River, this twenty-ninth July, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.

Signed by all the officers.

(Signed) CELORON.

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These leaden plates were deposited at the mouths of the various tributaries of the Ohio River. The expedition reached Logstown on August 9. Celoron remained here for two days, holding councils with the Indians and ordering the English traders to leave. On the 10th of August he ordered the tearing down of the British flag, which had been placed there the year before by Conrad Weiser, and the putting of the flag of France in its place. Before leaving Logstown, Celoron sent the following letter to Governor Hamilton:

We, Celoron, Captain, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, commanding a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Governor-in-Chief of New France, have on the banks of the Beautiful River, summoned the Englishmen, whom we have found in an Indian town, situated on the bank of the Beautiful River, to retire with all their effects and baggage to New England, on pain of being treated as interlopers and rebels, in case of refusal; to which summons they have answered, that they were going to start for Philadelphia, their country, with all their effects.

Done in our camp, on the Beautiful River, this 10th August, 1749. CELORON.

A Monsr. Hamilton, Gouverneur de Philadelphia, a Philadelphia.

(This letter of Celoron, together with his "Speech" to the Indians at Logstown, is found in the Archives of Penna. Second Series, VI. 66-67).

Governor Hamilton wrote to Governor Clinton, of New York, informing him of the results of a messenger's visit to Logstown (op. cit. 64-65). (Father Bonnecamp's journal of Celoron's expedition is found in the Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXIX, 19-21, 151-199).

The conflicts between France and Great Britain for the possession of the Ohio, together with the rivalry between the traders of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, led the Indians on the Ohio to a condition of disrespect for all law and authority of the white man. They were told by the French that the English were their most bitter foes, and vice versa by the English; they were told that the Virginians were seeking to settle their lands on the Ohio by the rival Pennsylvania traders, and they were told all sorts of tales by the Virginia traders to prejudice them against the Pennsylvania traders and authorities. Such a condition led to acts of lawlessness of every sort. The Indian is hardly to blame for not being

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able to understand the situation. He thought that he was doing a favor to the province of Pennsylvania when he killed a trader from Virginia, and that he was doing something which would please the English when he killed a Frenchman. It was in order to clear up this matter to the mind of the Indian that Governor Hamilton wrote: "I have been informed that some of you said that one of the persons killed was a Virginian, and this would not draw on you the anger of the Government of Pennsylvania, but I must tell you, that to hurt or kill any of the inhabitants of that Province will give us equal concern, equal offense, as if it were one who lived in my Government; we are all one people: there is no difference between us." (Colonial Records, V. 450). The Indians listened to these "proclamations," but paid little attention to them.

*The Organization of the Ohio Company and Its Activities—*As has been noted, the rapidly-growing Indian trade on the Ohio soon attracted the traders from Maryland and Virginia, as well as from Pennsylvania. Hugh Crawford, George Croghan, Conrad Weiser, and others from Pennsylvania had made the trade in furs and peltries with the Indians on the Ohio and its tributaries a most profitable enterprise.

The mission of Conrad Weiser to Logstown in 1748 aroused the authorities and the traders of Virginia to active measures for the possession of the trade on the Ohio in the territory which was claimed by Virginia by the new charter of 1609 and the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744. In order to possess this region by actual settlement, the Ohio Company was organized by John Hanbury, a merchant of London, Thomas Lee, president of the Council of Virginia, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George, and others, chiefly prominent Virginians. The King granted to this company two hundred thousand acres of land on the south side of the Ohio (Allegheny) River, between Kiskiminitas Creek and Buffalo Creek, and between Yellow Creek and Cross Creek, on the north side of the Ohio, or in such other part of the region west of the Alleghany Mountains as the Company might select, upon the condition that the Company settle one hundred families upon this tract within seven years and erect and maintain a fort. When the company had complied with this condition, it was to receive three hundred thousand acres more joining this first grant.



## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

One of the objects which this company had in view was the connection of Virginia and Maryland by way of the Potomac and its branches with the waters of the Monongahela, and thus with the Ohio. Such a route would make the Ohio much more easily reached by Virginia and Maryland than it could be reached from the eastern part of Pennsylvania. The road over the mountains from Old Town, on the Potomac, was laid out by Colonel Thomas Cresap, one of the members of the Ohio Company, and a friendly Delaware named Nemacolin, who lived near the site of the present Brownsville. The course of this trail, which was known as Nemacolin's Trail, ran across the mountains from Wills Creek, at Cumberland, Maryland, to Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, on the Monongahela River. Previous to the laying out of this road, Christopher Gist, as the agent and surveyor of the Ohio Company, was sent out to explore the region west of the mountains and to select the land which was to be included in the Royal Grant to the Company. Gist received his "Instructions" from the committee of the Ohio Company on September 11, 1750, and set out for his journey from the house of Colonel Thomas Cresap, at Old Town, Maryland, on October 31. The course followed by Gist was by way of the "Warrior's Path," along the eastern base of the Great Warrior Mountain to Bloody Run, about eight miles east of the present Bedford. At this place Gist took the Allegheny Path leading directly westward, through Loyalhanning, now Ligonier, to Shannopin's Town, near Pittsburgh. The course of this old Pennsylvania trail is, with some exceptions, the course of the present Lincoln Highway. The author has walked over this trail from Cumberland to Bedford and from Bedford to Pittsburgh.

Gist reached Logstown on Sunday, November 25. In his journal for this date he says:

In the Loggs Town, I found scarce any Body but a Parcel of reprobate Indian Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being out a hunting: here I was informed that George Croghan & Andrew Montour who were sent upon an Embassy from Pennsylvania to the Indians, were passed about a Week before me. The People in this Town began to enquire my Business, and because I did not readily inform them, they began to suspect me, and said, I was come to settle the Indian's Lands and they knew I was come to settle the Indian's Lands and they knew I should never go Home



## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

safe again; I found this Discourse was like to be of ill Consequence to me, so I pretended to speak very slightly of what they had said to me, and enquired for Croghan (who is a meer Idol among his Countrymen the Irish Traders) and Andrew Montour the Interpreter for Pennsylvania, and told them I had a Message to deliver the Indians from the King, by Order of the President of Virginia, & for that Reason wanted to see M. Montour: This made them all pretty easy (being afraid to interrupt the King's Message) and obtained me Quiet and Respect among them, otherwise I doubt not they would have contrived some Evil against me. I immediately wrote to M. Croghan, by one of the Trader's People.

Gist went on down the Ohio and cut across to the Muskingum River. On December 14, he reached Muskingum Town, where George Croghan had a trading house. Gist says in his journal: "The Town of Muskingum consists of about one hundred families. When we came within Sight of the Town, we perceived English Colors hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghan's: upon enquiring the Reason I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Traders, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all White Men to come into this Town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their People to come to a Council about it."

The traders mentioned were captured by orders of Celoron, the commandant at Detroit. They were taken to Detroit and afterwards to Niagara and Quebec. The correspondence between Governor Clinton and Lajonquiere, the Governor of Canada, in reference to these prisoners is given in the Colonial Records, Vol. V, pages 553-558.

Gist met both George Croghan and Andrew Montour at this town. On Christmas Day, 1750, Gist held religious services, which Darlington says "was the first Protestant religious service ever held within the limits of the present State of Ohio." (Gist Journal, 113).

Gist explored all of the territory along the Sciota, the Miami, and returned by a southern route to his home on the Yadkin River in North Carolina on May 18, 1751. He found his home deserted, as his wife and children had been frightened away by the various Indian raids into the region during his absence. They had gone to Roanoke, where he joined them the next day.

## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

After Gist had made his report to the Ohio Company he was instructed, on July 16, 1751, to start on another tour of investigation of the region beyond the Alleghany Mountains. He was especially to "look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road You can find from the Company's Store at Wills Creek to a Landing at Mohongeyela (Monongahela); from thence You are to proceed down the Ohio on the South Side thereof, as low as the Big Conhaway, and up the same as far as You judge proper, and find good Land." (Darlington, Gist, 67).

This tour of Gist's had the most far-reaching results, as the road which was opened to the Monongahela became the route of all of the first military expeditions to the Ohio and became the highway over which Washington and Braddock marched to undying fame. Along its course some of the most historic events in the development of the region west of the mountains took place. Gist was really selecting the ground upon which the conflict between France and Great Britain for the possession of the Ohio was to take place.

Gist set out on this tour of exploration on Monday, November 4, 1751, from the company's store house opposite the mouth of Will's Creek, taking the old trail leading to Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville. He explored the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, a part of West Virginia and Ohio, and returned to Will's Creek on March 29, 1752.

In the meanwhile, all of these activities of the Ohio Company were not without their effect upon the traders and the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. Virginia was becoming more and more active in her efforts to gain the trade on the Ohio and to take actual possession of the rich territory. Something had to be done to hold the friendship of the Indians.

In May 18, 1751, George Croghan and Andrew Montour went to Logstown with the present from the province. They were warmly received by the Indians, Delaware, Iroquois, and Shawnee, who had assembled in great numbers. While Croghan was at Logstown, Jean Coeur, the French interpreter, and one other Frenchman and a party of forty Iroquois from the headwaters of the Ohio arrived. Jean Coeur held a council with the Indians and urged that they turn away the English traders. To this the Indians replied:

## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

You desire we may turn our Brothers the English away, and not to suffer them to come to trade with us again; I now tell you from our Hearts we will not, for we ourselves brought them here to trade with us, and they shall live amongst us as long as one of us is alive. You are always threatening our Brothers what you will do to them, and in particular to that man (pointing to me); now if you have anything to say to our Brothers tell it to him if you be a man, as you Frenchmen always say you are, and the Head of all Nations. Our Brothers are the People we will trade with, and not you. Go and tell your Governor to ask the Onondago Council If I don't speak the minds of all the Six Nations; and then returned the Belt. (Croghan's Journal, Colonial Records, V, 531.)

The speech of the Indians evidently had its effect upon Jean Couer, as he apologized to Croghan for what he had said to the Indians, saying that what he had said was simply carrying out his orders from the Governor of Canada, and that he realized that nothing could be done with the Iroquois "without it could be done by Force, which he said he believed they would find to be as difficult as the method they had just tried, and would meet with the same Success."

The Iroquois claim to the lands on the Ohio is shown in the entry which Croghan makes in his journal for May 26. He says:

A Dunkar from the Colony of Virginia came to the Log's Town and requested Liberty of the Six Nations Chiefs to make on the River Yogh-yo-gaine, a branch of Ohio, to which the Indians made answer that it was not in their Power to dispose of Lands, that he must apply to the Council at Onondago, and further told him that he did not take a right method, for he should be first recommended by their Brother the Governor of Pennsylvania, with whom all Publick Business of that sort must be transacted before he need expect to succeed. (Op. cit., 531.)

Croghan's treaty with the Indians was held on May 28 and 29. This treaty was satisfactory in every way. Croghan had a keen insight into the Indian's character. He knew how to deal with him in order to gain the end he had in view. His address to the Wyandot, which is given as the "speech" of the Honourable James Hamilton, was evidently his own composition. In it he says: "I understand the French, whom the Indians call their Father, won't let you rest in your Towns in Peace, but constantly threaten to cut you off. How comes this? Are you not a free and independent

## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

People, and have you not a Right to live where you please in your own Land, and trade with whom you please? Your Brethren, the English, always considered you as a free Nation, and I think the French who attempt to infringe upon your Liberties should be opposed by one and all the Indians or any other Nation that should undertake such unjust proceedings." All of Croghan's "speeches" to the various tribes represented at this treaty flattered them for the independence, and urged them to remain faithful to the English interest. The replies of the various chiefs to Croghan's "speeches" were all most friendly.

The reply of the Iroquois Chief, Toanohiso, is worthy of notice, in that it contains the first mention of the building of a fort on the Ohio for the protection of the Indians. He says:

Brother: we have discharged the French from amongst us: and told them that they should not build upon our Land. Now, Brothers, we have been considering what the French mean by their Behaviour, and we believe they want to cheat us out of our Country, but we will stop them, and Brother You must help us. We expect that You our Brother will build a Strong House on the River Ohio, that if we should be obliged to engage in a War that we should have a Place to secure our Wives and Children, likewise to secure our Brothers who come to trade with us, for without our Brothers supply us with Goods we cannot live. Now Brothers, we will take two Months to consider and choose out a Place fit for this Purpose, and then we will send You word. We hope Brothers as soon as you receive our Message you will order such a House to be built. (Col. Rec., V, 538-539.)

After Croghan and Montour returned from the treaty at Logstown to Croghan's home at Silver's Spring, he sent an account of all that had taken place at the treaty to the Governor and recommended the work which Montour had done and asked that he be recompensed for his services. Montour was paid eighty pounds for what he had done and was given permission to take up a place for himself beyond the Kittattinny Mountains, where he could prevent squatters from settling on the unpurchased Indian lands. He was also granted permission to act as the interpreter for Virginia at the proposed treaty which was to be held at Logstown. This treaty was brought about by the suggestion of the members of the Ohio Company.



## THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

In May, 1752, the commissioners of Virginia, consisting of Colonel Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax and James Patton, together with Christopher Gist, as the representative of the Ohio Company, met at Logstown and held a council with the Indians. The chief purpose of this council was to settle matters relating to the treaty at Lancaster in 1744, by which the Iroquois deeded to Virginia the lands under dispute "to the setting sun." Weiser had been appealed to and had said that this expression meant to the summit of the Alleghany Mountains. At the treaty at Logstown the Iroquois chiefs gave a reluctant promise that they would not molest any settlements which might be made to the west of the Laurel Mountains and south of the Ohio River.

Christopher Gist made the first actual settlement, on the grant of the Ohio Company, in 1752, at the place which became known as "Gist's Plantation," at the present Mount Braddock, Fayette County. This was the first settlement made by the English west of the Alleghany Mountains. It was on the trail running from Will's Creek to Redstone Old Fort, and was also on the Catawba trail, which ran southward into the Carolinas. The land selected by Gist shows that he "had a good eye for good land," and that Washington later made no mistake when he made Gist his agent to locate his various tracts of land in southwest Pennsylvania.







Bowne



Sutton



Quimby  
(Quinby)

to 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859,

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#### FIELD.

*Arms*—Sable, a chevron engrailed between three garbs argent.

*Crest*—A dexter arm rising out of clouds fesseways proper, habited gules, holding in the hand, also proper, a sphere or.

#### CARPENTER.

*Arms*—Or, an eagle displayed sable.

*Crest*—A dexter arm embowed in armour holding in the hand proper a hammer or.

#### CLAPP.

*Arms*—Vaire, gules and argent, a quarter azure charged with the sun or.

*Crest*—A pike naiant proper.

#### BOWNE.

*Arms*—Azure, on a bend argent cotised or, between six lions rampant gold, three escallops gules.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet gules a cup, argent, between two elephants' tusks or.

#### SUTTON.

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant double queued vert.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet a demi-lion double queued vert.

#### QUINBY (QUIMBY).

*Arms*—Per fesse indented argent and sable, three bears passant muzzled counter-changed.

*Motto*—*Virtus et robur.* (Virtue and Strength.)

# Field and Allied Families

BY E. C. FINLEY, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

*Field Arms*—Sable, a chevron engrailed between three garbs argent.

*Crest*—A dexter arm rising out of clouds fesseways proper, habited gules, holding in the hand, also proper, a sphere or.



LIST of family names splendid in English and American History unrolls as one reads down the page recording the achievements of the Field family and its alliances. The story begins in 1240, at Sowerby, Yorkshire, England, according to an early record. Originally spelled "Feld," by devious spellings it became the present "Field."

A famous descendant of Roger del Feld (see I below) was John Field the distinguished astronomer of East Ardsley (1525-1578) whose line is traced through Roger's son Thomas, brother of the Richard through whom the line traced below descends. In honor of his achievements John Field had "confirmed" to him the arms described herewith which are also recorded by Burke for Field of Ardestow, County York, of Ulceby Grange, near Hull; of Horton, Sheply and Ardsley, County York; in England; and of Bayside and Flushing, New York, U. S. A.

(I) Roger del Feld was born about 1240 in Sowerby, Yorkshire, England.

(II) Richard del Feld, son of Roger del Feld, was born about 1276.

(III) Adam del Feld, son of Richard del Feld, born 1299, died 1349-1350.

(IV) Thomas del Feld, son of Adam del Feld, who was born in 1329, married Matilda, surname unknown.

(V) Richard del Feld, son of Thomas and Matilda del Feld, died at Sowerby about 1454.

(VI) John del Feld, son of Richard del Feld, died at Sowerby between 1450 and 1468.

(VII) Christopher del Feld, son of John del Feld.

(VIII) John Field, son of Christopher del Feld, was dead in 1520.

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(IX) Christopher Field, son of John Field, died in 1554. In 1540, at Sowerby, he married Grace Gradeheighe, apparently of Halifax Parish, which includes Sowerby. Their children, according to baptisms registered in the Halifax Parish records, were: 1. Edward, baptized 1541; married Isabella Greenwood. 2. Johanna, baptized 1543. 3. Alice, baptized 1544. 4. Grace, baptized 1545. 5. Elizabeth, named in her father's deed, 1554. 6. John, baptized and buried, 1547. 7. William, of whom further.

(X) William Field, son of Christopher and Grace (Gradeheighe) Field, was baptized at Halifax, England, 1548. He moved to Southowram about 1593, and shortly afterward purchased in Northowram the home of his wife's family, where he lived the remainder of his life. He died at Northowram, Yorkshire, and his will was proved November 10, 1619. That of his wife was proved May 14, 1623.

In Halifax Church, on June 1, 1591, he married Susan Midgeley, daughter of John Midgeley, of Northowram. Their children, except the first two, were born in Northowram, and all were baptized in Halifax: 1. William, baptized August 8, 1592; married Susanna Longbothome. 2. Alice, baptized August 8, 1593; married, November 11, 1611, Robert Rawson. 3. Jane, baptized November 23, 1595; married, June 10, 1622, John Mitchell. 4. George, baptized August 20, 1598; was named in wills of both father and mother. 5. Susan, baptized March 15, 1601; married, in 1628, Samuel Holdsworth. 6. Robert, baptized August 29, 1602, died young. 7. Joseph, baptized June 19, 1603; married, in 1624, Elizabeth Nicholson. 8. Robert, of whom further. 9. Isabel, baptized March 26, 1609; named in both wills.

(XI) Robert Field, son of William and Susan (Midgeley) Field, was baptized in Halifax Parish, March 9, 1605. He died in Flushing, Long Island, before 1673. Robert Field emigrated, probably chiefly on account of ecclesiastical oppression, to Rhode Island. The first record of him is his admission as inhabitant of the town of Newport, May 20, 1638. In August of that same year he received a grant of land there, and December 19, 1639, was made a freeman of Newport. From 1641 to 1644 his name is absent from the records, and he is reported as arriving then with his family from England. Though not mentioned in the Rhode Island records, he

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

probably came in the same ship as Roger Williams, then returned to America for the second time and landed at Boston that year. Robert Field was one of the sixteen persons to whom Governor William Kieft granted a patent for the town of Flushing, Long Island, October 19, 1645, and he settled in the part now called Bay-side.

The chief genealogists of the Field family, Osgood Field and Frederick C. Pierce, differ as to Robert's marriage. At any rate, it was through his wife, Elizabeth (Taylor) Field, probably a native of Rhode Island, that the line descended. Ruth Fairbank, of Hipperholme, according to Pierce, was his first wife, married in 1624, and Charity, surname unknown, his third, who survived as his widow in 1673. The list of his children follows: 1. John, baptized in Halifax, England, December 25, 1625. 2. Robert, born probably in 1636, in Rhode Island; married Susanna, surname unknown. 3. Anthony, of whom further. 4. Benjamin, born 1640, died 1734 in Flushing; married Sarah, surname unknown. 5. Hannah, married, May 7, 1656, John Bowne, a Quaker. 6. Elizabeth, married, as second wife, Captain John Underhill.

(XII) Anthony Field, son of Robert and (according to Pierce) Elizabeth (Taylor) Field, was born, probably in Rhode Island, in 1638. He received a house lot at Flushing in February, 1653 or 1654, where he settled. From 1675 to 1683 he is recorded as one of the taxpayers of Flushing. He is last mentioned as being given a patent of confirmation of the grant of town land, March 23, 1683. He is spoken of in the marriage entry of his son Benjamin in 1691 as deceased.

He married Susannah, surname unknown, who was living November 30, 1691. Their children were born at Flushing, Long Island: 1. John, born in 1659; married Margaret, surname unknown. 2. Benjamin, of whom further.

(XIII) Benjamin Field, son of Anthony and Susannah Field, was born at Flushing, Long Island, in 1663. He died there December 1, 1732. He married (first) November 30, 1691, Hannah Bowne, born April 2, 1665, died December 30, 1707, daughter of John and Hannah (Feake) Bowne, of Flushing. (See Bowne III.) He married (second), February 23, 1709, Elizabeth Feake, of Matinecock, who died in 1724. He married (third), April 13, 1727, a widow,



## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

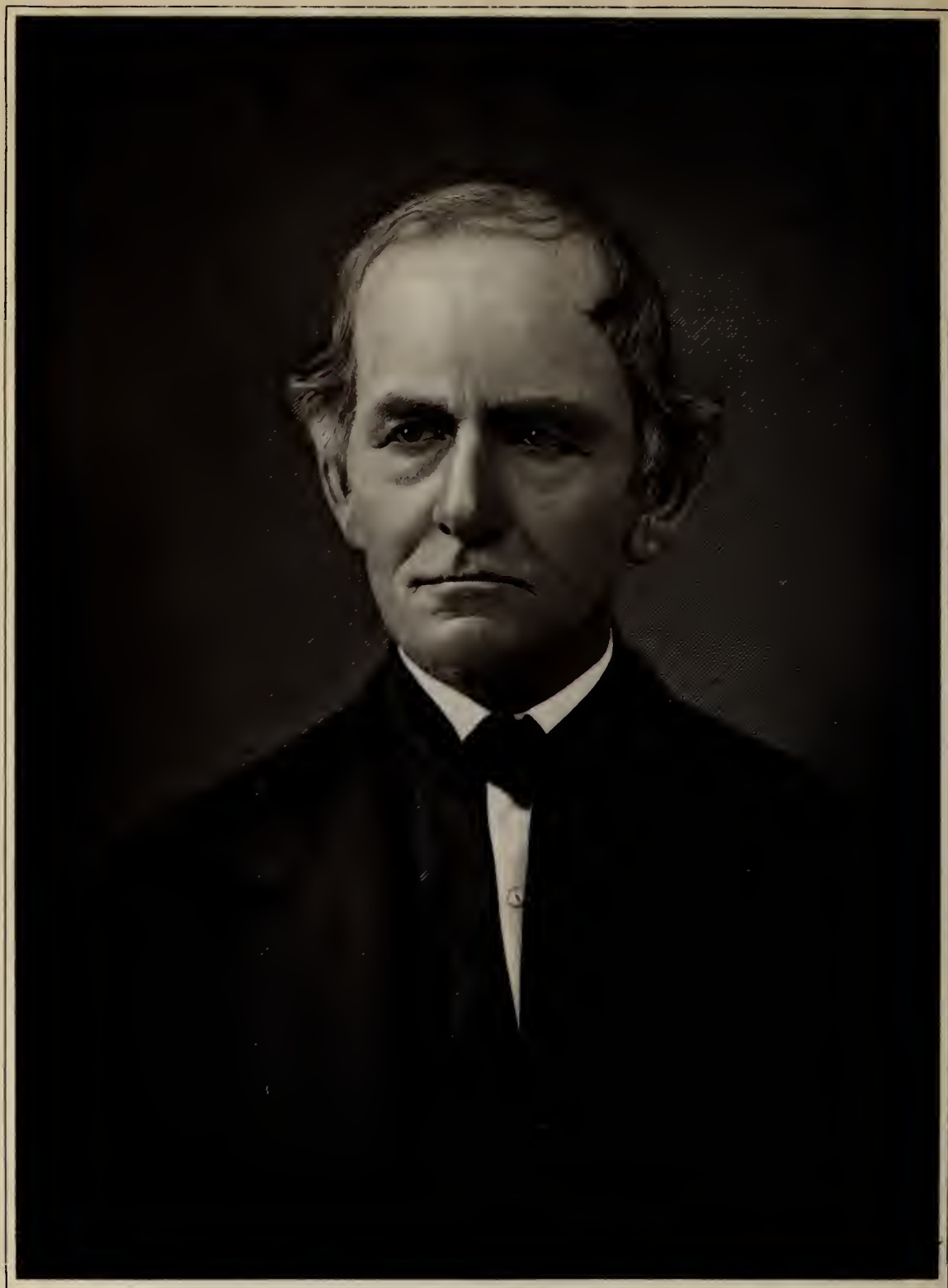
Sarah Taylor, whose will was proved March 20, 1734. The children, all by the first marriage, were born in Flushing: 1. Benjamin, born in 1692 or 1693; married Sarah Taylor, February 13, 1727. 2. John, born January 13, 1694; married Elizabeth Woolsey. 3. Samuel, born October 10, 1696; married Mary Palmer. 4. Anthony, born July 28, 1698; married Hannah Burling. 5. Hannah, born July 20, 1700, died November 21, 1721; married Thomas Haviland. 6. Joseph, born June 12, 1702; married Molly Denton. 7. Sarah, born August 17, 1704, died 1724; married James Clements. 8. Robert, of whom further.

(XIV) Robert Field, son of Benjamin and Hannah (Bowne) Field, was born in Flushing, September 7, 1707, and died in Harrison, February 2, 1737 or 1738. He moved, with his older brother, Anthony Field, to Westchester County, New York, in 1725. They went to Harrison, sometimes called Harrison's Purchase, or Purchase, until 1695 part of the town of Rye. He married (first), November 12, 1729, Rebecca Burling, daughter of Ebenezer Burling, of Long Island, and she died February 2, 1736. He married (second), Abigail Sutton, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Sands) Sutton. (See Sutton III.) Robert Field's children were: 1. Sarah, married, August 18, 1756, Isaac Underhill, at Harrison. 2. Uriah, of whom further. 3. Jerusha, married Stephen Field, October 15, 1760; she died in 1792.

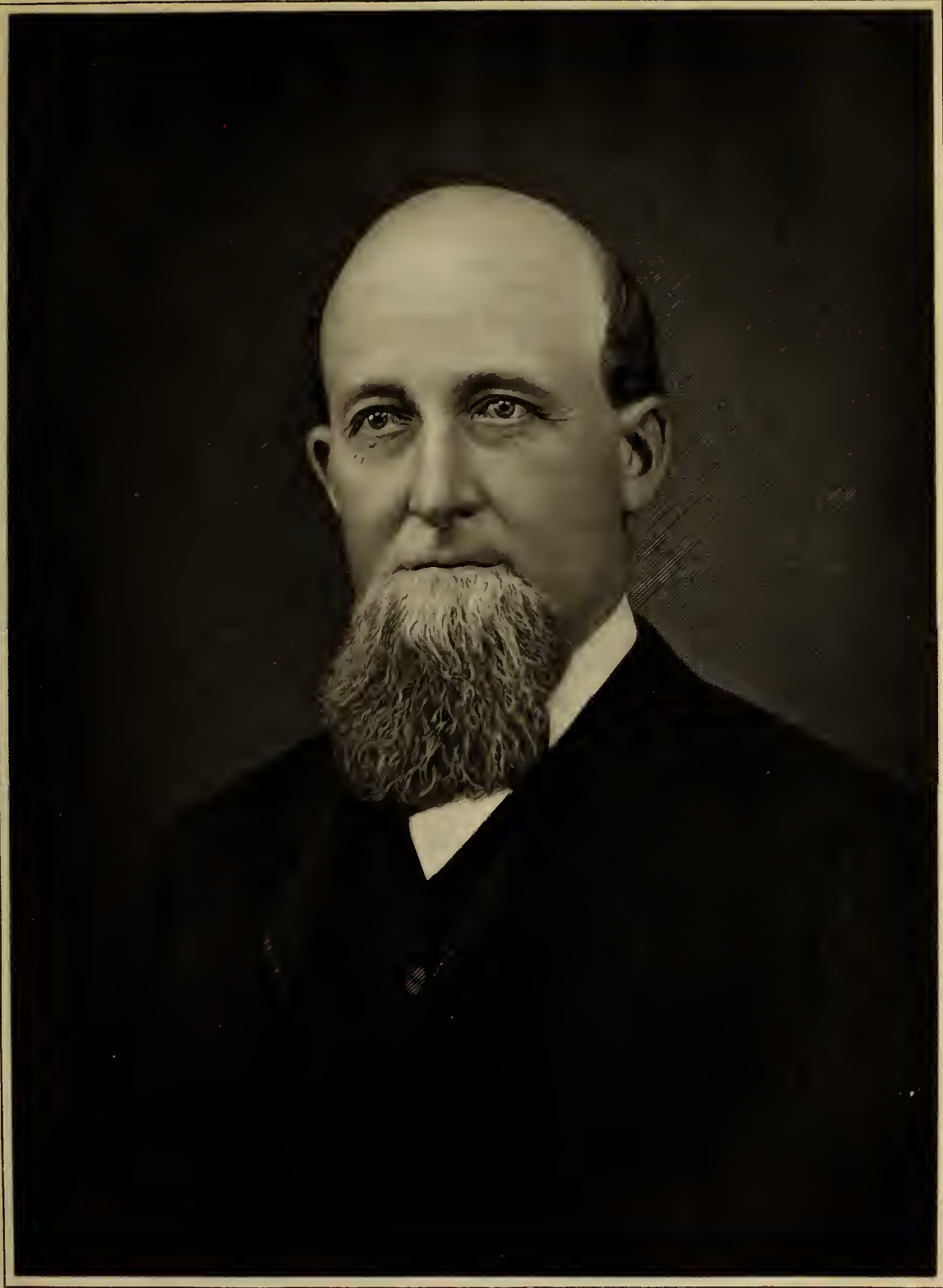
(XV) Uriah Field, son of Robert and Abigail (Sutton) Field, was born at Harrison, New York, 1737 or 1738. He died on King Street, Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1814. Except for yearly journeys to Vermont, Uriah Field lived on his homestead just over the Connecticut line from Harrison. On January 18, 1764, he married Mary Quinby, (Quimby), daughter of Aaron and Elizabeth (Cornell-Palmer) Quinby. (See Quinby-Quimby IX.) Their children were: 1. Aaron, born 1764; married Jane Haviland. 2. Abigail, born 1766; married Richard Mott. 3. Robert, born 1769; married Hannah Wood. 4. Elizabeth, born 1771; married John Carpenter. 5. Josiah, born 1774; married Hannah Griffin. 6. Hannah, born 1778. 7. Isaiah. 8. James, of whom further. 9. Sarah, born 1782. 10. Mary, born 1785. 11. Anne, born 1789.

(XVI) James Field, son of Uriah and Mary (Quinby or Quimby) Field, was born in Connecticut, in 1780, and died in 1865, living and dying on the homestead farm in Greenwich. He was





*William C. Field*



Chas J C Field





## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

very industrious and prospered largely. With the marriage of his sons he gave each a farm in the immediate vicinity, leaving the homestead to the youngest. He married, November 20, 1805, Phebe Carpenter, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Clapp) Carpenter. (See Carpenter VII.) Their children, born in Greenwich, Connecticut, were: 1. Thomas C.; married Esther Haviland. 2. Jane; married Allen Sutton. 3. Joseph; married Mary Hatfield. 4. Edmond; married Hannah L. Haight. 5. William C., of whom further. 6. Mary. 7. Sarah. 8. James, Jr.; married Elizabeth Harbough. 9. Elias H.; married Sarah Hunt, and lived on the homestead.

(XVII) William C. Field, son of James and Phebe (Carpenter) Field, was born in Greenwich, March 4, 1815, and died December 10, 1897. Educated in the local schools, and entering on farm activities on the home place, he became one of the most sincerely respected members of the community, universally known and as universally esteemed. While he never took an official part in public life, he was looked upon as one of the leading citizens of this section, and his example has been of more than passing significance to the young men who have followed after him. Upon his marriage Mr. Field removed to a farm midway between his former home and that of his bride, and there their felicitous married life was spent. Mr. Field's career was one of honorable and useful activities, and in his death the people lost a worthy neighbor and valued friend.

William C. Field married, November 20, 1840, Mary Barnes, daughter of Stephen and Hannah Barnes, who died May 8, 1888, leaving four children: 1. Stephen B., died June 30, 1917, in England. 2. William H., of whom further. 3. Hannah B., who died in Harrison, New York, July 17, 1917. 4. Phoebe A., still living at the homestead.

(XVIII) William H. Field, son of William C. and Mary (Barnes) Field, was born near Harrison, New York, and died on Upper King Street, Harrison, July 2, 1916. He married Mary Carpenter. Their children were: 1. George. 2. Harriet.

(The Carpenter Line).

*Arms*—Or, an eagle displayed sable.

*Crest*—A dexter arm embowed in armour holding in the hand proper a hammer or.

The family name, Carpenter, is derived from the occupation of carpenter, or worker in wood. Richardus Carpentarius is in

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the Hundred Rolls of Cambridgeshire, 1273, and John le Carpenter in the Placita de Quo Warrants of Bedfordshire, 1294. The above arms are taken from Burke's General Armory, without designation of locality.

(I) William Carpenter was son and heir of Richard Carpenter, of Amesbury, Wiltshire, England, who was buried September 21, 1625. William Carpenter came to Massachusetts by way of the port of Dartmouth in Devonshire, sailing, probably with his wife's father, William Arnold, May 1, 1636, and arriving at Hingham, June 24, 1636. He reached Providence, Rhode Island, April 20, 1637. The first mention of William Carpenter at Providence is in the "Initial Deed" from Roger Williams, delivered October 8, 1638. William Carpenter was one of the founders of the "First Baptist Church in America," constituted at Providence between August 3, 1638, and March 16, 1639. For a short time William Carpenter lived on the home lot on "Towne Streete," now Main Street, Providence, then he settled, with William Arnold, on lands at "Pawtuxet," now Cranston, which were allotted them. Almost from the beginning of his life in the New World, William Carpenter entered into public service. He was elected to the General Court on March 10, 1658, and re-elected for the following five years. From 1665 to 1672 he was assistant, and in 1679, deputy. He suffered severely during King Philip's War, when a band of three hundred Indians on January 27, 1676, despoiled him of two hundred sheep, fifty head of cattle, fifteen horses, and wounded (or killed) two members of his household. Probably the last of his many public services was performed on April 25, 1683, when he, as the "last survivor of the thirteen Proprietors," gave deeds to the heirs of his fellow proprietors for lands which had hitherto been held by the proprietors as joint owners. William Carpenter died September 7, 1685. His wife outlived him, being mentioned in his will and left to the care of two of his sons. Her brother, Benedict Arnold, was Governor of Rhode Island from 1663 until his death in 1678.

A short time before leaving England for America, William Carpenter had married Elizabeth Arnold, daughter of William and Christiana (Peak) Arnold. Elizabeth Arnold was born at Cheselbourne, Dorsetshire, November 24, 1611. The date of her death

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

is unknown. Their children, except the first two were born at Pawtuxet: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Lydia, born at Providence, Rhode Island, about 1638. 3. Ephraim, born at Pawtuxet about 1640. 4. Timothy, born about 1643. 5. William, born about 1645. 6. Priscilla, born about 1648. 7. Silas, born in 1650. 8. Benjamin, born about 1653.

(II) Joseph Carpenter, oldest son of William and Elizabeth (Arnold) Carpenter, was born at Amesbury, Wiltshire, England, about 1635. He died at Oyster Bay, Long Island, late in 1683, his will being administered July 9, 1684. The first mention found of him at Providence is dated May 3, 1656, when he was witness to a deed from his uncle, Stephen Arnold, to his father. According to the town records, he was an inhabitant of Warwick, Rhode Island, with a corn mill and a dwelling house on the south side of the Pawtuxet River. Here he seems to have remained until 1667, though in 1663 he was negotiating with the Indians on Long Island for the purchase of land at Oyster Bay. On May 24, 1668, the Indians sold Joseph Carpenter about 3000 acres at Musketa Cove, and he had obtained from Governor Nicolls permission to occupy the land, November 5, 1667. The house he built there in 1668 sheltered the family for several generations and was occupied until 1835. In 1677 all titles obtained from the Indians at Oyster Bay and Musketa Cove were patented by Governor Edmond Andros. Joseph Carpenter was a carpenter by trade, and he greatly prospered, with his saw mill, grist mill, and fulling mill. Musketa Cove is now Glen Cove, Long Island.

On April 21, 1659, Joseph Carpenter married (first) Hannah Carpenter, daughter of William Carpenter, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, born at Weymouth, Massachusetts, February 3, 1640, died at Musketa Cove in 1673. He married (second), in 1674, Anna Weekes, daughter of Francis and Elizabeth (Luther) Weekes, who settled at Hempstead, Long Island, in 1657, and later at Oyster Bay, coming there from Providence. His children were: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Daughter, born 1662; married William Thorncraft. 3. Jamsen, born 1664; married John Williams, about 1682. 4. William, born at Pawtuxet, Rhode Island, 1666, died in New York about 1735. 5. Nathaniel, born at Musketa Cove, 1668; married Tamar Coles, daughter of Robert Coles. 6. Hannah, born



## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1672 or 1673; in 1690 married Jacob Hicks. By his second marriage his children were: 7. Ann, born 1676; married Joseph Weeks. 8. Benjamin, born 1680; married, in 1704, Mercy Coles, daughter of Robert Coles. 9. John, born 1683; married, June 12, 1713, Martha Feake, daughter of John Feake.

(III) Joseph Carpenter, oldest son of Joseph and Hannah (Carpenter) Carpenter, was born at Pawtuxet, Rhode Island, in 1660, and died at Musketa Cove between September 9, 1687 and 1690. He married Anna Thornycraft, daughter (probably) of Thomas Thornycraft. His children, born at Musketa Cove, Long Island, were: 1. Joseph, born October 16, 1685, died June 3, 1776; married Ann Willett. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

(IV) Thomas Carpenter, son of Joseph and Anna (Thornycraft) Carpenter, was born at Musketa Cove, August 15, 1687, and died at Rye, Westchester County, New York, September, 1766. He sold his property at Musketa Cove, May 1, 1728, and soon thereafter settled at Rye. Thomas Carpenter was a Quaker. He married, October 14, 1708, Hannah Alsop, daughter of Thomas and Hannah (Underhill) Alsop, born January 8, 1691, who died probably before 1743. Their children were born at Musketa Cove: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Hannah, born about 1713; married, November 17, 1742, Solomon Haviland. 3. Martha, born about 1715; married Thomas Park, of Rye. 4. Stephen, born about 1720, died 1753, in New York City. 5. Freelove, born about 1723; married Thomas Marsh. 6. Isaac, born June 4, 1726, died May 21, 1778; married Martha Hunt.

(V) Thomas Carpenter, son of Thomas and Hannah (Alsop) Carpenter, was born at Musketa Cove, June 25, 1710, died about 1784, as his will was proved August 24, 1784. He was a Quaker, and a prosperous farmer of Harrison's Purchase, Westchester County, where he bought several tracts of land in 1739. He married Martha Clement, daughter of James and Sarah Clement, of Westbury. Their children were born at Harrison's Purchase, New York: Phoebe, born March 24, 1741, died December, 1806; married John Haviland. 2. Jane, died young. 3. Charles, died young. 4. Sarah, married, June 12, 1767, Thomas Vail, Jr., of Salem, New York. 5. Joseph, of whom further.

(VI) Joseph Carpenter, son of Thomas and Martha (Clem-

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ent) Carpenter, was born at Harrison's Purchase (Rye) New York, August 3, 1745, and died there June 12, 1812. It is written of him:

He was a man of sound mind and judgment, kind hearted and benevolent, a prominent man in the County, and although a Friend, he was an earnest supporter of the patriot cause.

He had a large and productive farm at Harrison's Purchase, which was organized as the independent township, Harrison, March 7, 1788. On December 14, 1768, he married Mary Clapp, daughter of John and Alice (Allen) Clapp, of Greenwich, Connecticut, who was born February 2 (or 3), 1750. (See Clapp VI). Their children were born at Harrison's Purchase, New York: 1. John, born May 24, 1770, died September 18, 1851; married, in 1795, Mary Field. 2. William, born July 7, 1772, died September 26, 1847, in Rye; married twice. 3. Thomas C., born November 18, 1774, died December 23, 1893; married twice. 4. Martha, born October 18, 1780; married John Scheneman. 5. Charles, born February 8, 1783; married, September 15, 1813, Phebe Cromwell. 6. Phebe, of whom further. 7. Joseph, born March 10, 1788, died November 11, 1860; married Elizabeth Tabor. 8. Sarah, born February 4, 1790, died June 10, 1869, unmarried. 9. Mary, born November 13, 1795, died July 27, 1872; married John Sands.

(VII) Phebe Carpenter, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Clapp) Carpenter, was born at Harrison's Purchase, New York, January 15, 1785, and died at Greenwich, Connecticut, March 1, 1839. On November 20, 1805, she married James Field, son of Uriah and Mary (Quinby or Quimby) Field. (See Field XVI.)

(The Clapp Line).

*Arms*—Vaire, gules and argent, a quarter azure charged with the sun or.  
*Crest*—A pike naiant proper.

The family name, Clapp, is derived from a Danish name, Clapa. Osgood Clapa was a Danish noble at the court of Canute. Agnes and Henry Clapp are in the Hundred Rolls of Oxfordshire, A. D. 1273.

(I) George Gilson Clapp was born in England, and was educated for the profession of medicine. He possessed an ardent thirst for original knowledge and visited most of the countries of Europe, extending his travels through Palestine and some parts of the Turkish Empire. He visited the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem,

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

crossed the Black Sea, the Dead Sea, and the Red Sea, travelled in Egypt, and after spending twenty years and a large fortune in travel, returned to England and began to practise medicine, in London. When the Great Plague broke out, he removed to America in 1666 or 1667. After spending two years in South Carolina, he went to New York and settled in Westchester County. Nothing is known of his family except that he had a son, John, of whom further.

(II) John Clapp, son of George Gilson Clapp, was born and probably married before his father settled in New York. He died in Westchester, New York, and left a son, John, of whom further.

(III) John Clapp, son of John Clapp and wife, of Westchester, was born either in England or in the Carolinas, and died in Westchester County, probably at Northcastle. He married, in Westchester, where he spent his life. His children were: 1. Henry. 2. Gilson. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Elias.

(IV) John Clapp, son of John Clapp and his wife, was born probably at Northcastle, New York, and died in Westchester, May 10, 1730. He was probably a Quaker, as all branches of his descendants were Friends. He lived near his father, and from 1707 to 1711 was clerk of Westchester County. In 1713 he married Eliza Douglas Quimby (The Quimby Genealogical History says, Dorcas Quimby), who was born September 9, 1690. Their children were born in Westchester County. 1. John, of whom further. 2. James, born in 1715, a sailor going back and forth to the West Indies. 3. Silas, born February 27, 1717, died March 19, 1777; married Mary Greene. 4. Phebe, born January 1, 1719; married Edward Hallock.

(V) John Clapp, son of John and Eliza Douglas (Quimby) Clapp, was born in Westchester County, New York, in 1714. He died in Greenwich, Connecticut, May 6, 1778. He had moved there about 1735 and purchased a large estate, on which he built his house. Among other Quaker farmers, he received a grant of land in New Connecticut, Ohio, from the United States government in compensation for farm lands damaged by the Revolutionary War. On August 27, 1735, he married Alice Allen, of Long Island, who was born in 1711 and died January 3, 1787. Their children were born in Greenwich, Connecticut: 1. John, born August 1, 1736, died November 14, 1760. 2. Dorcas, born June 27, 1738; married

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(first) William Sutton; (second) Francis Nash. 3. James, born May 15, 1740, died March 12, 1756. 4. Silas, born February 22, 1742, died November 12, 1760. 5. Thomas, born October 6, 1744, died March 1, 1828; married Elizabeth Vail, in 1779. 6. William, born October 10, 1746, died February 22, 1748. 7. Jesse, born April 1, 1748, died September 18, 1751. 8. Mary, of whom further.

(VI) Mary Clapp, daughter of John and Alice (Allen) Clapp, was born in Greenwich, Connecticut, February 2 (or 3), 1750, and died at Harrison's Purchase, Westchester County. She married, December 14, 1768, Joseph Carpenter. (See Carpenter VI.)

(The Bowne Line).

*Arms*—Azure, on a bend argent cotised or, between six lions rampant gold, three escallops gules.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet gules a cup, argent, between two elephants' tusks or.

According to Bardsley, Bowne is variously spelled from very early times as Boun, Bohun, Bowen, etc. Therefore the arms above have been taken from Burke as listed for the family of Bohun, from Derbyshire, rather than various other arms for Bowne, not located in that county.

The founder of the Bowne family and his son were Quakers. That meant religious persecution both in England and in the New World, and the Puritans in New England and the Dutch of New Netherlands were harsher than the orthodox churchgoers of England.

(1) In the year 1649 Thomas Bowne, born at Matlock, Derbyshire, England, in the fifth month, 1595, and baptized the following 25th day, arrived in Massachusetts Bay. Shortly afterward he settled in Flushing, Long Island, then belonging to the Dutch Government. He died September 18, 1677, leaving behind him three children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Dorothy, born August 14, 1631, moved to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1649. 3. Truth, who remained in England.

(II) John Bowne, only son of Thomas Bowne, was born in Matlock, March 9, 1627, and died in Flushing, Long Island, December 20, 1695. He had returned to England after his first visit to America with his father, but settled in Flushing, and in 1661 built the "Bowne House," which was used as a meeting place for Friends for nearly forty years. For breaking the Dutch law by harboring any religious gatherings other than those of the Dutch Reformed



## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Church, John Bowne was arrested and imprisoned at Fort Amsterdam. Later tried and sentenced a fine of £25 Flemish and the costs of this trial, and warned against further law-breaking of this same nature, John Bowne preferred imprisonment in a dungeon to freedom under these conditions. Finally he was sent to Holland as prisoner, was at last released, and returned to America by way of England and the Barbadoes. He reached Flushing, March 30, 1663. At about that time the directors of the West India Company sent to the officials of New Netherland a document proclaiming religious liberty. Persecution of Quakers practically ceased.

On August 7, 1656, John Bowne married (first) Hannah Feake, daughter of Lieutenant Robert Feake, who died February 2, 1678, in London, England, and Elizabeth (Fones) Feake. Hannah Bowne was a minister among the Friends, and her husband joined her in her religious service in 1676. They had eight children: 1. John, born March 13, 1657, died August 30, 1673. 2. Elizabeth, born October 8, 1658, died February 14, 1722; married Samuel Titus. 3. Mary, born January 6, 1661. 4. Abigail, born February 5, 1663, died May 14, 1703; married, March 25, 1686, Richard Willets, of Jericho, Long Island. 5. Hannah, of whom further. 6. Samuel, born September 21, 1667, died May 30, 1745. 7. Dorothy, born March 29, 1669, died November 26, 1790; married, May 27, 1689, Henry Franklyn, son of Matthew Franklyn, of Flushing. 8. Martha Johannah, born August 17, 1673, died August 11, 1750; married, November 9, 1695, Joseph Thorne, son of John Thorne. On February 2, 1680, John Bowne married (second) Hannah Bickerstaff, who died June 7, 1690. Their children were: 9. Sarah, born December 14, 1680, died May 18, 1681. 10. Sarah, born February 17, 1682. 11. John, born September 10, 1683, died October 25, 1683. 12. Thomas, born November 26, 1684, died December 17, 1684. 13. John, born September 9, 1686; married, July 21, 1714, Elizabeth Lawrence, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Townley) Lawrence. 14. Abigail, born July 5, 1688, died July 13, 1688. On June 26, 1693, John Bowne married (third) Mary Cock, daughter of James and Sarah Cock, of Matinecock, Long Island, who bore him two children: 15. Amy, born April 1, 1694. 16. Ruth, born January 30, 1696.

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(III) Hannah Bowne, daughter of John and Hannah (Feake) Bowne, was born in Flushing, Long Island, April 2, 1665, died December 30, 1707. She married Benjamin Field, son of Anthony Field. (See Field XIII.)

(The Sutton Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant double queued vert.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet a demi-lion double queued vert.

The surname Sutton is from a Sutton parish, of which there are some sixty in England. The following family is evidently from Sutton in Lincolnshire, with the arms described above, according to Burke's General Armory, which designates those arms for the Suttons of Lincoln County. Saer de Sutton is listed on the Hundred Rolls of Yorkshire, and Geoffrey de Suttone in those of Huntingdonshire, A. D. 1273.

(I) Joseph Sutton, of Sutton, Lincolnshire, England, moved to Massachusetts, and in 1660 purchased land in Southold, Long Island, but sold it the same year. He probably returned to Massachusetts, though the record of the move has not been found.

(II) Joseph Sutton, believed to be the son of Joseph Sutton, of Lincolnshire, was born in 1685 or 1690, and died at Port Chester, New York, 1765 or 1770. He came from Massachusetts to Long Island and went from there to Port Chester, in Westchester County, New York. Joseph and Thomas Sutton, of Hempstead, bought land in Rye in 1718. In April, 1738, Joseph Sutton married Mary Sands, and their children were: 1. Joseph, of North Castle, died at eighty years of age; he married Deborah Haight. 2. Caleb, died at seventy years of age; married Abby Pell. 3. James, of Croton Valley, married Elizabeth Brown. 4. William, also of Croton, died at eighty; married Dorcas Clapp. 5. Richardson, of Croton, was born July 11, 1732, and died in 1775; married Elizabeth Quimby, daughter of Moses Quimby, born February 28, 1736. 6. Abigail (Abby), of whom further. 7. Mary, married Samuel Palmer. 8. Sophia. 9. Jerusha, married Benjamin Field.

(III) Abigail Sutton, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Sands) Sutton, was born at Portchester, and died at Harrison, Westchester County, New York. She married, as second wife, Robert Field. (See Field XIV.)

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Quinby—Quimby Line).

*Quinby, Quinbury, Quynborow, Quimby Arms*—Per fesse indented argent and sable, three bears passant muzzled counterchanged.

*Motto*—*Virtus et robur.* (Virtue and strength).

The surname Quimby (Quinby), according to H. C. Quinby, the genealogist, is from Quenburgh, or Quenebia, two hamlets mentioned in Domesday Book, A. D. 1086, now respectively Queniborough and Quenby, near Hungarton, in Leicestershire, England. The will of John de Quenby, A. D. 1394, is among Yorkshire wills, but Ralph de Quenburgh was Lord of the Manor of Quenby from 1189 to 1204, and the surname of Robert, Lord of Quenby Manor in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is recorded as de Quenbury, Queniboro, Quenibury, and de Quenby indifferently. In 1324 John de Quynbergh was on record in County Norfolk, and Osciline de Quinbergh and his wife Elizabeth in 1331. The coat-of-arms of this family is as above. One Henry Quynby, a man of wealth and importance at Farnham in Surrey, was in a chancery suit from 1486 to 1493. It is this family that is considered by Quinby to be the ancestors of the American Quinbys and Quimbys.

(1) Henry Quinby, gentleman, resident of Farnham, was born as early as 1470. He was a property owner there and elsewhere in the neighborhood. He married (first) Florence Balch, daughter of Richard Balch, gentleman, of Farnham, and died in 1495. He married a second time Agnes, surname unknown, whom he left a widow. By Agnes he left a son John, of whom further.

(II) John Quinby, son of Henry and Agnes Quinby, was born in Surrey about 1495, and died in 1557. His will was proved November 12, 1557. He was a man of means, and a devout churchman, leaving considerable sums to the church and the parish poor. He mentions in his will "my brother-in-law," Nicholas Turner, and his wife, Jane (presumably) Turner. Their children, born, probably, in Farnham, Surrey, were: 1. Robert, born about 1520, became bailiff of Farnham. 2. John, born about 1521; was a merchant in Spain. 3. Anthony, born about 1530; became in 1551 Fellow of New College, Oxford. 4. Thomas, of whom further. 5. Catherine, married, before 1556. 6. Elizabeth, married, April 29, 1554, William Mollynos. 7. Audrey, mentioned in the will of her brother John.

(III). Thomas Quinby, son of John and Jane (Turner) Quin-

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

by, was born about 1530. The only record is a bequest in his father's will dated August 30, 1557, "to my son Thomas 40 shillings and my daughter his wife 40 shillings."

(IV) ————— (Quinby), son of Thomas Quinby.

(V) William Quinby, son of the Quinby of the fourth generation for whom there is no name on record, and probably grandson of Thomas Quinby and his wife, born about 1590 or 1600. He died in Westchester, New York, and is last recorded there in public documents in 1665. He came with his family to Massachusetts about 1638, landing probably at Salem, but moving on with a large group to Connecticut. With his sons, he appears among the first seventeen families at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1639, coming by way of Wethersfield, Connecticut. His home lot is shown on the map of Stratford, 1639. He sold his lands, April 1, 1657, and shortly after moved with his son, John, to Westchester, New York, where they became members of the first Congregational Church. The first mention of them on Westchester records is in 1662. William Quinby was married in England, and his children, so far as known, were: 1. Robert, born in England, about 1625; ancestor of the New England Quimbys. 2. Thomas, who had his father's home lot at Stratford, Connecticut. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Ann, married, November 28, 1657, George Stukey.

(VI) John Quinby, son of William Quinby and his wife, born in England, died in Westchester, New York. With his father at first at Stratford, Connecticut, he moved to Westchester County about 1660. John Quinby was one of the six magistrates appointed by Governor Stuyvesant in 1662. With Edward Jessup he represented Westchester, in 1665, at the first New York Assembly, convened at Hempstead by Governor Richard Nicolls, March 1, 1665. Governor Nicolls executed a patent of Westchester, dated February 13, 1667, to John Quinby and four others, and after the Dutch occupation in 1673, the patent was confirmed by Governor Dongan, January 6, 1686. John Quinby was a member of the First Congregational Church of Westchester. He married, in Connecticut, Deborah Haight, about 1650. Their children, born in Stratford and Westchester, were: 1. John, Jr., born 1651; married, in 1680, Annah Kierstadt, daughter of Hance and Sarah Kierstadt. 2. Deborah, born April 20, 1654 or 1659. 3. Charles, who died at West-



## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

chester before 1705. 4. Josiah, of whom further. 5. Mary. 6. David. 7. Elizabeth, married Erasmus Alton, before 1698.

(VII) Josiah Quinby, son of John and Deborah (Haight) Quinby, was born at Westchester, New York, probably about 1663, and died near Northcastle, Westchester County, in 1728. In 1720, he bought Great Neck, three hundred and twenty acres, now part of Mamaroneck; and later he bought about sixteen thousand acres including the present towns of Newcastle and Northcastle, then called East Patent, Middle Patent, and West Patent. He became a member of the Quaker Church established at Great Neck in 1686. He and his family visited England. He married, August 7 (or 17), 1686, Mary Molyneux, the daughter of a neighbor, who died in June, 1728. Their children, of whom the last nine, born at Northcastle, New York, were: 1. Dorcas, born November 9, 1690; married (first) John Clapp, Jr.; (second) John Griffin. 2. Josiah, born May 30, 1692; married Hannah Cornell, of Scarsdale. 3. Jonathan (twin), born April 18, 1695; went to New Jersey. 4. James (twin), born April 18, 1695; married and lived at Salem, Westchester County. 5. Samuel, born July 2, 1697, at Northcastle. 6. Son, born April 3, died April 18, 1699. 7. Ephraim, born April 7, 1700, died in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, before 1739. 8. Aaron, of whom further. 9. Moses, born January 12, 1704, died in 1786; married Jean Pelham, daughter of Francis Pelham. 10. Martha, born April 14, 1706; married John Hallock. 11. Daniel, born March 14, 1709; married (first) Mary Thorne; (second) Sarah Wooster. 12. Phebe, born May 3, 1711; married Jacob Hunt, August 10, 1738. 13. Isaiah, born June 11, 1716, died in Salisbury, Pennsylvania, June 6, 1807. He married three times.

(VIII) Aaron Quinby, son of Josiah and Mary (Molyneux) Quinby, was born in Westchester County, December 30, 1702. His parents deeded to him, September 13, 1727, for £153, five parcels of land in Westchester County, and he bought, June 29, 1741, another parcel of fifty-nine acres. On April 17, 1740, he married Elizabeth (Cornell) Palmer, who was born May 20, 1720, and died in 1795. She was the widow of Aaron Palmer. Their children were born in Westchester County: 1. Josiah, born January 8, 1743, died September 6, 1818, unmarried. 2. Mary, of whom further. 3. September 6, 1818, unmarried. 2. Mary, of whom further. 3. Han-

## FIELD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

nah, born February 26, 1746; married Caleb Pell, of Eastchester, New York. 4. Aaron, born June 1, 1747, died without issue after 1797. 5. Moses, born August 11, 1749, died in Westchester, 1795; married Bathsheba Pell, in 1772. 6. James, born December 12, 1751, died young. 7. Elizabeth, born September 29, 1753; married, in 1775, Matthew Bowne, son of Samuel Bowne. 8. Phoebe, born April 3, 1757, died young. 9. James, born May 19, 1759, died in 1799; married (first), in 1783, Anne Underhill; married (second), in 1795, Hannah Underhill. 10. Phoebe, born February 6, 1761; married, in 1783, Solomon Barton, of Great Nine Partners, New York.

(IX) Mary Quinby (Quimby), daughter of Aaron and Elizabeth (Cornell-Palmer) Quinby, was born August 24, 1745. She married, January 18, 1764, Uriah Field, son of Robert and Abigail (Sutton) Field. (See Field XV.)

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## Reuben Aldridge Guild, A. M., LL. D.

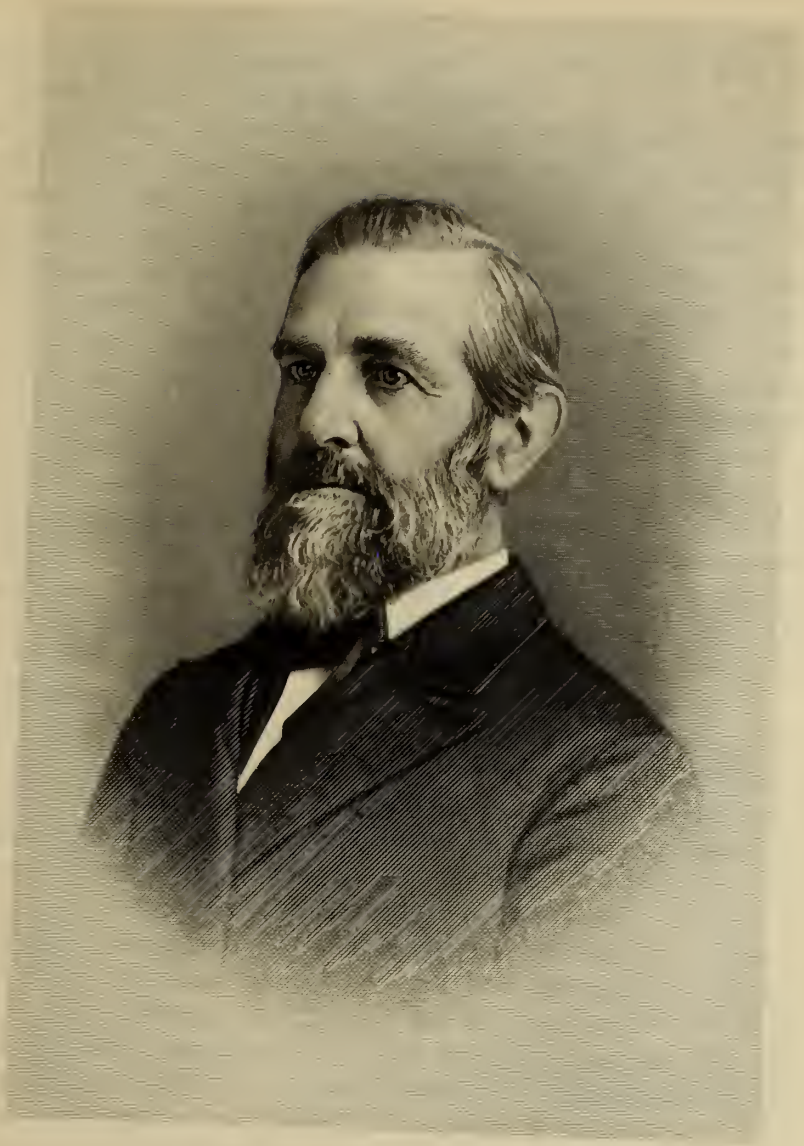
BY WALTER C. ROBERTS, WINDSOR, NEW YORK



REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, A. M., LL. D., of Providence, Rhode Island, was born May 4, 1822, at West Dedham, now Westwood, Massachusetts, the son of Reuben and Olive (Morse) Guild. He was a descendant in the seventh generation from John Guild, who came to America in 1636, and was one of the original proprietors of Dedham, from whom his descent is through Samuel Guild (1647-1730) and Mary (Woodcock) Guild; Ensign Nathaniel Guild (1678-1774), and Mehitabel Guild; Major Aaron Guild (1728-1818), prominent and active through the Revolution, serving both in the field and in the council at home, and his second wife, Annah (Coney) Guild; Joel Guild (1765-1842) and Hannah (Weatherbee) Guild; and Reuben Guild (1793-1882) and Olive (Morse) Guild.

Reuben Aldridge Guild was prepared for college at Day's Academy in Wrentham, Massachusetts, and at what is now the Worcester Academy, teaching some himself during his preparatory course. He was graduated from Brown University; A. B. in 1847. After this event he was assistant librarian of Brown University from September, 1847, until March, 1848, when he became librarian, a relation which he sustained until 1893, a continuous service of forty-six years, excepting a few days at the death of his son in 1876, and a short period in the autumn of 1877, when he visited England and Scotland, examining the great libraries of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambridge and London, and attending the International Conference of Librarians, held in London. From 1893 until the time of his death he was librarian *emeritus*.

Dr. Guild was instrumental, in connection with the late General Charles B. Norton, in calling the first librarians' convention ever known to be held in the world's history. It met in New York in September, 1853. He was one of a committee of three to memorialize Congress to prepare under the Smithsonian Institute a Librarian's Manual. The practical outcome of the convention was the



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publication of his "Librarian's Manual" in 1858, which has long been regarded as a "bibliographical classic."

Dr. Guild was a member of the Common Council of Providence for seven years, and of the school committee for fifteen years, serving most of the time as secretary. He was secretary of the Brown University Alumni Association for twelve years. He was president and essayist of the Rhode Island Baptist Sunday School Convention for seventeen years; secretary of the Rhode Island Baptist Educational Society from 1850 to 1855. He was a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, of the Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association, of the American Antiquarian Society, honorary member of the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, of the Old Colony Historical Society, of the Library Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society, and held membership and office in many other organizations. In 1862 he was chairman of the Committee of Relief in Providence, which expended about \$400,000 in aiding families of volunteer soldiers. He devised all the details of the system followed by this committee.

Dr. Guild was secretary of the preliminary meetings held in Providence in 1871-72 for the establishment of a free public library. For some time before his death he was one of the board of managers of the Old Men's Home, to which he was a frequent visitor, giving comfort and cheer to the inmates. He was for many years an active Mason, being a member of What Cheer Lodge and of St. John's Commandery of Providence, serving for a time as chaplain. He was the first editor of "The Freemason's Repository," and his Masonic writings place him in the list of distinguished Masonic historians. He was a member of the American Library Association from its first meeting in Philadelphia in 1876, when he was chosen one of the three original secretaries. He attended the first International Conference of Librarians in London, in 1877, serving on the council. He was also elected honorary member of the Library Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Later he was made non-resident lecturer of the Library School. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the advisory council of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition on a Congress of Librarians, ranking as an honorary and corresponding member of the Auxiliary.

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At the Denver conference of the American Library Association, in 1895, he was elected to honorary membership by virtue of a vote carried electing to such membership all surviving members of the famous library convention of 1853. A few days before his death he received the following telegram from Atlanta, Georgia, dated May 10, 1899: "The American Library Association, in conference at Atlanta, sends grateful remembrances to an honored pioneer," a fitting recognition of his life's interest in library work.

Dr. Guild received the degree of Master of Arts in course. In 1874 Shurtleff College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Dr. Guild published much in the form of addresses, sketches, essays and reports, both separately and as contributions to periodicals. In the Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1896, thirty-three titles are given. His most important books were "Librarian's Manual," 1858; "Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning, and the Early History of Brown University," 1864; "History of Brown University, with Illustrative Documents," 1867; "Early History of Brown University," 1897. This last work he dedicated to the Alumni of Brown University. He wrote for the Providence "Journal" the Necrology of Brown University for 1891-92.

Of distinguished ancestry, both Colonial and Revolutionary, Dr. Guild had not a little in which he took a natural pride. He was present at the first meeting called for the purpose of organizing a chapter of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution in Rhode Island, on February 1, 1890, and became a charter member. He showed the great interest which he felt in the society by the carefully prepared memorials of departed compatriots which he contributed to its annals. He entered the society through his great-grandfather, Major Aaron Guild, who was prominent in the Revolution, both as a member of the Committee of Safety and as a military officer. It is worthy of mention that Major Guild was one of the first to take up arms, leaving his plow in the furrow at the first alarm, and hastening to Lexington, where he arrived in season to take an active part in the famous pursuit of the British forces. A memorial boulder has been dedicated to his memory at South Dedham, now Norwood, commemorating this event.

Major Aaron Guild also had a notable Colonial record, serving as ensign in the French and Indian War, 1758-59, during the

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reduction of Canada. In 1766 he was second lieutenant in the Suffolk County Militia and captain of the same in 1771. Also major in the standing militia of the Province of Massachusetts, 1775.

Dr. Guild's other paternal great-grandfather, Benjamin Weatherbee, and his maternal great-grandfathers, Silas Morse and Ebenezer Pettee, each served in the Revolutionary army.

The earlier generations of the name of Guild were also prominent in Colonial history. Samuel Guild (2), son of John Guild (1), was a soldier in King Philip's War, 1675-76, and was credited with military service at Woodcock's Garrison, September, 1675; lieutenant at Dedham in November, 1696, and captain in 1700. He was representative for Dedham to the Massachusetts General Court, 1719. Nathaniel Guild (3), his son, was commissioned ensign by Governor Belcher in Captain Eben Woodward's Second Foot Company, October 10, 1736.

Woodcock's Garrison, noted above, was a strategic point in the Indian warfare of 1676. It was a rendezvous for the Massachusetts soldiers passing to and from Rhode Island, and was located at Ten Mile River in Rehoboth, in that section now a part of the town of Attleboro. It received its name from John Woodcock, the keeper, whose daughter, Mary, had married Samuel Guild. John Woodcock, a stalwart settler and soldier, was deputy for Rehoboth to the Plymouth Colony Court in 1691.

Through Annah Coney, the second wife of Major Aaron Guild, Dr. Guild was a lineal descendant of Isaac Allerton, of the "Mayflower," and of his daughter, Remember Allerton, who also came in the "Mayflower." Isaac Allerton, the fifth signer of the Mayflower Compact, November 11-21, 1620, was a man of standing in the community. He was one of the three upon whom the privilege of citizenship was conferred by the city of Leyden, Holland, on February 5, 1614. With Captain Myles Standish, he was a messenger for Plymouth Colony to King Massasoit, March 23, 1621, concluding a treaty of peace which held good for over fifty years. He also held numerous offices of distinction in the Colonial Government, being assistant to the Governor for five years, and agent to England for the Colony, making five voyages between 1626 and 1631. He was one of the eight "Undertakers" who purchased the Colony's trade rights from the London "Adventurers" in 1627, and after his removal to New Amsterdam he became a member of



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the Representative Body of Nieuw Nederland, known as the "Eight Men," 1643. He died in New Haven, Connecticut, before February 22, 1659.

Dr. Guild was also descended from John Coney, of Boston, member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1662, and ensign, June 11, 1680.

Of Dr. Guild's maternal ancestry much can likewise be said. Through his mother, Olive (Morse) Guild, he claimed as Colonial progenitors Captain Ezra Morse and his son, Captain Joseph Morse, officers of the Dedham militia. The latter served in the French and Indian War, 1754 to 1763.

Through his maternal grandmother, Irene Pettee, Dr. Guild traced descent from the famous Fisher family of Dedham, of which the most noted members at this period were the Daniel Fishers, father and son. Daniel Fisher, Sr., was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1640, ensign and captain of the Dedham militia, serving in King Philip's War, deputy for Dedham to the Massachusetts General Court twenty-three years, between 1658 and 1682, commissioner for Suffolk County, speaker of the House of Deputies three years, and Governor's assistant in 1683, dying in office.

Daniel Fisher, Jr., was a volunteer in King Philip's War, 1676, captain of militia at Dedham, 1699 to 1713, serving during Queen Anne's War, and representative for Dedham to the Massachusetts General Court for nine years, between 1699 and 1713. Of him the familiar story has been told that he led Sir Edmund Andros through the streets of Boston by the collar of his coat, April 19, 1689, while the people cried out, "Behold a second Daniel."

Thomas Fuller, of Dedham, ensign 1672 to 1689, lieutenant, 1690, deputy three years, and member of the Council for Safety for the People, May, 1689, together with Robert Tucker, who was deputy for Gloucester and Milton five years, between 1652 and 1681, were also among the maternal ancestors of Dr. Guild.

It may be noticed in passing that Dr. Guild had a keen interest in the ancestry of his wife, who was a direct descendant of seven of the "Mayflower" pilgrims: Captain Myles Standish, John Alden and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, William Mullins and wife Alice, and Stephen Hopkins with his daughter Constance. Mrs. Guild also claimed descent from the Quincy family of Boston, the

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Winslow family of Marshfield, the Carpenters of Rehoboth, and from many other families honorably mentioned in the early Colonial annals. Amongst her most illustrious ancestors were William Hutchinson and his wife, Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson, a pioneer thinker among women, both of whom were prominent in the early religious controversies. Disfranchised by the General Court of Massachusetts in November, 1637, William Hutchinson was banished with his wife and others from the Colony for embracing the tenets of the Rev. Mr. Wheelwright. Removing to Rhode Island in 1638, he became one of the eighteen original proprietors of Aquidneck, who settled Pocasset (later Portsmouth), on March 7, of that year. He was judge of Aquidneck, 1639-40, when the title was changed to governor.

His son, Captain Edward Hutchinson, also went with his parents to Rhode Island, and was reckoned among the eighteen original proprietors of Aquidneck. He soon, however, returned to Boston, where he became a noted military leader and a deputy to the Massachusetts General Court, obtaining distinction by his effective protest against the persecution of the Quakers.

The parents of Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson were Rev. Francis and Bridget (Dryden) Marbury, the latter the sister of Sir Erastus Dryden, Bart., who was grandfather to the poet, Dryden.

Among others deserving of special notice were Anthony Thacher, of Yarmouth, and Colonel John Thacher, his son. The former was wrecked on Thacher's Woe, August 15, 1635, this event being chronicled by Longfellow in his "Swan Song of Parson Avery." Colonel John Thacher had a most distinguished career in the history of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies as a deputy representative, member of the Council of War, assistant, councillor, justice and military officer. His first wife was Rebecca Winslow, niece of Governor Edward Winslow, of Plymouth.

Of the Quincy family it may be said that Colonel Edmund Quincy (2) was its most noteworthy representative. His military career extended over a period of many years to 1694, when he was Colonel of the Suffolk County Regiment, and he saw service in the various Colonial wars, from King Philip's War in 1676 to the Expedition to Canada, in 1690. He was a member of the Council for the Safety of the People, May, 1689. This formed the provisional government of the Colony, after the overthrow of Andros,

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until the new charter of William and Mary arrived. The grave of Colonel Edmund Quincy was marked by a granite stone, in which the inscription and Quincy coat-of-arms were inserted, cut in lead. But in the Revolutionary War the lead was taken to run into bullets. President John Adams afterwards identified the monument.

As has thus been shown, Dr. Guild and his wife both came from sturdy New England stock. It is no wonder, therefore, that they possessed in a remarkable degree high standards of living and an unswerving fidelity to principle, which characterized their thought and action. Of them may it truly be said that they were "firm in their own beliefs, but not uncharitable towards others, never failing in their devotion to duty."

Dr. Guild was reared a Unitarian. He was baptized April 5, 1840, and received as a member of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, Boston. In 1840 he left mercantile life, in which he had entered as a clerk, and began his studies with the ministry in view. In 1850 he transferred his membership to the First Baptist Church of Providence. In November, 1855, he became a constituent member of the Brown Street Baptist Church, which in April, 1878, united with the Third Baptist Church to form the Union Baptist Church. In September, 1893, he returned to the First Baptist Church. He was active in the work of the church, and for many years in the Sunday school. He had a simple, firm religious faith, which fortified and comforted him in life, gave him a mission of blessing to others, and strengthened him to meet the final hour.

Dr. Guild was justly proud of the library which had grown under his devoted care from a small collection of books into large dimensions, with increasing hopes for the future. In 1848 the library numbered less than 20,000 volumes; in 1893, 80,000. He loved the college, he believed in it, he loved his colleagues in the faculty, and the undergraduates who daily resorted to him for advice or a word of encouragement. It was to Brown University that he gave his life, and a more devoted servant it never had. Whether as the historian of his *alma mater*, the custodian of her books, the secretary of her alumni organization, or the editor of her general catalogue, he was always ready to speak in her praise, and to spend and be spent in her service. During the forty-six years that he was actively connected with the library he was seldom absent from his post, and was always ready to extend a hearty greeting to the



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returning alumni, who through all these years made the library their first objective point for that greeting. Few men in the history of Brown University have served it so long, so faithfully, so loyally, so usefully, as he.

Dr. Guild married, December 17, 1849, at Providence, Jane Clifford Hunt, of Providence, daughter of Samuel and Nancy (Lincoln) Hunt, who survived him. She was born January 11, 1828, in Providence, and died March 27, 1916, in the same city. Dr. Guild died May 13, 1899, at his home in Providence, aged seventy-seven years and nine days. (Nec. Brown University, 1899; Proceedings of Antiquarian Society; Guild Genealogy.) Dr. and Mrs. Guild were the parents of six children, four of whom survived him. Children: 1. Jenny Clifford, of whom further. 2. Georgianna, born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 24, 1852. 3. Olive Lincoln, born in Taunton, Massachusetts, July 12, 1856. 4. Samuel Aldridge, born in Providence, Rhode Island, September 11, 1858, died in same city, February 28, 1876. 5. Charles Hunt, born in Providence, Rhode Island, September 13, 1860, died in same city, February 26, 1865. 6. Reuben Lawrence, born in Providence, Rhode Island, February 8, 1864; married, December 17, 1896, in Providence, Nancy Jane Darling, born October 16, 1866, in Providence, daughter of John Weeden and Italy Eveline (Rogers) Darling; they were the parents of one child, Lawrence Clifford, born in Providence, June 24, 1910, died in same city, April 10, 1911.

Jenny Clifford Guild, born November 26, 1850, in Providence, Rhode Island; married, September 30, 1874, in Providence, George Henry Coffin, of Newton Centre, Massachusetts, born April 29, 1851, in South Boston, Massachusetts, son of Zebulon Erastus and Mary Elizabeth (Hanson) Coffin; he is a graduate of Brown University, class of 1874, receiving at that time the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts. In 1903 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the Boston University. Five children were born to Dr. and Mrs. Coffin: 1. Mabel Lincoln, born August 20, 1875, in Newton Centre, died July 22, 1876, in Middleboro. 2. Howard Aldridge, born June 11, 1877, in Middleboro; graduate of Brown University, class of 1901; he was for a time connected with the Detroit Pressed Steel Company, of Michigan; was formerly a director of the Detroit Board of Commerce, and president of the Detroit Rotary Club, a member of the Council for the De-



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troit Boy Scouts and a director of the Young Men's Christian Association; he served on the executive committee of both Liberty Loan campaigns during the World War, and was sales manager of the \$800,000 fund of the Young Men's Christian Association; he is sergeant in the Michigan State troops; he was for a number of years assistant president of the Cadillac Motor Car Company of Detroit; he married, October 4, 1904, in Providence, Abbie Sweetland Ghodey, born March 26, 1879, in Providence, daughter of John Diedrich and Caroline Allen (Scott) Ghodey; she is a graduate of Brown University, class of 1902; they are the parents of four children: Richard Guild, born at Cynwyd, Pennsylvania, February 3, 1906; Carolyn, born in Flushing, New York, December 11, 1909; Dean Fiske, born in Flushing, New York, January 26, 1911; Gail, born in Detroit, Michigan, December 27, 1916; Mr. and Mrs. Coffin are members of the Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, of which he is deacon. 3. James Hanson, born in Hamilton, New York, August 6, 1881, died in Providence, Rhode Island, May 14, 1884. 4. Bertha Guild, born in Providence, Rhode Island, June 29, 1883; a graduate of Brown University, class of 1908; married, November 6, 1914, in Northboro, Ralph Murch Kaulback, of Malden, Massachusetts, son of Winfield Scott and Betsey Turner (Murch) Kaulback; four children were born to them: Richard Herbert, born in Malden, October 9, 1915; Shirley and Helen, twins, born in Malden, February 23, 1917; Hazen Murch, born in Malden, August 15, 1918. 5. Herbert Rice, born in Newton Centre, Massachusetts, October 12, 1887; a member of Brown University, class of 1910; married, September 25, 1916, in Lewiston, Maine, Ruth Mildred Morey, born September 11, 1892, in Lewiston, daughter of Frank Andrew and Maud Mildred (Douglass) Morey; she is a graduate of Bates College, class of 1914; they are the parents of one child, Frank Morey, born in Lewiston, Maine, July 11, 1919.





THAYER

# The Thayer Family

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



THE family name Tayer, Thayer, Theyer, etc., according to evidence from English parish registers, is a variation of tawyer, a dresser of leather. Ralph le Tayere is on the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire, A. D. 1273. The arms previously blazoned are those recorded by Matthews for Thayer families in this country.

The Thayer coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Arms*—Per pale ermine and gules, three talbots' heads erased counterchanged.

*Crest*—A talbot's head erased or.

*Motto*—*Fœcundi calices.*

(I) Thomas Thayer or Tayer was born in Gloucestershire in 1596, and became a shoemaker. He was in Boston, Massachusetts, before February 24, 1639-40, when land was granted to him at Mt. Wollaston, New Braintree, for "9 heads" in his family: and Richard, thought to be his younger brother, arrived in Braintree a widower with eight children. No coat-of-arms appears on any tablet or monument of the Thornbury Thayers; and Edward, of Thornbury Parish, was disclaimed at the Visitation of 1623 for bearing arms. Thomas Thayer, according to Braintree records, "dyed 2d of 4th month, 1665"; new style June 2, 1665. His wife's death record is: "Margery Thayer dyed 11d 12 mo. 1672"; new style, February 11, 1673. Probably two daughters, among "D heads." Children, born in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England: 1. Thomas, Jr., died August 9, 1663, aged above seventy. Wife Anne, probably married in England, and had eight children. 2. Ferdinando, of whom further. 3. Sidrach (Shadrach), died October 19, 1678. He married (first), January 1, 1654-55, Mary Barrett; married (second), Deliverance Priest. They had nine children.

(II) Ferdinando Thayer, son of Thomas and Margery (Wheeler) Thayer, was born in Thornbury, England, and died in Mendon, Massachusetts, March 28, 1713. He lived in Braintree after



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his father's death, when he removed, with a colony from Braintree and Weymouth, to Nipmug, a new plantation, in 1662; the settlers returning to their native towns. During King Philip's War Nipmug became the town of Mendon, 1667, now in Worcester County. Ferdinando Thayer was one of the largest proprietors of the new settlement. His homestead being a little south of the present center of the town, he held many offices of honor in his town and commonwealth. He was a man of wealth in his day, and provided all his sons with farms, many of which are held by his descendants to this day, and have never changed titles for over two hundred years. He married, on January 14, 1652-53, Huldah Hayward, of Braintree, who died at Mendon, Massachusetts, September 1, 1690. (See Hayward II.) Children, first five born in Braintree: 1. Sarah, born May 12, 1654; married, in 1676, Joseph Stevens; one daughter. 2. Huldah, born June 16, 1657; married, in 1675, Jacob Aldrich. 3. Jonathan, born March 18, 1658-59; married, in 1679, Elizabeth French. 4. David, born June 20, 1660, died August 1, 1674. 5. Naomi, born January 28, 1662-63. 6. Thomas, born in Mendon, died there May 1, 1738; married, in 1688, Mary Adams. 7. Samuel, born in Mendon, died there after 1710; married Mary ———. 8. Isaac, born in Mendon, died there after 1710; married (first) Mercy ———; (second) Mary ———. 9. Josiah, born in Mendon. 10. Ebenezer, born in Mendon. 11. Benjamin, of whom further. 12. David, baptized in Braintree, September 17, 1677, died August 29, 1678.

(III) Benjamin Thayer, son of Ferdinando and Huldah (Hayward) Thayer, born at Mendon, Massachusetts, and died in Mendon, in 1729. He married (first), September 15, 1699, Sarah Hayward, who died December 18, 1711. He married (second), 1712, Hannah Hayward. Children, born in Mendon, Massachusetts: 1. Rachel, born in the year 1700; married, December 15, 1720, Eleazer Taft. 2. Margaret, born December 17, 1701; married, December 15, 1720, Jonathan Wood. 3. Grace, born May 6, 1704; married, October 8, 1723, James Wood. 4. Sarah, born March 23, 1706; married, April 21, 1726, John Hayward. 5. Benjamin, born September 23, 1707, died February 23, 1708. 6. Lydia, born April 24, 1709; married, January 4, 1729, John Gage. Children by second marriage: 7. Benjamin, born July 13, 1713, died July 7, 1739; married, in 1734, Silence Sumner. 8. Aaron, of whom further.

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(IV) Aaron Thayer, son of Benjamin and Hannah (Hayward) Thayer, born at Mendon, Massachusetts, November 11, 1715, and died at Mendon, after 1775. He married, in 1738, Jemima Cook. Children, born in Mendon, Massachusetts: 1. Hannah, born March 12, 1739; married, in 1757, Pelatiah Thayer. 2. Elizabeth, born October 29, 1740; married, May 13, 1771, Wilder Keith. 3. Jemima, born September 14, 1742; married, in 1764, Timothy Adams. 4. Benjamin, of whom further. 5. Susannah, born April 23, 1746; married, in 1768, Ralph Hayward. 6. Rachel, born March 26, 1748; married, in 1768, Moses Thayer, Jr. 7. Joanna, born February 16, 1750; married, October 8, 1775, John Green White. 8. Urania, born August 12, 1752; married, May 27, 1771, Nica Bates. 9. Elona, born May 19, 1754; married, April 29, 1773, Increase Daniels. 10. Lavina, born January 30, 1756, died May 19, 1758. 11. Aaron, born February 26, 1758; married, March 12, 1778, Rosina Legg. 12. Elijah, born August 12, 1760, died September 20, 1764. 13. Phebe, born August 17, 1762.

(V) Benjamin Thayer, son of Aaron and Jemima (Cook) Thayer, was born in Mendon, April 16, 1744, and died in Mendon, Massachusetts, September 24, 1811. He was a member in the Third Company of the "minute-men" from Mendon in the "General Alarm" after the battle of Lexington, in 1775. He was one of the committee of sixteen men chosen to hire men for the town quota of soldiers to fill up the Continental Battalion. He served the town as constable in 1784, and again in 1786. He married (first), October 19, 1767 (intentions published July 9, 1767), Sarah Bosworth, of Bellingham; (second), in December, 1793, Ruth Alden. Children, born in Mendon, by first marriage; 1. Elijah, born August 21, 1768. 2. Caleb, of whom further. 3. Philaty, born June 7, 1772. 4. Amos, born May 7, 1774. 5. Benjamin, born July 29, 1781. 6. Sarah, born August 5, 1783. 7. Zilpha, born May 28, 1785. Children by second marriage: 8. Ruth, born October 19, 1794. 9. Cushman, born in 1795. 10. Alden, born December 27, 1796. 11. Jemima, born May 26, 1799.

(VI) Caleb Thayer, son of Benjamin and Sarah (Bosworth) Thayer, was born at Mendon, Massachusetts, January 31, 1771, and died there, December 22, 1834. He was a farmer by occupation, and one of the selectmen of Mendon in 1813. In 1814 he was one of the committee appointed to consider the matter of making altera-

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tions in the boundaries of the school districts, and he was selectman in 1815. He was also chosen one of the committee to select the poor house farm in 1822. He married, April 7, 1791, Elizabeth Thayer, of Bellingham, Massachusetts. Children, born at Mendon, Massachusetts: 1. Patia, born September 3, 1792, died March 14, 1814. 2. Julia, born September 24, 1795; married, November 14, 1819, Willard Wilson. 3. Elizabeth, born March 18, 1798; married, September 30, 1854, Calvin Lyon. 4. Elias Ellis, born June 19, 1800, died September 9, 1831. 5. Caleb, Jr., of whom further.

(VII) Caleb Thayer, Jr., son of Caleb and Elizabeth (Thayer) Thayer, was born at Mendon, January 5, 1803, and died there in 1840. He was a farmer, and was elected a member of the State Legislature, where he continued in office for seven years. He lived in that part of Mendon made in 1845, Blackstone, Massachusetts. He married, May 20, 1827, Hannah Gaskill. (See Gaskill VIII.) Children, born at Mendon, Blackstone part: 1. Adin, born December 5, 1828, judge, and for many years active in political affairs in Massachusetts; married, in 1865, Caroline Hendricks. 2. Elias Ellis, born April 21, 1832, died February 7, 1840. 3. Elizabeth, born June 11, 1836; married, in 1866, Hon. Hiram Daniels. They had children: i. Carrie. ii. Hiram T. 4. Caleb Edmund, born September 3, 1841; a graduate of Brown University, 1865; married, April 3, 1866, Samantha Cook. Served three months from Rhode Island in the Civil War; died August 28, 1868. 5. Hon. Frederick, of whom further.

(VIII) Hon. Frederick Thayer, son of Caleb, Jr., and Hannah (Gaskill) Thayer, was born in the Chestnut Hill district of Blackstone, Massachusetts, December 23, 1843, and died in the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, February 22, 1924. His education was begun in the public schools of his birthplace, and he later attended Wilbraham Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, also Greenwich Academy, in Greenwich, Rhode Island. For several years he taught school in Blackstone and Apponaug, and for a time was active in the wood and lumber business with his brother, Caleb Edmund, who was a member of the firm of Thayer & Taft, of Worcester. Upon the death of his brother, Mr. Thayer succeeded to his interest in the business, and the firm was soon dissolved. Thereafter, Frederick Thayer identified himself with the production of woolen textiles. He went to Millville, where he became the owner







*Friedrich Krayer*



Carrie D Thayer.



## THAYER

of a small shoddy mill. A concern backed by capitalists of Worcester had purchased a mill and water privileges in Millville, Massachusetts, a property that had formerly been owned by A. T. Stewart, the famous pioneer of the department store in New York City. The Worcester group failed, and Mr. Thayer purchased the interests of the group, thus becoming the sole owner of the business and of the property privileges. This enterprise he successfully conducted for twelve years and then became owner of a water privilege in the section of the town of Oxford, Massachusetts, which is known as Texas. A village already stood about this water power, which formed an unusually fine site for an industrial plant of this character. In the summer of 1885 Mr. Thayer built his first mill, a substantial structure accommodating forty-four looms, which provided employment for some sixty hands. The venture was so successful that the growth of the business during the first year warranted the addition of twenty looms, for which a small structure was erected on adjacent property. In this practical, judicious manner Frederick Thayer went forward developing his interest step by step and the enterprise now operating under the firm name of Fred Thayer & Company.

In April, 1893, the interest was incorporated under the title of the Thayer Woolen Company. Lawrence F. Kilty, who had been manager for five years, and Allen L. Taft, who had served as chief bookkeeper, then became associated with Mr. Thayer in the business as executives of the corporation. In 1898 Mr. Taft retired, and in 1906 the concern was more or less definitely re-organized. Meanwhile, soon after the incorporation of the concern, the increasing demand for Thayer woollens made further expansion vitally necessary. The concern bought outright the factory and tenement houses forming the village of Rhodes Mills, in North Oxford. This concern had specialized in the production of cotton warp, but the Thayer company disposed of all existing equipment, installing a modern plant of thirty-four looms for the manufacture of fine woolen fabrics. They also added a shoddy plant, setting up six pickers.

The policy of expansion so early organized by the fearless man at the head of the enterprise, was maintained through the years, and by 1906 further enlargement of the plant became necessary. A fine brick structure of three stories and basement, 100x62



## THAYER

feet in ground dimensions, was erected. This permitted the installation of sixty-six new looms, besides relieving the congestion in other parts of the plant. Two hundred and twelve looms were thus placed in operation, requiring nearly three hundred employees. Additional equipment and buildings and modernization of the early structures have provided for the increased demands of the continued growth of the business, and at the present time (1925) the concern is one of the best known of its kind in the State.

In 1921 Mr. Thayer's retirement from the textile business closed nominally one of the most definitely constructive and eminently commendable careers of an industry which has become one of the most important in New England. Mr. Thayer maintained his keen interest in the business, however, until the last, and on many occasions his old associates turned to him for advice and counsel, which was freely given and gratefully received. He was considered a pioneer in the woolen industry in Massachusetts, his history of activity in this branch having covered a period of more than half a century. Other business interests also claimed a share of Mr. Thayer's attention. He served as president of the Worcester & Southbridge Railway Company, and vice-president of the Worcester & Webster Street Railway; also a charter member of the Manufacturers' Textile Association, serving this organization as its vice-president.

It was only natural, perhaps, that to a man of such interests and such clearly demonstrated ability the people should turn for endeavors of a public nature. Mr. Thayer was still a young man when he was brought forward as a candidate for representative to the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, and he served in the legislative capacity during the years 1879 and 1880, distinguishing himself in the legislative body and reflecting honor upon his constituency as well as upon his own name. His wide interest in the general welfare led him to do much for the village of North Oxford, of which he was long a resident, retaining his country home there even after establishing his town house in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. One of the finest school buildings in this part of Worcester County stands in North Oxford as a monument to his memory, bearing his name. Toward the project of this school he gave generously from its inception, and it was he who fitted the





*Fred B. Thayer*



Emory Campbell N.

Walton E. Thayer









*Esmond Greene Thayer*



*J. Carter Thayer*





## THAYER

grove and playground for the benefit of the children of the village. It was said of Mr. Thayer that "he was loved by all whose privilege it was to know him. His kindly spirit and interest in humanity were felt by all who came in contact with him." He was a great lover of excellent literature, and collected a library of many volumes, his chief delight during his leisure time having been his enjoyment of his home and books. He was long a member of St. James' Episcopal Church of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, which he served as vestryman, and throughout his life maintained his deep and beneficial interest in the organization of the church.

Mr. Thayer had reached an age when the sunset of life is imminent and friends recognized certainty of approaching separation, yet so brilliantly had he lived and achieved, so fully had he discharged the duties and borne the responsibilities of life, that to all of his many friends and acquaintances his still alert attitude of mind and heart kept him among them as a far younger man. His interest in those about him formed a vital factor in his life, for no matter what phase of human progress brought to him its appeal, his heart was always open to the needs of the others. From his distinguished service in the legislative halls of the State to his daily thought for the humblest child who crossed his path, this constant interest in his fellow-beings was one of the most lovable characteristics of this highly esteemed and greatly loved personality. In his achievements he was great, but in his service to humankind he was greater.

Hon. Frederick Thayer married (first), July 10, 1873, Adelia L. Greene, daughter of Francis Atwood, Jr., and Julia F. (Pike) Greene. She died June 13, 1884, and in 1885, Mr. Thayer married (second) Caroline (Carrie) D. Greene (sister of his first wife), by whom he is survived. (See Greene VIII.) Children by first marriage: 1. Cora E., who married George W. Norwood. 2. Earl F., who married Rose F. Oehme, and resides in Worcester, Massachusetts. 3. Florence J., who married Charles A. Barton; died in 1910. Children by second marriage: 4. Frederick B., of Grafton, Massachusetts; married Jane Sherman. 5. Raymond, who died in 1890. 6. Esmond Greene, who died in 1910. 7. Walton E., of Worcester, Massachusetts, who died in 1918; he married Nettie W. Carter, and they had born to them one child: John Carter Thayer.

## THAYER

(The Green—Greene Line).

As a surname Green or Greene originated from the residence of its owner, "on the green," a grassy plot which every villager used as a common. The name of Deonisia ate Grene, and Warin de la Grene, appear on the Hundred Rolls, 1273. Several branches of the family are armigerous and in most of the armorial bearings recorded, the buck or stag appears as principal charge or in the crest. The Green-Greene coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Arms*—Azure, three bucks trippant or.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet a buck's head all proper.

*Motto*—*Nec timeo, nec sperno.*

Burke, in his "General Armory," records three armorial bearings for various families of Greene living in Hertfordshire (Herts), those of Green of Bristol and Barnet, County Herts, being similar to those blazoned above, and the arms recorded for Greene of counties Hertford and Nottingham, showing entirely different charges and different crest. The coat-of-arms blazoned herewith is the one recorded for Greene of Dunsby and Spelding, County Lincoln, and for Green of Great Caddesden, County Herts. Thomas Greene, mentioned below, probably was one of the Great Caddesden, Herts, family, as the name of Thomas is a favorite with that branch, and as the other settlers who came to Roxbury, Massachusetts, at about the same time as Thomas came from that section of Hertfordshire.

The descendants of John Greene in this country use a similar arms, but without the crown in the crest; and the Irish family of Greene show arms identical with those blazoned above, but with a motto added.

(I) Thomas Greene was born in England about 1600, and died at Malden, Massachusetts, December 19, 1659. As to the place of birth, his title of "senior" seems to connect him with the younger Thomas Green, probably his son, who came in the "Planter," aged fifteen, sailing from England, April 2, 1635, a certificate stating that he came from St. Albans, in Hertfordshire. Thomas, Sr., was living at Lynn, Massachusetts, on Lady Moody's farm in 1646, his occupation being that of a farmer. There is no evidence that he was in Malden, Massachusetts before 1646, but he was certainly there October 28, 1651, when his wife Elizabeth and their daughter signed a Malden petition. At least three of their children were



GREENE





## THAYER

born in England. His wife Elizabeth died August 22, 1658, and Thomas Greene married (second), September 5, 1659, Frances, widow of Richard Cook. Children, all by first marriage: 1. Thomas, born in England about 1620; married Rebecca Hills, in 1653. 2. Elizabeth, born in England about 1628. 3. John, born in England about 1632; married, December 18, 1660, Sarah Wheeler. 4. Mary, born in England, about 1633; married, by 1656, Captain John Waite. 5. William, born in 1635; married (first) Elizabeth Wheeler; (second) Mrs. Isabel F. Blood. 6. Henry, of whom further. 7. Samuel, born March, 1645; married (first) 1666, Mary Cook; (second) Susanna ———. 8. Hannah, born about 1647; died May 20, 1721; married, in 1666, Joseph Richardson. 9. Martha, born about 1650. 10. Dorcas, born in Malden, May 1, 1653, died in 1682; married James Barrett.

(II) Henry Greene, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Greene, was born in Massachusetts, about 1638, and died in Malden, Massachusetts, September 19, 1717. He lived in Malden, where he served as selectman thirteen years between 1682 and 1714; and representative, 1689, 1694, 1703, 1704. He married, January 11, 1671-72, Esther Hasse (Hessey or Hersey), who died in Stoneham, Massachusetts, February 26, 1747-48, aged ninety-eight. Children, born in Malden, Massachusetts: 1. Henry, of whom further. 2. Esther, born September, 1674; married Eleazer Flagg, January 17, 1694-95. 3. Joseph, born October, 1678; married Hannah, daughter of John Green. 4. Daniel, born in 1681; married, December 29, 1708, Mary Bucknam. 5. Dorcas, born about 1683; married ——— Wiley. 6. Lydia, born August 11, 1685, died October 19, 1755; married Thomas Lynde. 7. Jacob, born May 6, 1689; married, July 8, 1713, Dorothy, sister of Thomas Lynde, both children of Captain John Lynde. He died July 19, 1723. Widow and children lived in Killingley.

(III) Henry Greene, oldest son of Henry and Esther (Hasse) Greene, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, January 24, 1672-73, and died probably soon after 1740. He lived in that part of Charlestown, Massachusetts, which in 1725 was incorporated as Stoneham. On January 30, 1718-19, for £760 he sold to his brother Daniel Greene, of Malden, sixty-four acres of land in Charlestown, with house and buildings, nine acres of woodland and six of marsh;

## THAYER

also eleven and one-half acres of land in Malden, and soon after removed to Northeastern Connecticut. His cousin, Rev. Jacob Green, mentions in describing a tour from Hanover, New Jersey, to New England, in April, 1746, a visit to Henry Greene, of Killingly, Connecticut. He married, January 9, 1695-96, Hannah Flegg (or Flagg). (See Flagg III.) Children, born in Charles-town (Stoneham part): 1. Henry, Jr., of whom further. 2. Ebenezer (twin of Henry), born September 21, 1696. 3. Hannah, born May 6, 1698. 4. Seth, born March 6, 1699-1700; resided at Killingly. 5. Eleazer, born March 18, 1701-02; joined Thompson Church, 1730. 6. Nathan, born March 1, 1702-03. 7. Timothy, born May 7, 1706; married, October 27, 1742, Phebe Atwell, in Thompson Parish. 8. Esther, born May 17, 1708. 9. Phinehas, born September 10, 1710; resided in Killingly. 10. Amos, born December 30, 1712; joined Thompson Church in 1747. 11. Abigail, born July 23, 1715.

(IV) Henry Greene, Jr., son of Henry and Hannah Flegg (or Flagg) Greene, was born in Stoneham, Massachusetts, September 21, 1696, and died in Killingly, Connecticut, after 1759. He married, in 1724, Judith Guile, daughter of Ephraim Guile, of Killingly, where they made their residence. (See Guile III.) Children, born in Killingly, Connecticut (Thompson Parish): 1. Sarah, born November 30, 1725. 2. Mary, born March 20, 1728-29. 3. Esther, born July 12, 1731. 4. Hezekiah, born October 13, 1733; married Alice ———, lived in Killingly. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Abigail, born April 20, 1738.

(V) John Greene, son of Henry, Jr., and Judith (Guile) Greene, was born in Killingly, Connecticut, May 12, 1736, and died in Killingly (Thompson Parish). He was captain from Killingly in the Revolution of 1776. He married, in 1759, Abilene Guile. Children, born in Killingly, Connecticut (Thompson Parish): 1. Abigail, born October 18, 1759. 2. Ephraim, born July 27, 1764, died young. 3. Benjamin, born March 11, 1766. 4. Mary, born January 23, 1768. 5. Bradley, born March 28, 1769; married, March 21, 1790, Sally Moffat. 6. Ephraim, born June 14, 1775. 7. John, of whom further.

(VI) John Greene, son of John and Abilene (Guile) Greene, was born in Killingly, Connecticut, about 1777. He married







Flegg  
(Flegg)



Guille  
(Guile)



Hayward



Southwick



Gascayne  
(Gaskill)



Reade



#### FLEGG (FLAGG).

*Arms*—Per pale or and sable a chevron counterchanged.

*Crest*—Two lions' gambes in saltire sable enfiled with two laurel branches in orle vert.

#### GUILLE (GUILLE).

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron between three stars of seven points or.

*Crest*—A star, as in the arms.

*Motto*—*E cælo lux mea.*

#### HAYWARD.

*Arms*—Argent, a bull's head gules between three mullets sable.

#### SOUTHWICK.

*Arms*—Argent, a fess dancettée gules, from the sinister chief an arm issuing from clouds proper, vested gules, touching in the chief point a heart of the last between two spear-heads sable, pointing inwards.

*Crest*—A dexter arm erect, couped at the elbow, vested gules, cuffed with a frill argent, holding in the hand a heart, all proper.

#### GASCOYNE (GASKILL).

*Arms*—Argent, on a pale sable a demi-lucy (or conger's head) couped or.

*Crest*—A demi-lucy's head erect or, between two ostrich feathers.

#### READE.

*Arms*—Gules, a saltire between four garbs or.

*Crest*—On the trunk of a tree vert a falcon volant proper.

*Motto*—*Cedant arma togæ.* (Let arms yield to the toga.)

## THAYER

———, a daughter of Francis Atwood, of Thompson, Connecticut. Children, born in Thompson (from Killingly, 1785), Connecticut: 1. Sarah. 2. Francis Atwood, of whom further. 3. George.

(VII) Francis Atwood Greene, son of John and ——— (Atwood) Greene, was born in Thompson, Connecticut, and died there. He married Hannah ———, and they were living in Thompson, Connecticut, for some time, about 1820. Among their children was Francis Atwood, Jr., of whom further.

(VIII) Francis Atwood Greene, Jr., son of Francis Atwood and Hannah Greene, was born in Thompson, Connecticut, February 28, 1819. He married, in Cumberland, Rhode Island, April 18, 1848, Julia F. Pike, who was born March 20, 1824, daughter of James and Adelia Pike, of Cumberland. They resided in Cumberland in 1848, but their children do not appear on the Cumberland birth records. Children: 1. Adelia L., born April 3, 1849, died June 13, 1884; married (as first wife), Hon. Frederick Thayer. (See Thayer VIII.) 2. Viola L., born June 20, 1851, died October 20, 1852. 3. Isabel D., born March 21, 1860, died January 29, 1865. 4. Caroline (Carrie) D., twin, born July 16, 1863; married (as second wife) Hon. Frederick Thayer. (See Thayer VIII.) 5. Emma L., twin, born July 16, 1863.

(The Hayward Line).

The family name Hayward is derived from the occupation, literally, the warden of the hay or hedge, but his duty was rather to keep the cattle on the village common from straying. Adam le Hayward is in the Hundred Rolls of Devonshire, A. D. 1273; and Roger le Hayward in those of Buckinghamshire. Nine branches of the Hayward family were entitled to bear arms. The coat-of-arms herein described is recorded for Hayward without designation of locality.

*Arms*—Argent, a bull's head gules between three mullets sable.

(I) William Hayward was in Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1648, with his wife Margery. He was drowned May 10, 1659, and she died July 18, 1676. Children, all, or most all, born in England: 1. Jonathan, married Sarah ———, and had fourteen children at Braintree. 2. Hannah. 3. Huldah, of whom further. 4. Mary,



## THAYER

married, in 1651, Samuel Deering, and died July 1, 1657. 5. Sarah. 6. William, married, in Swanzey, 1672. 7. Samuel, of Mendon, died July 29, 1713.

(II) Huldah Hayward, daughter of William and Margery Hayward, was born in England, and died at Mendon, Massachusetts, September 1, 1690. She married, January 14, 1652-53, Ferdinando Thayer. (See Thayer II.)

(The Gascoyne—Gaskoyne—Gaskill Line).

Among surnames Gascoyne (Gaskoyne or Gaskill) designated originally a native of Gascony in France, who was an emigrant in another region. Philip de Gascon is in the Hundred Rolls of Shropshire, A. D. 1273, and William Gason in the *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem*. The coat-of-arms of this family is as follows:

*Arms*—Argent, on a pale sable a demi-lucy (or conger's head) couped or.  
*Crest*—A demi-lucy's head erect or, between two ostrich feathers.

(I) Edward Gaskoyne, as he appears in the Salem records, a ship carpenter from England, had a grant of land in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1637, and bought a house and land there in 1659. His wife Sarah joined the Salem church in 1639. Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Preserved (twin with Samuel), baptized August 7, 1639. 3. Daniel, baptized October 10, 1640. 4. Sarah, baptized May 14, 1643; married, May 24, 1661, Peter Joy. 5. Hannah, baptized March 1, 1646. 6. Edward, baptized April 30, 1648.

(II) Samuel Gaskoyne (Gaskin, Gaskill), son of Edward and Sarah Gaskoyne, was born in Salem, in 1633, and baptized August 7, 1639. He was a proprietor on the Salem lists in 1713, and on February 18, 1724, owned four rights to common land in the two lower parishes. He married, December 30, 1662, Provided Southwick, daughter of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick. (See Southwick II.) Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Edward, born October 23, 1667; married, April 10, 1693, Hannah Endicott. 3. Hannah, born January 2, 1669. 4. Provided, born April 22, 1672. 5. Mary, born in 1676; married, September 9, 1703, Caleb Buffum. 6. Sarah, born November 6, 1676. 7. Josiah, born September 11, 1678.

(III) Samuel Gaskill, son of Samuel and Provided (South-

## THAYER

wick) Gaskoyne (Gaskin, Gaskill), was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 23, 1664. His will was dated September 1, 1725. He married Bethia Gardner, daughter of Thomas, Jr., and Hannah Gardner. Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Bethia, born May 8, 1686, died young. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Patience, born September 28, 1689; married, in 1708, Jonathan Boyce. 4. Ebenezer, born August 23, 1691. 5. Bethia, born June 20, 1694; married, May 26, 1716, Caleb Callam. 6. Nathan, born January 26, 1698; had land in Mendon, 1737-38. 7. Jonathan, twin, born January 26, 1698; had land in Mendon, 1737-1738. 8. Provided, born January 26, 1700. 9. Mary, born April 26, 1703; married, June 25, 1724, Jonathan Buffum. 10. Hannah, born June 16, 1709; married February 18, 1730-31, David Nichols. 11. Content, married, August 31, 1727, Nathaniel Varney. 12. Sarah, unmarried in 1725.

(IV) Samuel Gaskill, son of Samuel and Bethia (Gardner) Gaskill, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, September 28, 1687, and died in Mendon, Massachusetts, about September, 1761. He married Sarah ———. Children, the older born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel, died before September 5, 1758. 2. Ebenezer, of whom further. 3. Joseph. 4. Stephen. 5. Benjamin. 6. Sarah. 7. Huldah. 8. Elizabeth.

(V) Ebenezer Gaskill, son of Samuel and Sarah Gaskill, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, about 1720, and died in Mendon, Massachusetts, South Parish (now Blackstone). He married, August 5, 1745, Hannah Girdler (or Gurley), daughter of George Girdler (or Gurley), of Salem, Massachusetts. She married (second), in 1791, Obadiah Wheeler. Children, born in Mendon: 1. George, of whom further. 2. David, married (intention), January 7, 1776, Phebe Brown, of Uxbridge. 3. Peter, married, January 20, 1790, Hannah Thomson. 4. Joseph, married (intention), December 29, 1783, Mary Green, of Smithfield, Rhode Island. 5. Samuel, born about 1760; married, May 27, 1784, Olive Cooke, died in December, 1846. 6. Sarah, married Thomas Holder.

(VI) George Gaskill, oldest son of Ebenezer and Hannah (Girdler) Gaskill, was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, about 1746. He married, November 5, 1767, Sarah Reade, daughter of Jonathan Reade, of Smithfield, Rhode Island. (See Reade IV.) Child, born in Mendon: 1. George, Jr., of whom further.

## THAYER

(VII) George Gaskill, Jr., son of George and Sarah (Reade) Gaskill, was born probably in Mendon, about 1782, and died in Mendon, July 6, 1848, aged sixty-six. He married (intentions), November 5, 1807, Data (or Datee) Harkness, who was born February 29, 1789, and died February 16, 1848, daughter of Samuel and Hannah Harkness. Children, born in Mendon: 1. Rhoda, born February 10, 1809. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born January 26, 1814. 4. Samuel H., born January 13, 1816. 5. George Willard, born April 8, 1818. 6. Gilbert, born October 29, 1822. 7. Data Anna, born in 1828.

(VIII) Hannah Gaskill, daughter of George, Jr., and Data (Harkness) Gaskill, was born at Mendon, Massachusetts, April 24, 1811. She married, May 20, 1827, Caleb Thayer, Jr. (See Thayer VII.)

(The Southwick Line).

The surname Southwick, with its northern variations South-eake or Sowdeak, is derived from Southwick Parish in counties Northampton, Southampton, and Sussex; or, in the North of England, from a township in the parish of Monkwearmouth, County Durham, William de Suthewyk is on record in the Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire, A. D. 1273. The Southwick coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Arms*—Argent, a fess dancettée gules, from the sinister chief an arm issuing from clouds proper, vested gules, touching in the chief point a heart of the last between two spear-heads sable, pointing inwards.

*Crest*—A dexter arm erect, couped at the elbow, vested gules, cuffed with a frill argent, holding in the hand a heart, all proper.

(1) Lawrence Southwick, according to tradition, came from Lancashire on a visit to America in 1627, but brought his family to Salem, Massachusetts, before 1639, as he and his wife Cassandra joined the Salem church April 24, 1639. He became a freeman September 6, 1639, and was granted two acres of land by the town to carry on the business of manufacturing glass and earthenware. This land was in a valley on the south side of what is called Gallows Hill. He and his older children becoming Quakers, they were punished and finally banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony. Lawrence and his wife, in 1659, went to Shelter Island, near Long Island, where they died in the spring of 1660. His will, made July 10, 1659, and proved November 29, 1660, spells the family name Sethick, and in the mention of granddaughter, Deborah Sethwick,

## THAYER

which suggests its connection with the New England Southecke, but in the Salem records it became Sothwick, Southwick. Children, except the last, probably born in England: 1. John, born in 1620, died October 25, 1672; married (first) Sarah Tidd; (second) Hannah Flint; (third) Sarah Burnell. 2. Mary, born in 1630; married Henry, son of Captain William Trask. 3. Josiah, born in 1632, died in 1693; married Mary Boyce. 4. Provided, born in 1635, died in 1640; baptized in First Church, of Salem, in 1639. 5. Daniel, born in 1637, died in 1718-19; married, in 1663, Esther Boyes (Boyce). 6. Provided, of whom further.

(II) Provided Southwick, daughter of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in December, 1641. She married, December 30, 1662, Samuel Gaskoyne (Gaskin or Gaskill), son of Edward and Sarah Gaskoyne (Gaskin, or Gaskill.) (See Gaskill II.)

(The Reade Line).

Reed, Read, Reade, Scottish Reid, as family names, are from a nickname, meaning the red or ruddy, Godwin le Rede is in the Hundred Rolls of County Norfolk, A. D. 1273, and Roger le Rede in those of Hertfordshire. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded by Burke for Reade without designation of locality. The motto is the one used by Matthews with the arms for members of the Reade or Read family in this country. The Reade coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Arms*—Gules, a saltire between four garbs or.

*Crest*—On the trunk of a tree vert a falcon volant proper.

*Motto*—*Cedant arma togæ.* (Let arms yield to the toga.)

(I) Thomas Reade emigrated from England, and is first mentioned on a list of landholders in Salem (Massachusetts) town records, 1636, as having a ten-acre lot. In the division of marsh and meadow lands authorized December 25, 1637, he had an allotment for three in his family. His wife, not named, died probably about 1645, and he married, about 1646, a second wife, whose first name was Mary, who was admitted to Salem church in 1649. The names of her children by Thomas Reade are found on Salem church records. Thomas Reade died in 1667, inventory of his estate being dated April 5, 1667. His widow married (second), in September, 1673, John Tompkins, Sr., and is last mentioned December 14, 1687. Children, probably all born in Salem: 1. Son, name not



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found, died after December, 1687, probably unmarried. 2. Rebecca, (?) in court records, 1650; married Joseph Parkhurst, in June, 1656. 3. Abraham, living in 1695. 4. Isaac, married, March 10, 1673, Joan Stone, died in 1710. In King Philip's War, 1676. Children by second marriage: 5. Aaron, born about 1647; killed by accident, 1670. 6. Susanna, baptized September 23, 1649; married, in 1671, John Colburn. 7. John, baptized June 15, 1651, died October 21, 1662. 8. Mary, baptized April 10, 1653; married, in 1693, John Tompkins; (second) Daniel Rea. 9. Elizabeth, baptized May 13, 1655; married Samuel Stacey. 10. Remember, baptized April 26, 1657; married Josiah White, "Mayflower" descendant. 11. Jacob, born February 22, 1658-59, died November 19, 1663. 12. Sarah, born March 15, 1660, died March 4, 1662. 13. Jacob, of whom further. 14. Sarah, born October 14, 1665; married Jehoshaphat Rogers.

(II) Jacob Reade, son of Thomas and Mary Reade, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, August 7, 1662, and died in Salem. His will, dated January, 1742, was proved April 8, 1745. He married, in Salem, in December, 1693, Elizabeth Greene, who was born February 20, 1667-68, daughter of John and Mary (Warren) Greene. Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Aaron, born in January, 1694-95, probably died young. 2. John, born January 26, 1695-96. 3. Mary, born March 9, 1697; married, May 14, 1723, Nathan Proctor. 4. Jacob, born February 12, 1699-1700. 5. Jonathan, of whom further. 6. Sarah, born May 15, 1703, died in 1787; married, January 1, 1725-1727, Samuel Goldthwaite, Jr. 7. Elizabeth, born March 13, 1704-05; married, in 1727, John Trask, 3rd.

(III) Jonathan Reade, son of Jacob and Elizabeth (Greene) Reade, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, January 12, 1701-02, and died in Smithfield, Rhode Island. His will was proved May 31, 1779. He was a "Friend," and removed to Smithfield, Rhode Island, the chief centre of the Society in Providence County, and was admitted a freeman there May 6, 1746. He married (first) Anna Hanson, of Dover, New Hampshire; (second), in Salem, Massachusetts, January 1, 1743-44, Sarah Kempton. His children are not on Salem town records: 1. Benjamin; children recorded in Seekonk, Massachusetts. 2. Hanson; children recorded in Long Island. 3. Daniel, married (first), in 1760, Rachel Farnum; (sec-

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ond), in 1762, Eleanor Southwick. 4. John, married, in Smithfield, Rhode Island, in 1775, Hannah, daughter of Moses Farnum, of Uxbridge. 5. Jacob, died in Smithfield, in October, 1749. 6. William, born in 1729, settled in North Yarmouth, Maine. The names of the next five children are unknown. 12. Sarah, of whom further. Children by second marriage: 13. Oliver. 14. Aaron, died unmarried.

(IV) Sarah Reade, daughter of Jonathan and Anna (Hanson) Reade, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and died in Mendon, Massachusetts, January 31, 1818. She married, November 5, 1767, George Gaskill, of Mendon. (See Gaskill VI.)

(The Flegg—Flagg Line).

At this time and in this country the spelling of Flagg is universal, but it must be noted that the name, like so many others, has seen considerable variety. In the first place the form Flagg was never used by the family in England, nor is it to-day by those of the lineage in the old country. Flegg is still the English form; and Thomas, the first of the line in America, 1637, spelled his name this way, as did his descendants to about 1700, when the present form seems to have been adopted by general consent. In the old English records various other forms are found, as Fleg, Flege, Fleggh, Fleght, Fleggh, De Flegg, etc.

There can be no question that the earliest home of the Fleggs was in the County of Norfolk on the eastern coast of England, the very locality from which Thomas came to America in 1637. De Fleggs and later Fleggs had been prominent here from the time of Alger De Flegg and his brother Henry, prior of Norwich, about 1150, down through the intervening centuries. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded by Burke in his "General Armory" for Flegg of County Berks, and are also mentioned in North's "History of Augusta, Maine," in connection with the American line here traced. The Flegg-Flagg coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Arms*—Per pale or and sable a chevron counterchanged.

*Crest*—Two lions' gambes in saltire sable enfiled with two laurel branches in orle vert.

(I) Thomas Flegg, son of Bartholomew and Alicia Flegg, was baptized at Whubeogh, County of Norfolk, England, in 1615, and died in Watertown, Massachusetts, February 6, 1698. He is said

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to have been in love with a girl of station below his own, and to get around the opposition of his parents, as a young man of twenty-one he decided to emigrate to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, established at Boston seven years before. He attached himself to an elderly gentleman, Richard Carver, who was emigrating at the age of sixty with his wife and two daughters, being entered at the port of embarkation, Scratby, Norfolk, in 1637, as one of Carver's three servants. It is clear that he was not a servant in the ordinary sense, both from the social standing of the family in Norfolk and the fact that immediately on arrival in America he became a landed proprietor in his own right, and soon held office, to which none but those of high social standing were eligible. In those days emigration to the colonies was growing to be a serious drain on the home population, and religious persecution was beginning in England; so it is not unlikely that Thomas was technically evading some statute or regulation by entering the household of a man of family. The tradition goes on to inform us that the girl of his choice embarked in a companion vessel, and we know that the "Rose" of Yarmouth and "John and Dorothy" of Ipswich sailed in company. It is uncertain which bore the Carver party; and the surname and identity of Mary, wife of Thomas Flegg, is unknown to this day.

He was in Watertown as early as 1641, at which time he was a proprietor, having acquired two lots, one of them the "1st dividend lot" of twenty acres set off to John Rose at the original laying out of the town in 1636. The records of the next forty years show him frequently elected to local positions of honor and responsibility, such as fence viewer, surveyor, appraiser, tithing man, assessor, moderator of town meeting, and selectman for eight or ten years between 1671 and 1687. It is said that he had decided convictions of his own in religious matters and was not always in good standing in the somewhat intolerant church of the town. He married Mary ———, who died in 1703, aged eighty-three years. Children: 1. Gershom, of whom further. 2. John, born in 1643. 3. Bartholomew, born in 1645. 4. Thomas, born in 1646. 5. William, born in 1648(?). 6. Michael, born in 1651. 7. Eleazer, born in 1653. 8. Elizabeth, born in 1655. 9. Mary, born in 1657. 10. Rebecca, born in 1660. 11. Benjamin, born in 1662. 12. Allen, born in 1665.

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(II) Gershom Flagg (or Flegg), son of Thomas and Mary Flegg, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, April 16, 1641, and died at Lamprey River (now in the town of Lee, New Hampshire), July 6, 1690. He was a tanner, and settled in Woburn about 1668. He was admitted a freeman of the colony, May 27, 1676; entered military service in the war against the French and Indians known as King Williams' War, as lieutenant in Captain Wiswall's company; and was killed in a fight with the Indians at Wheelwright's Pond, or Lamprey River (now in the town of Lee, New Hampshire). He married, April 15, 1668, Hannah Lepingwell (or Leppingwell), daughter of Michael Lepingwell (or Leppingwell). (See Leppingwell II). Children: 1. Gershom, born in 1669. 2. Eleazer, born in 1670. 3. John, born in 1673. 4. Hannah, of whom further. 5. Thomas, born in 1677. 6. Ebenezer, born in 1678. 7. Abigail, born in 1682. 8. Mary, born in 1683. 9. Thomas, born in 1685. 10. Benoni, born in 1687.

(III) Hannah Flegg (or Flagg), daughter of Gershom and Hannah Lepingwell (or Leppingwell) Flagg, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1675, and died in 1724. She married Henry Greene. (See Greene III).

(The Leppingwell Line).

The surname Leppingwell appears in County Essex, England, represented in 1495 by Lawrence Leppingwell. In 1552 there is a variation Leffingwell. It is evidently a place-name.

(I) Michael Lepingwell (or Leppingwell), perhaps son of Thomas, of White Colne, Essex, baptized February 19, 1603, is on the records of Boston, Massachusetts, in 1636, and in the first tax list of Woburn, levied September 8, 1645. He died March 22, 1687. He married Isabel ———, who died November 17, 1671. Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Hannah, born September 1, 1642, and died February 10, 1643. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born March 10, 1648. 4. Thomas, born January 13, 1649; married, in 1675, Sarah Knight; (second) Hannah Dunthin. 5. Ruth, born January 2, 1650. 6. Michael, born June 8, 1651, died June 15, 1651. 7. Rachel, born March 4, 1653. 8. Abigail, born May 24, 1655. 9. Hester, born May 16, 1657. 10. Tabitha, born May 8, 1661.

(II) Hannah Lepingwell (or Leppingwell), daughter of Mich-



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ael and Isabel Lepingwell (or Leppingwell), was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, January 6, 1647, and died in Woburn, January 4, 1741. She married, April 15, 1668, Gershom Flagg, son of Thomas and Mary Flegg. (See Flagg II).

(The Guile—Guille Line).

Wright's "Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English," defines the word guile thus: "as much liquor as is brewed at once." Nearly all the persons by the name of Guild, Guiles, Guille, and Gile, in America, are descended from the immigrant brothers, John and Samuel, who came to this country in the year 1636, and as they appear to have been persons in the humble walks of life, it is highly improbable that they supported the dignity of coat armor, or claimed nobility of birth or blood. But they do appear to have been persons possessing those sterling qualities of mind and heart of which good citizens, patriots and Christians, are formed, and if we lay claim to a kinship by which we have derived a nobility of this sort, it will be amply sufficient. It is certain, however, that families bearing this name were prominent in Bailly of Guernsey, and on the Island of Jersey, England, for Burke records similar but not identical armorial bearings for those two branches of the family. The coat-of-arms blazoned herewith is that of the Guille family of the Island of Jersey.

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron between three stars of seven points or.

*Crest*—A star, as in the arms.

*Motto*—*E cælo lux mea.*

(The Family in America).

(I) Samuel Guile died in Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 21, 1683. He was the brother of John Guild, and was for a brief period at Dedham, and appears to have been one of the first settlers of Newbury, but did not remain long, for in 1640 he was one of the twelve who settled Pentucket, now known as Haverhill. He was made a freeman by the General Court in 1642. Careful examination of the records does not reveal that he was interested to any degree in town or church affairs. In 1650 Samuel Guile received ten acres of the second division. In 1658 Samuel Guile entered into an agreement for the support of a blacksmith and received land in the third division. He built a cottage about 1660, and in 1663 received land from the fourth division. He married, Sep-

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tember 1, 1647, Judith Davis, daughter of James Davis, one of the original settlers and an immigrant from Marlborough, England. Children: 1. Samuel, born August 30, 1648. 2. Judith, born April 2, 1650. 3. John, born December 8, 1652. 4. Hannah, born February, 1654. 5. Sarah, born March 1, 1657-58. 6. James, born August 27, 1660. 7. Ephraim, of whom further.

(II) Ephraim Guile, son of Samuel and Judith (Davis) Guile, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 21, 1661-62. He lived at Haverhill, and in 1711 was "one of the soldiers supplied with snowshoes for emergency in case of attack by the Indians." He married, January 5, 1686, Martha Bradley. Children: 1. Mary, born February 11, 1687. 2. Hannah, born August 11, 1690. 3. Mehitable, born December 1, 1692. 4. Sarah, born January 20, 1694-95. 5. Daniel, born December 10, 1697. 6. Judith, of whom further. 7. Samuel, born February 13, 1702-03. 8. Ephraim, born August 15, 1705. 9. Ebenezer, born September 11, 1708.

(III) Judith Guile, daughter of Ephraim and Martha (Bradley) Guile, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, May 3, 1700, and died in Killingly, Connecticut. She married, in 1724, Henry Greene, Jr., of Killingly, Connecticut. (See Greene IV).

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## The White and Allied Families

BY MARY MARJORIE TYLER, NEW YORK CITY



THE following pages contain family history which, from its very nature, is largely statistical, and which, to the average reader, might have a monotony born of repetition of similar statements. To two groups of individuals, however, will come a reaction directly opposed to this. These are the persons in whose veins the blood of these pioneers flows, and those whose historical and genealogical studies and researches enable them to read into the simple statement of the facts the drama of the settlement of a country, the subduing of a wilderness, and the upbuilding of a nation. To them this record belongs, with the possession that whole-hearted appreciation bestows.

We read that John White, Rowland Stebbins and the other founders of families, came from England to America in the early years of the seventeenth century, and we have a background of a slow-sailing vessel, meagre in comforts and utterly lacking in conveniences, perhaps becalmed for days, using weeks and months in a passage perilous at best. "He settled at Cambridge," or "He made his home in Roxbury," and there comes a picture of a laborious clearing of a cabin site, the hewing of logs, the winning of a tract of arable land from the forest, from which might come the forays of wild beasts or the arrows of hostile Indians. "With others he formed a church organization and established a school," become by the translation of sympathetic interpretation, acts of piety and civic duty that furnished New England with institutions that have stood as land-marks in her history. "He served in King Philip's War under Captain Turner," and there passes in review the fierce and bloody conflict with the wily chieftain Philip, son of the friendly Massasoit, the burning of Springfield, the service of Goffe, the regicide, at Hadley, and the great Turners Falls victory. Comes the Revolution and the record, "He entered the Continental Army,"—entered it with sacrifice to home and family, entered it for hardship and suffering, perhaps death, entered it to become one of a pitifully small band of poorly equipped, under-organized patriots



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daring to pit their strength against the might of England for a principle alone. Closer touch with the events of later years gives their experiences closer reality, but reading between the lines is essential for the full significance of an early genealogical study to be grasped.

Emphasis upon the lives and services of the men of the colonial settlements can only be given if equal stress is laid upon the courage, patience, and devotion of the women of their families, the wives, mothers, and daughters to whom the transplantation from comfortable English homes was an upheaval endurable only through the sustaining strength of faith and love. Many a colonial goodwife proved herself the possessor of physical and moral courage the equal of that of her spouse, and despite the limited sphere of activity of women of that day, they share fully in the homage and honor bestowed by posterity.

In the following pages a clear ancestral trail is traced from the remote past to the present. It is a human document, full of interest and inspiration to him who reads it with knowledge and understanding. Fortunate are those who are "linked to the end of this goodly chain."

(The White Line).

*Arms*—Gules, a chevron between three boars' heads couped argent, tusked or.  
*Crest*—Out of a mural coronet gules a boar's head argent, bristled or.  
*Motto*—*Per ardua fama.* (Fame through difficulties).

The names White and Whyte are officially classified as nicknames, and were originally applied to those of a very fair complexion. Other surnames, whose derivation was identical, are Black, Brown, Read, Russell, Blunt, etc. Mention is made of the patronymic in nearly all of the early registers, rolls and records. The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) gives Geoffrey le Whyte, of County Cambridge, and Roger le Whyte, of County Sussex; and in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire (1379) are found the names of Thomas White, *souter*, and Magota Whyt.

(The Family in America).

(I) Elder John White was one of the first settlers of Cambridge in Massachusetts, of Hartford in Connecticut, and of Hadley in Massachusetts. Neither the time nor the place of his birth

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is known, but from the ages of his children and the time of his death it may reasonably be inferred that he was born about 1595-96.

His close connection with the Rev. Thomas Hooker and his church makes it very probable that he had known and valued Hooker's ministry in England. Chelmsford, the county-town of Essex County, about thirty miles northeast of London, was the seat of Hooker's labors. An examination of the parish register of Chelmsford shows that the name of White was a common one in that town, but as yet no evidence has been found connecting Elder John White's family with those in the parish register.

The first knowledge we have of John White is as a passenger in the ship "Lion," commanded by Captain Peirce, which sailed from England about June 22, 1632, and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, Sunday, September 16 following, after a voyage of eight weeks from Land's End.

John White was doubtless accompanied by his family, which then consisted of his wife and at least two children. He first settled at Cambridge, Massachusetts, with other followers of Rev. Thomas Hooker, who had come over earlier. The location and quantity of John's allotments of land indicate that in his contribution to the common stock of the settlement he was in a middle place, neither among the wealthier nor the poorer classes. It is a fair inference from this that his position in England was a comfortable one. He was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, March 4, 1633. In 1635 he was one of the selectmen with John Haynes, Simon Bradstreet, John Talcott, William Westwood, William Wadsworth, all prominent and influential citizens.

In June, 1636, the main body of Rev. Hooker's company, including probably one John White with his family, went to Hartford, Connecticut, where John was recorded as one of the original proprietors, and in 1642 was chosen one of the selectmen of the town. He was again elected to this office in 1646, 1651 and 1656.

Of his private life but little seems to be known. He was probably a farmer, for the records show that he owned some property in Middletown, but not the exact amount nor how long he retained it. Various differences of opinion among church members induced the followers of Elder Goodwin, who supported Rev. Hooker's views, to found a new settlement on the Connecticut River, above

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Springfield, and on April 18, 1659, sixty persons from Hartford and Wethersfield signed the agreement to remove to Hadley. The place of John White's name, as fifth on the list, indicates that he was among the leaders of that important movement. The record of the town of Hadley commences with the laying out of the homelots. John White's share in the common enterprise was represented by £150, the largest share being represented by £200. He was a selectman of the town in 1662, 1663 and 1665, and served the town in 1664 and 1669 as Representative, or Deputy as it was then styled, to the General Court or Legislature of Massachusetts. After 1670 his name does not appear on the records of Hadley, and it was probably during this year that he returned to Hartford where he became a member of the South Church and was given the office of elder.

Elder John White was married in England a few years before he came to Massachusetts. The Christian name of his wife was Mary, but nothing is known of her except that she was living in March, 1666. His will names six children, two or three of whom were born in England. The exact date of Elder John White's death is not known, but it must have occurred between December 17, 1683, the date of his will, and January 23, 1684, the date of the inventory of his estate.

The office of ruling elder in the church, which he held during the last ten or twelve years of his life, was one of great influence and importance. It required a grave, discreet and reliable man, one who had earned a good report of those without and those within the church; and such was John White. His life then can be summed up as follows: Elder John White came from England in the ship "Lion," arriving in Boston, Massachusetts, September 16, 1632. He settled first at Cambridge, later at Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1659 went to Hadley, Massachusetts, with other followers of Rev. Thomas Hooker. He held public office in each town where he lived, and finally, upon his return to Hartford about 1670 he was made ruling elder of the South Church. The date of his birth is not known. His death occurred about 1683-84.

He married, in England, Mary (surname not known), and they had six children, several of whom were born in England. Issue: 1. Mary, married Jonathan Gilbert. 2. Nathaniel, of whom for-

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ward. 3. John, married Sarah Bunce. 4. Daniel, married Sarah Crow. 5. Sarah, married Stephen Taylor. 6. Jacob, born October 8, 1645; married Elizabeth Bunce.

(II) Nathaniel White, second of the six children of Elder John and Mary White, was born in England about 1629. He was about three years old when his father came to New England, and about seven when the family removed from Cambridge to Hartford, Connecticut. In 1650 or 1651 he removed to Middletown, on the Connecticut River, being one of the original proprietors and first settlers of that town. He early acquired great influence, and was among the leading men of that section of the colony. He frequently represented the town in the Legislature of the colony. He was first chosen in 1659, when about thirty years of age, and from 1661 to 1710, a period of nearly fifty years, he was chosen deputy once every year and often twice. He was elected a Representative from Middletown eighty-five times, and was eighty-one years old when last chosen. Very few instances can be found of such long official life dependent on annual popular elections. There is probably no other instance in which the same political community, by a majority of all of its voters, has elected the same individual to be its representative in the Legislature of the State eighty-five times. In military life Nathaniel White rose through several grades to the rank of captain. He died, August 27, 1711, "aged about eighty-two," according to the inscription on his tombstone in Middletown.

He married (first) Elizabeth (surname unknown); and (second) Mrs. Martha Mould. Elizabeth, his first wife, "died in the year 1690, aged about 65 years," the inscription on her monument reads. She was the mother of all of Nathaniel's children. Issue: 1. Nathaniel, of whom forward. 2. Elizabeth, born March 7, 1655; married Sergeant John Clark, of Middletown. 3. John, born April 9, 1657; married Mary ———. 4. Mary, born April 7, 1659; married (first) Jacob Cornwall, of Middletown; (second) John Bacon, Sr. 5. Daniel, born February 23, 1662; married Susannah Mould. 6. Sarah, born January 22, 1664; married John Smith, of Maddam, Connecticut.

(III) Deacon Nathaniel White, eldest of the six children of Nathaniel and Elizabeth White, was born at Middletown, Upper Houses, Connecticut, July 7, 1652. About the time of his marriage he moved to Hadley, Massachusetts, where he settled upon the



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original home-lot of his grandfather, Elder John White. He took the oath of allegiance in Hadley in February, 1679, was elected constable in 1687, and between the years 1684 and 1715 was nine or ten times chosen as one of the selectmen. The records of the church in Hadley having been destroyed by fire in 1766, it is not known when he was chosen to the office of deacon, but the title is first given him in the town records in 1697. He lived to a ripe old age, and died in Hadley, February 15, 1742, when eighty-nine years and seven months old.

He married, March 28, 1678, Elizabeth Savage, of Middletown, daughter of John and Elizabeth Savage. She was born June 3, 1655, and died January 30, 1742, aged eighty-six years. (See Savage II). Issue: 1. Elizabeth, died young. 2. Nathaniel, born November 4, 1680; married Esther Strong. 3. John, born November 28, 1682; married Martha Church. 4. Sarah, probably died young. 5. Joseph, born February 28, 1687; married Abigail Craft. 6. Daniel, of whom forward. 7. Jacob, born December 5, 1691, died in June, 1693-94. 8. Mary, born October 16, 1693; married January 28, 1719, Israel Dickenson, of Hadley. 9. Elizabeth, born November 8, 1695; married, January (June?) 24, 1716, Deacon Samuel Montague, of Sunderland, Massachusetts. 10. William, born August 15, 1698; married (first) Mrs. Mary Taylor; (second) a Miss Warner. 11. Ebenezer, born April 9, 1701; married Ruth Ather-ton.

(IV) Daniel White, sixth of the eleven children of Deacon Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Savage) White, was born in Hadley, Massachusetts, March 1, 1690. He settled in West Springfield, Massachusetts, where he died October 19, 1721, aged thirty-one.

He was married, in 1715, to Hannah Bagg, of Springfield, daughter of John and Mercy (Thomas) Bagg. (See Bagg III). She died December 11, 1764, aged seventy-two. Issue: 1. Experience, born in 1715; married William Bliss. 2. Jacob, of whom forward. 3. Daniel, born June 22, 1719; married Priscilla Leonard. 4. Preserved, born August 31, 1721; married (first) R. Kilbourn; (second) S. Worthington.

(V) Lieutenant Jacob White, second of the four children of Daniel and Hannah (Bagg) White, was born in West Springfield, Massachusetts, November 13, 1716. He was a saddler in Spring-

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field, and also owned one-third part of the iron works there. He died January 10, 1762, aged forty-five years.

He married, February 2, 1745, Amy Stebbins, daughter of John and Sarah (Warriner-Thomas) Stebbins, of Springfield. She was born August 6, 1724, and died October 7, 1760, aged thirty-six years. (See Stebbins IV). Issue: 1. Amy, born July 25, 1746. 2. Jacob, born July 11, 1747. 3. Luther, of whom forward. 4. Lucy, born December 7, 1751, died November 8, 1753. 5. Lucy, born March 1, 1754, died December 5, 1757. 6. Calvin, born July 19, 1756. 7. Paul, born July 29, 1759.

(VI) Luther White, third of the seven children of Lieutenant Jacob and Amy (Stebbins) White, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, September 11, 1749, and probably died there about 1795. He probably enlisted in the Revolutionary War from Springfield. He had a wife and two children, and early in the war it was reported that he had died in the service, and his wife remarried and moved to Worthington, Massachusetts, February 10, 1796. Aaron Bartlett, brother of his wife, was appointed guardian for Luther, Jr., and bound him out to Levi Taylor, great-grandfather of Willard A. Taylor, of Granby. After seven years' service in the Revolutionary War, Luther White returned from the war, and finding his wife married and with small children, he established another home for himself in Sheffield, Massachusetts. The Massachusetts records show that eight men named Luther White served during the Revolutionary War. The Luther White of this paragraph is probably the one who joined the Westfield company on the "alarm" of April 19, 1775. He served several enlistments, and in June, 1782, was a sergeant in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.

He married (first) ——— Bartlett; and (second), in June, 1797, Mary Weldon, born in May, 1765. Issue by first wife: 1. Luther, of whom further. 2. Daniel. Issue by second wife: 3. Mary, born June 17, 1798. 4. Ruth. 5. Emma. 6. Reba. 7. Harriet. 8. Calvin, born January 27, 1810. 9. Achsah, died aged six years.

(VII) Luther White, eldest of the nine children of Luther White, was born on March 21, 1779, and died November 15, 1846. He was bound out to Levi Taylor, as aforementioned, and upon attaining his majority settled at Granby, Massachusetts.

He married, January 21, 1801, Abigail Preston (see Preston

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V), who was born May 21, 1781, and died April 27, 1838. Luther and Abigail (Preston) White were the parents of the following children: 1. Andrew, of whom forward. 2. Sophia, born May 24, 1804, and died March 22, 1839; married, May 18, 1834, Amory Doolittle, who died March 29, 1872. 3. Moses, born March 27, 1806, died February 16, 1872; married, October 26, 1830, Betsey Doane (1805-1894). 4. Homer, born August 7, 1808, died October 3, 1855; married, October 7, 1846, Emily Packard, who died February 10, 1872. 5. Maryett, born October 7, 1810, died December 15, 1888; married, December 7, 1835, Samuel Smith (1808-1890). 6. Abigail, born November 28, 1812, died October 19, 1836; married, September 19, 1833, William Minchin (1812-1881). 7. Sarah Maria, born December 7, 1814, died June 20, 1886; married, February 2, 1832, Larned P. Fiske (1808-1895). 8. Aaron Spencer, born March 7, 1817, died January 14, 1892; married (first), January 8, 1840, Lucilla F. Dickinson (1817-1844); and (second) Sophronia Dickinson (1823-1890). 9. Margaret, born February 3, 1820; married, February 19, 1840, Addison Ferry (1814-1853).

(VIII) Andrew White, eldest of the nine children of Luther and Abigail (Preston) White, was born August 2, 1802, in Granby, Massachusetts, and died October 15, 1882, in Chicopee, Hampden County, Massachusetts. He was a farmer by occupation, and spent most of his life at Granby.

He married, September 9, 1835, in Granby, Massachusetts, Philena Stebbins, a daughter of Deacon John and Jerusha (Clark) Stebbins. She was born in Granby, April 21, 1806, and died there June 2, 1877. (See Stebbins VII). Andrew and Philena (Stebbins) White were the parents of one child: Luther, of whom forward.

(IX) Judge Luther White, only child of Andrew and Philena (Stebbins) White, and a representative of the ninth American generation of the ancient English family of White, was born in Granby, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, on September 2, 1841. His early education was obtained in the public schools of his native town, following which he attended the Chicopee High School, from which he was graduated in 1856. There followed a two years' course at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Massachusetts, preparatory to a college course. He then matriculated at Brown University, and was graduated from this time-honored institution with the



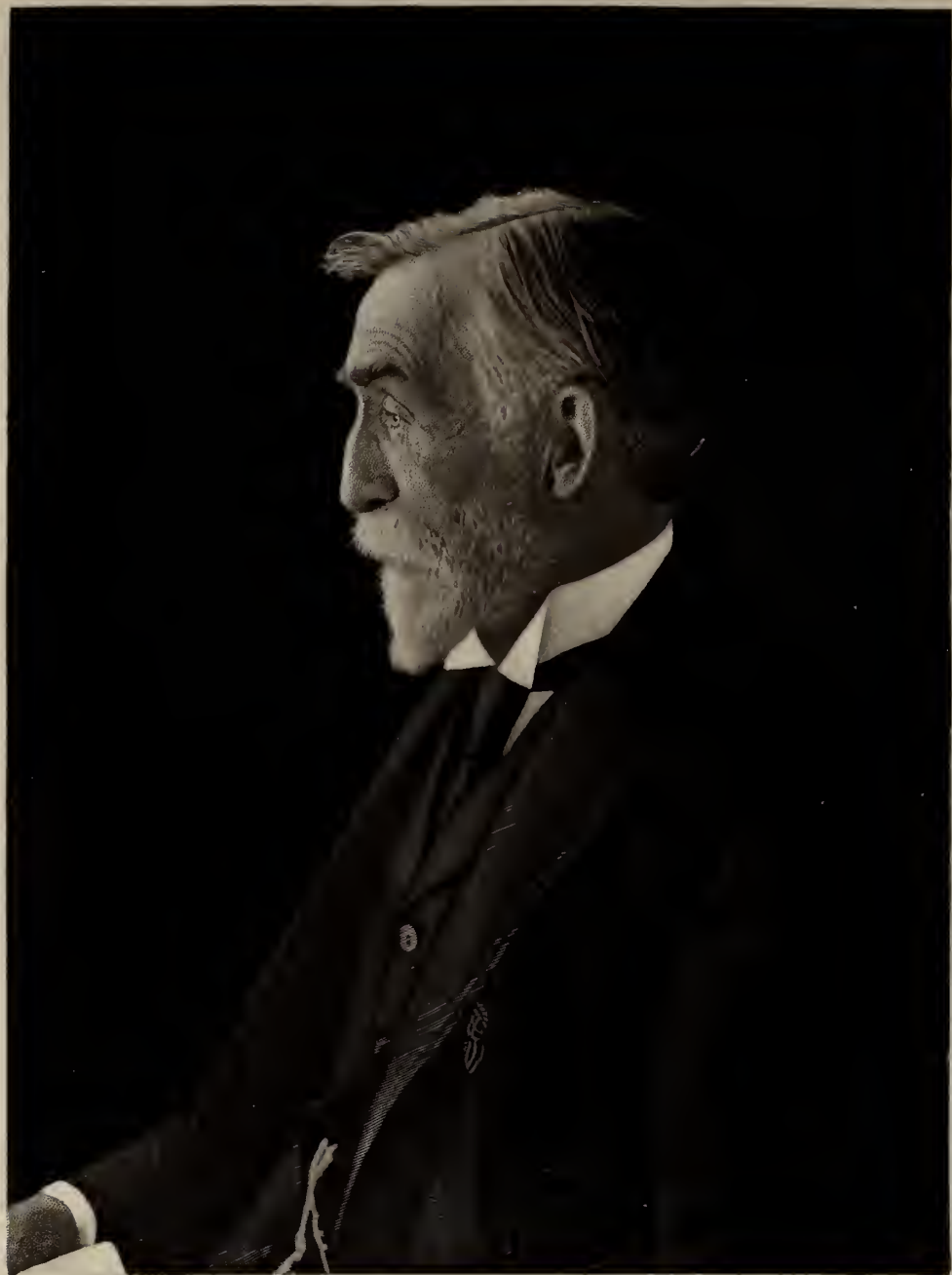
*Margaret (White) Ferry*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY









*Luther White*



Mary J. (Hadley) White





## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

class of 1864, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Upon the completion of his classical education he at once began the study of law under the expert tutorship of Charles D. Robinson, of Charlestown, a brother of Governor Robinson. Mr. White, in due time, was admitted to the bar of Middlesex County, and soon began the practice of his chosen profession in the offices of Wells & Soule. The year 1870 marked his removal to Chicopee, where he continued to practice until his death, forty-four years later.

Judge White served Chicopee in many public offices and for many years' duration. He was school committeeman at one time; was appointed associate judge of the District Court of Chicopee in 1903; and filled the office of city solicitor from 1903 to 1912. He was president of the Common Council in 1891, and for several years served as a trustee of the public library. Judge White was a wise and learned member of his profession, devoted to his clientage, and possessed of an unusual forensic ability. His practice was comprehensive, embracing all branches of law and jurisprudence; while his code of professional ethics was strict and honorable in the extreme. Judge White was equally prominent and active in the business world, having been a director of the Chicopee First National Bank; a trustee of the Chicopee Savings Bank, as well as secretary of that institution for many years; treasurer, director, and later secretary of the Ames Manufacturing Company (subsequently known as the Ames Sword Company); vice-president of the Overman Wheel Company; an associate of Lewis M. Ferry in the fire insurance business; and a member of the board of directors of the Chicopee Gas Light Company.

Politically, Judge White was a staunch Republican, and had given his allegiance and support to the party since the early days of his majority. His religious affiliation was given to the Third Congregational Church. He was an active member of the Brown University Club, of Springfield, the American Bar Association, the Hampden County Bar Association, and the Massachusetts State Bar Association.

Judge White's death occurred in Chicopee, Massachusetts, on March 15, 1914, where he had lived and labored for nearly half a century. His activities, legal, business, and political, reacted in every instance to the welfare of his adopted town, and when Chicopee became a city in 1891, Judge White continued to take a leading

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

part in civic affairs. In his profession and in business he was very successful, and his death stilled for all time an unusually active, worthy, honorable and beneficent life.

Judge Luther White married, in Chicopee, Massachusetts, on October 5, 1871, Mary J. Hadley, born in Worcester, August 29, 1846, died at Chicopee, Massachusetts, October 6, 1912, a daughter of Moses C. and Adeline M. (Wells) Hadley, of Chicopee. (See Hadley VI). Judge and Mrs. White were the parents of one child: Mabel Adeline, of whom further.

(X) Mabel Adeline White, only child of Judge Luther and Mary J. (Hadley) White, and a representative of the tenth generation of the White family in America, was born at Chicopee, Massachusetts, on January 4, 1874. Miss White resides (1925) at No. 151 Fairview Avenue, Chicopee, Massachusetts.

(The Clark Line).

*Arms*—Or, a bend engrailed azure.

Among the official names are the present-day surnames of Clark, Clarke, Clerk and Clerke, derived from the office of clerk, *i. e.*, a clergyman, or a clerk in Holy orders. The Middle English meaning of clerk was priest. The surname now, however, is almost universally spelled Clark, or Clarke, although the professional form adheres to clerk; the differentiation being identical to tailor and Taylor. It has been said by that eminent etymologist and orthographer, the late Charles Wareing Bardsley, Honorary Canon of Carlisle Cathedral, that if Clark and Clarke be considered as one name, they stand ninth among the commonest surnames to be found in England. A few instances of the name as found recorded in old English documents are as follows: "The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) gives Boniface Clericus and Thomas le Clerk of County Lincoln, Batekyn Clericus of County Essex, Gilbert le Clerk of County Oxford and Thomas le Clerck of County Bucks; while the Poll Tax of Yorkshire (1379 A. D.) makes mention of Robertus Clarke, Beatrix Clerc, *wyf*, Henricus Clerk, and Robertus Clerké et Johanna *uxor ejus*, and Agnes Clerk, *daughter*."

The Clark family of England is both numerous and of great antiquity. The name came to designate one who could read and write in the almost medieval early times. It was then often the surname Clarke, Clerke and Clearke, of such persons, but particularly of those recording and preserving deeds.

HADLEY.

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron and fesse argent, in chief three annulets or.

STEBBINS.

*Arms*—Argent, a griffin segreant azure, langued and membered gules, between three crosses crosslet of the last.

CLARK.

*Arms*—Or, a bend engrailed azure.

BAGG.

*Arms*—Paly and bendy of six counterchanged argent and gules, on a chief or three cinquefoils azure.

*Crest*—Two wings, endorsed, gules and argent, the latter charged with a cinquefoil azure.

SAVAGE.

*Arms*—Six lioncels rampant sable, three, two, and one, armed and langued gules, on a field argent.

*Crest*—A lion's gamb, proper, rising out of a ducal coronet, or.

WARRINER.

*Arms*—Gules, a fess chequy or and ermine between two horses courant argent.



...the ... of the ...



Hadley



Stebbins



Clark



Hagg



Savage



Warriner



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in America).

The family in America is descended from four brothers, John Joseph, Thomas, and Carew Clark, of Bedfordshire, England, who came over in the seventeenth century, and from William Clark, the progenitor of nearly all the Clarks in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The latter was born in Dorsetshire, England, in 1609, and sailed from Plymouth to this country in the ship "Mary and John," March 30, 1630. The ship arrived at Nantucket, May 30. After looking about they decided to settle in Dorchester. Three other members of the Clark family were in the company, Bray, Thomas, and Joseph, who, with William, were among the first settlers of Dorchester. The memory of Bray, Joseph and Thomas is preserved by this couplet on their gravestone:

Here lie three Clerks, their accounts are even,  
Entered on Earth, Carried to Heaven.

(I) Lieutenant William Clark was in Dorchester previous to 1635, and the family tradition, borne out by research, is that he came in the ship "Mary and John." Mr. Clark probably removed to Northampton soon after the birth of his daughter Sarah in 1638, and was Representative from that town in 1663. He died July 17, 1690, aged ninety-one years. He was a selectman of Dorchester in 1648. In 1653 he was one of the petitioners to the Great and General Court for permission to settle in the "New Country" of the Connecticut Valley, and he removed his family on horseback to Northampton in 1659, through the forests which had then but one solitary trail east and west. The wife, with three children, rode on two panniers, and the husband, then fifty-three years of age, preceded her on foot, picking out the trail through the woods.

William Clark had been married by Eleazer Mather, who was preacher at Northampton, and son of Richard Mather, the settled minister at Dorchester, as a proper person to receive a grant of land if he would come and live in the town. The name of William Clark is one of the nineteen representing Northampton in Colonel William's regiment in the French and Indian wars. During the twenty-three years succeeding his first election as townsman he was twenty times a member of that body. He was the first citizen who ever served as deputy to the General Court, and from 1663-



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1682 he was fourteen times elected to that office, though not consecutively.

William Clark supplied the commissary department to some extent during King Philip's War. He was chosen lieutenant of the First Military Company ever organized here when that was the office of highest rank to which the company, on account of its small numbers, was entitled. He was in active service during King Philip's War, and was at the same time a member of the military committee of the county. He was a man of great public spirit, resolute and capable, a pioneer of unusual distinction.

He was twice married. His first wife, Sarah (surname unknown), died in Northampton, September 6, 1675-76, and the next year he married Sarah, widow of Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, who was killed by the Indians when Springfield was burned in 1675. Sarah (Cooper) Clark died May 18, 1688. He had ten children, all but two born before he came to Northampton, and all by his first wife: 1. Sarah, born April 21, 1638. 2. John, of whom forward. 3. Nathaniel, born November 27, 1641. 4. Experience, born January 30, 1643. 5. Increase, baptized January 1, 1646. 6. Samuel, baptized August 23, 1653. 7. William, born May 3, 1656. 8. Sarah, baptized January 20, 1658-59. 9. Nathaniel, born in Boston. 10. Child, name unknown.

(II) Deacon John Clark, second of the ten children of Lieutenant William and Sarah Clark, was born August 8, 1639. He lived in Northampton, serving as Representative for the years 1699, 1700, 1701, 1703. Eleven of his children married and had families. His death occurred September 3, 1704.

He was twice married, (first) on July 12, 1677, to Rebecca Cooper, a daughter of Lieutenant Thomas and Sarah Cooper, of Springfield. (See Cooper II). Rebecca (Cooper) Clark died in May, 1678, and on March 20, 1679, Deacon John Clark married (second) Mary Strong, a daughter of the Elder John Strong. (See Strong II). Issue by first wife: 1. Sarah, born April 20, 1678. Issue by second wife: 2. John, born October, 1679(?). 3. Nathaniel, born May 13, 1681. 4. Ebenezer, born October 18, 1682. 5. Increase, of whom forward. 6. Mary, born October 27, 1685. 7. Rebecca, born November 22, 1687. 8. Experience, born October 30, 1689. 9. Abigail, born in March, 1692. 10. Noah, born March 28,

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1694. 11. Thankful, born February 13, 1696, died in a few weeks.  
12. Josiah, born June 11, 1697.

(III) Increase Clark, fourth among the children of Deacon John and Mary (Strong) Clark, was born April 8, 1684. He married, in 1710, Mary (Sheldon) Clapp, widow of Samuel Clapp. (See Sheldon III). Children: 1. Mary, born in 1711; married Jerijah Strong. 2. Daniel, born in 1713; married (first), in 1739, Experience Allen, and they had six children; married (second) Mary Field, of Sunderland, and they had three children. 3. Eunice, born in 1714. 4. Moses, born in 1716. 5. Lois, born in 1718; married Bela Strong. 6. Simeon, of whom forward. 7. Richard, born September 5, 1725, died August 8, 1728, unmarried. 8. Elijah, born June 14, 1730; became a deacon; he married Experience Field, of Sunderland, November 8, 1759, and had eight children.

(IV) Deacon Simeon Clark, sixth of the eight offspring of Increase and Mary (Sheldon-Clapp) Clark, was born October 20, 1720, and died in Amherst, October 28, 1801. He was married by Jonathan Edwards, November 2, 1749, to Rebecca Strong, second child of Nathaniel Strong. She died January 13, 1811, aged eighty-six. In 1750 Deacon Simeon Clark moved to Amherst, Massachusetts, and was chosen deacon there. Children: 1. Eunice, born August 11, 1750; married Timothy Green, and died May 6, 1776. 2. Simeon, born June 25, 1752; married (first) Lucy Hubbard; (second), April 23, 1795, Irene Lewis; resident in Amherst; and died May 3, 1831. 3. Levi, born August 27, 1753; married —— Lincoln, and died in September, 1836. 4. Judah, born April 18, 1756, died September 9, 1757. 5. Lois, born March 9, 1758, died June 20, 1759. 6. Judah, born August 16, 1759; married, November 26, 1789, Esther Merrick, and died July 18, 1842. 7. Ashel, born February 6, 1762; married, November 23, 1786, Irene Hubbard, and died in Amherst, March 7, 1800. 8. Lois, born January 3, 1764; married, January 29, 1792, Oliver Cows, of Amherst, and died December 4, 1803. 9. Justus, born November 24, 1765; married, October 26, 1794, Dorcas Pomeroy, and died December 25, 1847. 10. Mary, born December 13, 1767; married, as his third wife, Deacon John Stebbins, of Granby. (See Stebbins VI). 11. Jerusha, born May 31, 1770, died January 19, 1771. 12. Jerusha, of whom forward.

(V) Jerusha Clark, youngest of the twelve children of Deacon

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Simeon and Rebecca (Strong) Clark, was born May 12, 1772, in Amherst, Massachusetts, and died March 26, 1815. She married (as second wife), November 19, 1804, probably at Amherst, Deacon John Stebbins, son of Asaph and Lucy (Bardwell) Stebbins. He was born December 22, 1763, in Granby, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, and died there January 15, 1847. Deacon John Stebbins had six children by his first wife, Susannah (Warner) Stebbins. (See Stebbins VI).

(The Stebbins Line).

*Arms*—Argent, a griffin segreant azure, langued and membered gules, between three crosses crosslet of the last.

The family name Stebbins is a shortened form of “of Stebbins,” which, with two other spellings of the name, Stebbing and Stebbens, are all place-names, meaning “of Stebbing,” a parish in County Essex, England. Stebbings, Stebbens and Stebbins are genitive forms, as also are such patronymics as Brooks, Styles, Williams, Jones, etc. The word Stebbing itself is derived from Stub (Saxon, *stybs*; Latin, *stipes*), a stump; and *ing*, a field or meadow. As it was first applied to the parish of Stubing or Stibing, it may well have been a “stumpy field.” It is variously written in the old records as Stabinge, Stebinge, Stebin, Stebbings, Stebbins, Stebingham, etc. Bearers of the surname appear in early records as follows: The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) gives Richard de Stebing, of County Essex, and Thomas Stebin, of Cambridgeshire; St. James Clerkenwell records the baptism in 1581 of Isabel, daughter of George Stebbyn; and Blomefield and Parkins’ “History of Norfolk” (1615 A. D.) makes mention of Martin Stebbyn, of Norwich. The Stebbings, Stebbins, etc., soon became numerous in several counties of England, although their stronghold remained the parish of Stebbing, in County Essex. The heraldic device previously given is the one credited to the American Stebbins by the genealogist, Greenlee, in his historical account of the family in the New World.

Although there seems to be no direct evidence as to the birth-place of Rowland Stebbins, the ancestor of over ninety-five per cent. of the Stebbins descendants in America, there is a strong probability that he was born in or near the parish of Stebbing, Essex County. While in England he is said to have been a friend of William

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Pynchon, who was born in Springfield, Essex County (ten miles from Stebbing), in 1590, being only four years older than Rowland Stebbins. William Pynchon came to New England in 1629, and was the principal founder of Roxbury, Massachusetts, where Rowland Stebbins settled upon his arrival in New England in 1634 or 1635.

(The Family in America).

(I) Rowland Stebbins was born in England in 1594, and died December 14, 1671, at Northampton, Massachusetts. He married, in England, Sarah (surname unknown), who was born in 1591, in England, and who died in October, 1649, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Rowland and his wife Sarah came in the ship "Francis," of Ipswich, sailing for New England in April, 1634. They probably landed at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1634, or early in 1635, and settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he subsequently owned land. He was admitted a freeman, and sometime after 1664 he removed to Northampton, where he probably made his home with his son John. Rowland and Sarah Stebbins had issue: 1. Thomas, of whom forward. 2. Sarah, born in 1623; married Thomas Merrick. 3. John, born in 1626, in England; married (first), March 14, 1646, in Springfield, Massachusetts, Ann (Munson) Munden, widow of Abraham Munden; she died in 1656, in Springfield; John married (second) Abigail Bartlett. Witchcraft was the cause of the death of John. 4. Elizabeth, born in 1628; married John Clark.

(II) Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins, eldest of the four children of Rowland and Sarah Stebbins, was born in 1620, in England, and died September 15, 1683, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins was chosen townsman or selectman, November 2, 1652, and again in 1653 and 1655. He was one of the witnesses to the Indian deed dated September 24, 1653, conveying the land of Nonotuck (now Northampton, Massachusetts) to John Pynchon, of Springfield. Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins served in King Philip's War under Captain William Turner, and also filled various public offices.

He was married, in November, 1645, in Springfield, Massachusetts, to Hannah Wright, who died October 16, 1660, in Springfield. She was the daughter of Deacon Samuel Wright. (See Wright II). Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins was married (second), Decem-



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ber 14, 1676, in Springfield, Massachusetts, to Abigail (Burt-Ball) Munn, widow of Francis Ball and Benjamin Munn. (See Burt II). She was born about 1623, in England, and died November 23, 1707, at Springfield, Massachusetts. She was a daughter of Deacon Henry and Ulalia or Eulalia (Marche) Burt. They resided at Springfield, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Samuel, born September 19, 1646; married (first) Joanna Lamb; and (second) Abigail Brooks. 2. Thomas, born July 31, 1648; married Abigail Munn, daughter of his step-mother. 3. Joseph, born May 18, 1650, died November 9, 1651. 4. Joseph, of whom forward. 5. Sarah, born August 8, 1654; married Samuel Bliss. 6. Edward, born April 14, 1656; married Sarah Graves. 7. Benjamin, born April 11, 1658; married (first) Abigail Denton; (second) Mary (Graves) Ball. 8. Hannah, born October 1-2, 1660, died aged seventeen years. 9. Rowland, born October 1-2, 1660, and died April 24, 1661.

(III) Lieutenant Joseph Stebbins, fourth of the nine children of Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins, was born October 24, 1652, at Springfield, Massachusetts, and died there, October 15, 1728. He married, November 27, 1673, at Springfield, Sarah Dorchester, who was born October 16, 1653, at Springfield, Massachusetts, and died there August 18, 1746. She was a daughter of Anthony and Martha (Kritchwell) Dorchester, who resided at Springfield, Massachusetts. Lieutenant Joseph and Sarah (Dorchester) Stebbins were the parents of the following offspring: 1. Joseph, born October 4, 1674; married Rebecca Colton. 2. Benjamin, born January 23, 1676-77; married Martha (Blacksman) Ball. 3. Thomas, born July 13, 1679; married Sarah Strong. 4. John, born September 22, 1681, died November 17, 1686. 5. Mehitable, born November 27, 1683; married Jonathan Strong. 6. Ebenezer, born June 8 (or November 20), 1686, died July 17, 1765. 7. Sarah, born June 8, 1688; married David Chapin. 8. John, of whom forward. 9. Hannah, born November 9, 1692; married, March 11, 1713, Michael Tonslay. 10. Martha, born June 28, 1697; married, May 4, 1720, Samuel Lamb.

(IV) John Stebbins, eighth of the ten children of Lieutenant Joseph and Sarah (Dorchester) Stebbins, was born November 8, 1690, in Springfield, Massachusetts, and died there February 23, 1743. He was married, December 22, 1715, in Springfield, to Sarah (Warriner) Thomas, widow of Ebenezer Thomas, who was born October 13, 1690, in Springfield, Massachusetts, and died there

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

August 25, 1734. She was a daughter of Deacon James and Sarah (Alvord) Warriner. (See Warriner III). John and Sarah (Warriner-Thomas) Stebbins had the following children, all born in Springfield: 1. Sarah, born April 8, 1717, died unmarried, in November, 1788. 2. Amy, born October 20, 1719, died young. 3. Amy, born August 6, 1724; married Lieutenant Jacob White. (See White V). 4. John, born December 30, 1726, died October 16, 1760. 5. Lydia, born September 8, 1728; married (first), February 2, 1744, Moses Mirrick; (second), in July, 1759, Samuel Brooks. 6. Edward, born September 26, 1729; married Elizabeth Burt. 7. Asaph, (twin) of whom forward. 8. Lois, (twin) born February 3, 1732; married Thomas Goldwaithe.

(V) Asaph Stebbins, seventh of the eight children of John and Sarah (Warriner-Thomas) Stebbins, was born February 3, 1732, at Springfield, Massachusetts, and died July 20, 1806, at Granby, Massachusetts. Asaph Stebbins was a small man and very active. He served in the French and Indian War, and was wounded by the Indians near Ticonderoga. He served in Captain Taylor's army. He entered the Revolutionary War from Granby, Massachusetts. Straying from camp one day, he was shot twice by Indians, once in the thigh and once through the elbow. They supposed him to be dead and left him. After rallying, he made his way back near to his camp and hailed some of his comrades who, on recognizing his voice, went to his relief. He lived for several years after this, but was always lame.

He married Lucy Bardwell, born in 1743, and died February 18, 1826, aged eighty-three years, at Granby, Massachusetts. Asaph and Lucy (Bardwell) Stebbins had issue: 1. John, of whom forward. 2. Lucy, born August 3, 1765, died June 11, 1837; married Levi Smith. 3. Asaph, born June 26, 1767, died in 1822-23, unmarried. 4. Heman, born July 14, 1769; married Sarah Dickinson. He died April 2, 1834, and her death occurred April 12, 1826, aged fifty-four years. 5. Apphia, born October 17, 1771; married Joel Preston. She died February 2, 1812. 6. Lois, born December 31, 1773; married John Smith. She died March 13, 1842. 7. Roxa (also given Roxy), died in infancy. 8. Sylvanus, born October 27, 1778; married (first) Lucinda Kellogg; (second) Philena (Arnold) Strong. He died August 2, 1861. 9. Erastus, born April

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

4, 1781; married Ruth Smith. 10. Roxa (or Roxy), born January, 1783; married Chester Ferry. She died July 24, 1855. He died July 7, 1856, aged seventy-four years.

(VI) Deacon John Stebbins, eldest of the ten children of Asaph and Lucy (Bardwell) Stebbins, was born December 22, 1763, in Granby, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, and died there January 15, 1847. He was married (first) November 16, 1791, probably in Amherst, Massachusetts, to Susannah Warner, born October 16, 1772, in Amherst, and died there December 20, 1803. She was a daughter of Aaron and Ruth Warner. He was married (second) November 19, 1804, probably at Amherst, to Jerusha Clark, born May 12, 1772, at Amherst, and died there March 26, 1815. She was a daughter of Deacon Simeon and Rebecca (Strong) Clark. They resided at Granby, Massachusetts. (See Clark V). He was married (third), on April 25, 1816, to Mary Clark (sister of his second wife). She was born December 13, 1767, and died June 30, 1855. (See Clark IV). Children by first wife: 1. Ruth Warner, born August 14, 1792; married Horace Cook. She died December 12, 1859. 2. Josephus, born October 23, 1795, died January 21, 1801. 3. Aaron Warner, born August 11, 1797; married Lucy Doolittle Chapin. He died January 16, 1888. 4. John Anson, born February 10, 1799; married Martha Huddleston Gill. He died February 1, 1847. 5. Cyrus, born October 4, 1800; married Mary Ann Harris. He died September 28, 1859. 6. Susannah, born September 30, 1802, died August 17, 1803. Children by second wife: 7. Philena, of whom further. 8. Josephus, born January 27, 1808, died February 15, 1833. 9. Lucius, born June 5, 1810; married Martha Dickinson. He died February 7, 1901. 10. Francis Strong, born August 22, 1812; married Acelia Dickinson. He died June 6, 1882. 11. Simeon Clark, born March 20, 1815; married Adeline Smith. He died January 22, 1881.

(VII) Philena Stebbins, a daughter of Deacon John and Jerusha (Clark) Stebbins, was born April 21, 1806, in Granby, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, and died there June 2, 1877. She married, September 9, 1835, in Granby, Andrew White, born August 2, 1802, in Granby, Massachusetts, and died October 15, 1882, in Chicopee, Hampden County, Massachusetts. He was a farmer and resided at Granby. (See White VIII).

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Bagg Line).

*Arms*—Paly and bendy of six counterchanged argent and gules, on a chief or three cinquefoils azure.

*Crest*—Two wings, endorsed, gules and argent, the latter charged with a cinquefoil azure.

The family name Bagg is derived from the personal name Bagg, brought into England by the Danish invaders. This is confirmed by the diminutive Bagekoc, Henry Bagekoc being on record in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge in 1273, as well as William Bage; the suffix, koc, or cock, being added to Christen names only. Robert Bagge is on the Hundred Rolls of Buckinghamshire, and Walter Bagg in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327. Other old English records also make mention of this surname.

(I) John Bagg is believed to have emigrated from Plymouth in Devonshire, England, and he appears on the records of Springfield, Massachusetts, where, in 1660, he conveyed lands to Hugh Dudley. In 1668 his name was signed to a Springfield petition. He was married, in 1657, to Hannah Burt, a daughter of Deacon Henry and Ulalia, or Eulalia (Marche) Burt, who came to Springfield in 1640. She was born April 28, 1641, and died August 1, 1680. (See Burt I). Children: 1. Hannah, born in 1658, died in 1740; married, February 3, 1681, Nathaniel Sikes. 2. Mercy, born in 1660, died in 1738; married, in 1679, Ebenezer Jones. 3. Daniel, died in December, 1663. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Daniel, born in 1668, died in 1738; married, in 1694, Hannah ———; ten children. 6. Jonathan, born in 1670, died in 1746; married, in 1696, Mary Weller; nine children. 7. Abigail, born April 23, 1673. 8. James, born in 1675, died in 1689. 9. Sarah, born in 1678; married (first), in 1701, Berwin Atchinson; (second) Samuel Barnard. 10. Abilene, born July 25, 1680.

(II) John Bagg, son of John and Hannah (Burt) Bagg, was born in Springfield, March 26, 1665, and died there in November, 1740. He was married, March 30, 1689, to Mercy Thomas, who was born May 15, 1671. Children, born in Springfield, Massachusetts: 1. Mercy, born March 6, 1690. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born in 1694, died in 1726; married, in 1717, Samuel Taylor. 4. John, born April 23, 1696, died January 28, 1776; married, in January, 1730, Elizabeth Stockwell. 5. Abigail, born in 1699; married, in 1724, John Day. 6. James, born in 1702, died in 1749; married, in 1744, Bathsheba Dewey. 7. Thankful,



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

born in 1704, died in 1747; married, in 1727, Joseph Leonard. 8. Rachel, born and died in 1706. 9. Rachel, born in 1708; married (first), in 1731, Pelatiah Morgan; (second) Ebenezer Day, Jr. 10. Thomas, born February 22, 1710, died April 11, 1776; married, in 1748, Margaret Root. 11. Ebenezer, born May 14, 1713, died March 18, 1803; married, in 1748, Lois Lamb.

(III) Hannah Bagg, daughter of John and Mercy (Thomas) Bagg, was born in Springfield in 1692. She was married, in 1715, to Daniel White, son of Deacon Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Savage) White. (See White IV.)

(The Savage Line).

*Arms*—Six lioncels rampant sable, three, two, and one, armed and langued gules, on a field argent.

*Crest*—A lion's gamb, proper, rising out of a ducal coronet, or.

The patronymic Savage is classified as a nick-name, and during the early days pertained to those whose personal characteristics gave rise to the name. The eminent authority, Bardsley, explains this usage as follows: "It is curious that Wild and Savage should be so popular as sobriquets, but fierceness was fascinating." Both Savage and Wild became very popular during the surname epoch, the former appearing also as Salvage and Sauvage. There are many instances of the name in ancient English records. In the Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) is found mention of Walter Salvage, of County Suffolk. The Poll Tax of Yorkshire for the year 1379 gives Beatrix Sawage and Robertus Sawfage.

A very old blazon of arms, whose history seems to be unknown, identical with the arms of Savage (given previously), of Rock Savage, County of Chester, England, is preserved in the Savage family, members of which, like the Massachusetts branch, have inherited a tradition of kinship to the titled family in Cheshire.

Of the ancient and noble Norman family of Savage, or, as the Normans wrote it, Le Sauvage, the first who came into these kingdoms passed from Normandy into England with the army of the Conqueror, A. D. 1066, and settled in Derbyshire. From Derbyshire, the Savage family branched out into several English counties, and from Derbyshire, in 1177, they established themselves in Ireland in the person of William Savage, one of the twenty-two knights who fought De Courey in the subjugation of Ulster, and subsequently one of the Ulster Palatine Barons.

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

In England, the Savages became the owners of extensive estates, held high offices, contracted noble alliance, distinguished themselves at decisive political conjunctives, amassed great wealth, attached themselves to successive monarchs, were advanced to various dignities, and the Viscounts Savage and Earl Rivers transmitted Royal blood to their descendants. The family contributed its share of illustrious men to the State, to arms, to the church, to literature.

(1) The earliest information concerning John Savage, who settled in 1652 in Middletown, Connecticut, then known by the Indian name Mattabesett or Mattabesack, is that contained in Hartford (Connecticut) records, as follows:

“John Savage of Hartford was married to Elizabeth Dubbin ye tenth day of febre: one thousand six hundred and fifty-two.”

Presumably this is a corruption of D'Aubin, to-day commonly written Aubin, one of the many patronymics derived from the name of Ste. Aubin (latine Albinus), Bishop of Antwerp. Whence John Savage came, where and when he landed in America, are alike unknown to his descendants. As few besides Englishmen were then in New England, it is probable that he came from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and thence removed to Hartford. The spelling of the name is various. Hon. R. R. Hinman, long Secretary of State in Connecticut, and well informed as to the early settlers, says: “Savage, Savidge, Savadge, John of Middletown was made free at Hartford, 18 May 1654.”

His will is signed “John Saudig,” though in the declaration with which that instrument opens, it is written “Saudedg.” The same uncertainty as to the spelling exists elsewhere. In France, at Bayeux, Normandy, and at Poitiers, Sauvage prevails, and in Canada the French spelling is followed. In the seventeenth century the name applied to members of the Massachusetts family; in the public records of that Colony were written Savadge, Savidge, Savige and Sauage, as well as Savage.

John Savage settled in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1652. He married Elizabeth Dubbin, February 10, 1652. He was made free-man, May 18, 1654. In 1674 he possessed 1,207 acres of land, and his name is seventh on the list of members who organized, September 14, 1668, the first Congregational Church of Middletown.

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He was one of the townsmen of Middletown in 1657, and held the military rank of sergeant, as appears by "An Inventory of the Estate of Sarg'nt John Saudg, deceased March 6, 1684-5," filed with Hartford Probate Records, where his will may also be found. John left an estate of eight hundred and five acres and property valued at £480 15s. John and Elizabeth (Dubbin) Savage were the parents of the following offspring: 1. John, born December 2, 1652. 2. Elizabeth, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born July 30, 1657; married, March 28, 1678, Israel Wilcox. 4. Thomas, born September 10, 1659, died in December, 1659. 5. Hannah, born April 6, 1661, died in May, 1661. 6. Mary, born June 25, 1663; married, April 1, 1686, John Whitmore. 7. Abigail, born July 10, 1666; married, April 14, 1687, Edward Shepard. 8. William, born April 26, 1668. 9. Nathaniel, born May 7, 1671. 10. Rachel, born April 15, 1673; married John Spinning. 11. Hannah.

(II) Elizabeth Savage, second of the eleven children of John and Elizabeth (Dubbin) Savage, was born June 3, 1655. She was married, March 28, 1678, to Deacon Nathaniel White, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth White, of Middletown, Connecticut. They lived at Hadley, Massachusetts. She died January 30, 1742. (See White III.)

(The Warriner Line).

*Arms*—Gules, a fess chequy or and ermine between two horses courant argent.

As a surname "Warriner" seems to have been spelled Warriner and Warriner almost interchangeably from the very first. The word means the owner of a warren, a warren being a rabbit park, and sometimes a hunting reserve of large extent. It is said to have been applied by way of distinction to the owners of such lands. Hence, it is classified as an official surname, and the duties of the early bearers of it were similar to those of the parker, forester, or woodward, all of whom were custodians of the forest, chase, park, or warren, and all of which names eventually became surnames. The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) contain the names of Robert le Warrener of Somersetshire, Thomas le Wariner of London, and William le Warenner of Gloucestershire. Another ancient spelling of the patronymic was Waryner. The coat-of-arms, given previously, is the only heraldic device extant for the family of Warriner.

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in America).

The original ancestor of the New England Warriners joined the settlers of Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1638. His birthplace and ancestry are unknown. That England was the land of his nativity is probable beyond all doubt.

He seems to have been one of the earliest of that name of whom history or tradition gives us any account. Tradition says that William Warriner, about the year 1600, eloped from Lincolnshire, England, with Lady (Alice) Clifford (?), daughter of Lord Howe or Howard, an English admiral, and made his escape into Yorkshire. While crossing a river, one or two of the Warriners were drowned. William and another were saved, also the lady. And the traditions state that William settled in Yorkshire.

The English records of that period mention several Warriners, one of whom in particular bears the name of William.

The parish records establish a strong probability that the William Warriner mentioned many times in the Canterbury Cathedral Register, who had children christened in that church from 1601-1614, who buried several children in Canterbury Churchyard, whose wife Alice was buried there in 1619, and of whom all records in the books of Canterbury Cathedral cease at that time, is the same William Warriner who eloped from Lincolnshire about 1600 with Lady (Alice) Clifford (?) and that he is the identical William Warriner who appeared among the pioneers of Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1638.

If this be the case, he was probably a widower; at least fifty-seven years of age when he married Joanna Scant in 1639, and about ninety-four when he died in 1676—all of which is quite probable, although diligent research has failed to prove it.

(I) William Warriner, the New England ancestor, was made a freeman, or voter, in 1638. Under the first charter of the Massachusetts Colony none were regarded as freemen, or members of the body politic, except such as were admitted by the General Court and took the oath of allegiance to the government here established.

William Warriner's first wife was probably Lady (Alice) Clifford. He married (second) in 1639, Johanna Scant. The town clerk made the following record of her death: "Johanna,



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

wife of Wm. Warriner, dyed ye 7th of ye 12th mon. 1660." On October 2, 1661, he married (third) in Hadley, Massachusetts, Elizabeth Hitchcock, widow of Luke Hitchcock, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, whose children were: Hannah, John, and Luke Hitchcock. Elizabeth survived William and became the third wife of Joseph Baldwin, of Hadley. (See Baldwin III.) William Warriner owned a considerable part of what is now the heart of Springfield. He died in Springfield, Massachusetts, June 2, 1676, age not known. Children, all born in Springfield: 1. James, of whom forward. 2. Hannah, born June 17, 1643; married, November 1, 1660, Thomas Noble. 3. Joseph, born February 6, 1645.

(II) Deacon James Warriner, eldest child of William Warriner, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, November 21, 1640. He was among the inhabitants of Springfield who took the oath of allegiance December 3, 1678.

He married (first) in Springfield, March 31, 1664, Elizabeth Baldwin, daughter of Joseph Baldwin, one of the first settlers of Mulford, Massachusetts. ("History of Springfield," says "Elizabeth Baldwin of Hadley.") (See Baldwin IV.) She died April 24, 1687, and he married (second) July 10, 1689, Sarah Alvord, daughter of Alexander Alvord. She died May 16, 1704, aged forty-four, and he married (third), December 29 following, Mary, widow of Benjamin Stebbins, of Springfield. Deacon James Warriner was her third husband. His name appears on the list of soldiers in King Philip's War. He was a deacon in the first Congregational Church. His death occurred in Springfield, May 14, 1727. His widow died seven days after. Children (nine by first wife, six by second. All or nearly all were born in Springfield, Massachusetts): 1. Samuel, born November 21, 1666, died in Springfield, Massachusetts, February 12, 1667. 2. James, born July 19, 1668. 3. Elizabeth, born August 1, 1670. 4. William, born January 6, 1672. 5. Hannah, born February 13, 1674. 6. Joseph, born November 6, 1677. 7. Samuel, born January 26, 1679. 8. Ebenezer, born March 4, 1682. 9. Mary, born April 1, 1685. 10. Sarah, of whom forward. 11. Jonathan, born November 11, 1692. 12. John, born November 29, 1694, died in 1696. 13. John, born in 1696, died young. 14. Benjamin, born April 15, 1698. 15. David, born October 8, 1701.

(III) Sarah Warriner, first child born to Deacon James and

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Sarah (Alvord) Warriner, was born October 13, 1690. She married (first) Ebenezer Thomas, of Lebanon, April 23, 1712; and (second) John Stebbins, of Springfield. (See Stebbins IV.)

(The Preston Line).

Few families boast of a more notable background in early English history than that of Preston. The surname was assumed from territorial possessions in Midlothian in the time of Malcolm. Leolphus de Preston, of the time of William the Lion in 1040, was grandfather of Sir William de Preston, one of the Scotch noblemen summoned to Berwick by Edward I in the competition for the crown of England. After the death of Alexander III in 1291, this Sir William de Preston was succeeded by his son Nicol de Preston, one of the Scottish barons who swore fealty to Edward I. He died in the beginning of the reign of David II of Scotland, son of Robert Bruce, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Lawrence de Preston, who in turn was succeeded by Richard de Preston, who was seated at Preston in Westmoreland in the time of Henry II. Sir Richard de Preston, fifth in descent from the above, Richard de Preston, represented the county of Westmoreland in Parliament in the seventeenth year of Edward III. In several branches the family continued in prominence and importance, and numerous lines have found American representation.

(I) John Preston, first American member of this line of record, came to Hadley, Massachusetts, it is believed as one of the soldiers dispatched from Boston to aid in the defense of Hadley during King Philip's War. He married, March 25, 1678, Sarah Gardner. Children: 1. Sarah, born December 10, 1678, died December 21, 1678. 2. Sarah, born July 10, 1682, died May 29, 1683. 3. Mercy, born January 6, 1684, died March 11, 1692. 4. John, of whom further. 5. A daughter, born and died April 25, 1688. 6. Samuel, born February 27, 1690, died January 19, 1711. 7. Sarah, born November 8, 1693, married Nathaniel Kellogg.

(II) John Preston, son of John and Sarah (Gardner) Preston, was born in Hadley, Massachusetts, July 31, 1686, died March 2, 1728. He was the first of the Hadley people to be buried south of Mt. Holyoke. He married, December 2, 1714, Mary Smith, daughter of Luke Smith. Children: 1. Samuel, born October 29, 1715. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Mary, born January 29, 1718;

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

married Ephraim Smith. 4. Jonathan, born April 2, 1720. 5. Sarah, born June 16, 1724; married, in 1749, Silas Smith. 6. Be-noni, born October 1, 1728; married, November 24, 1757, Mary Cook.

(III) John Preston, son of John and Mary (Smith) Preston, was born December 26, 1716, and died February 2, 1759. He removed from South Hadley to Granby about 1750. He married Hannah, surname probably Eaton. Children: 1. Mary, born December 27, 1743. 2. John, born May 26, 1745. 3. James, born June 25, 1748; a Revolutionary soldier. 4. Hannah, born June 18, 1751. 5. Sarah, born January 2, 1754. 6. Moses, of whom further. 7. Jabez, born September 10, 1759, a Revolutionary soldier.

(IV) Moses Preston, son of John and Hannah Preston, was born in Granby, Massachusetts, September 20, 1756, died March 3, 1809. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He married Mary Smith, daughter of Nathan Smith. She was born September 18, 1754, died November 5, 1843. Mary (Smith) Preston, wife of Moses Preston, was a descendant in the sixth generation from Lieutenant Samuel Smith, who came from England in 1634 in the ship "Elizabeth." From him and his wife Elizabeth, the line descends through Chiliab Smith and his wife, Hannah Hitchcock; their son, Ebenezer Smith and his wife, Abigail Broughton; their son, John Smith, a deacon of the Granby Church, and his second wife, Mary Dickinson; to Nathan Smith, father of Mary Smith. Children: 1. Abigail, of whom further. 2. Hannah, born March 9, 1784. 3. Moses, born December 24, 1786. 4. Mary, born November 16, 1789. 5. Zeri Otis, born June 9, 1792. 6. Salome, born December 28, 1796.

(V) Abigail Preston, daughter of Moses and Mary (Smith) Preston, was born in Granby, Massachusetts, May 21, 1781, and died April 27, 1838. She married, January 21, 1801, Luther White. (See White VII.)

(The Baldwin Line).

*Arms*—Argent, six oak leaves in pairs, two in chief and one in base vert, stalks sable, their points downward.

From the Christian name Baldwin, on record in England in the Domesday Book, 1086 A. D., the family name is derived, William the Conqueror having married Mathilda, daughter of Bald-

BALDWIN.

*Arms*—Argent, six oak leaves in pairs, two in chief and one in base vert, stalks sable, their points downward.

SHELDON.

*Arms*—Sable, a fess between three sheldrakes proper.

*Crest*—A sheldrake proper.

*Motto*—*Optimum pati.* (To suffer is best).

COOPER.

*Arms*—Argent, three martlets gules on a chief of the second, engrailed, as many annulets or.

*Crest*—A lion's gamb erect or, holding a branch vert fructed gules.

WRIGHT.

*Arms*—Azure, two bars argent, in chief three leopards' heads, or.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet or, a dragon's head proper.

STRONG.

*Arms*—Gules, an eagle displayed or.

*Crest*—An eagle displayed or.

BURT.

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron gules between three buglehorns sable, stringed of the second, as many crosses crosslet fitchée or.

*Crest*—A buglehorn as in the arms.

(no - 1971)

EMCO Horse Skin







Baldwin



Sheldon



Cooper



Wright



Strong



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

win, fifth Earl of Flanders. The name became popular among the Normans in England. Stephen *fil.* Baldewyn is in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, (A. D. 1273); also Robert Baldwyne; and Thomas Baldwyn is in the Hundred Rolls of County Oxford.

(I) Richard Baldwin (Baldwyn), of "Donrigge," in the parish of Aston Clinton, Buckinghamshire, made his will January 16, 1552-53. His wife Ellen (Apuke) made her will in 1566. In these the children are named. Children, born in Aston Clinton Parish, England: 1. Henry, died in May, 1602, owner of Dundridge. He had a son Richard. 2. John, last appears on record January 2, 1599-1600, overseer of Henry's will. 3. Richard, of whom further. 4. Alice, not in mother's will, probably died unmarried. 5. Agnes, married, November 18, 1566, William Grange. 6. Cicely, not named in her brother's will, 1599-1600. 7. Lettice, married a Mr. Foster, and in 1616 was living in Tring, County Hertford.

(II) Richard Baldwin, son of Richard and Ellen Baldwin, was born in Aston Parish, England. He was under twenty-three years of age in 1552-53. He died, and his will was proved, May 16, 1633. He received by his father's will the tenements and lands at Cholesbury, in County Bucks. His wife's name was Isabel; and his son Timothy was executor of his will. Children: 1. Timothy, of Milford, Connecticut, in 1639; died in January, 1665; married twice. 2. Nathaniel, of Milford, Connecticut, in 1639; died March 22, 1648; married twice. 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Mary, married a Mr. Pratt. 5. Hannah. 6. Christian. 7. Sarah, emigrated to New England; probably married John Searle.

(III) Joseph Baldwin, son of Richard and Isabel Baldwin, was born in Cholesbury, County Bucks, England, and was under age in 1630. He died in Hadley, Massachusetts, November 2, 1684. He, with his brothers, Timothy and Nathaniel, were among the early settlers of Milford, Connecticut, his name appearing in the first list of planters, November 20, 1639; and in December, 1648, the records mention his division of land adjoining Timothy's half-divisions. About 1663 he removed to Hadley, Massachusetts.

His first wife was Hannah (surname unknown), who joined the Milford Church, June 23, 1644, their first four children being baptized at that date. He married (second) Isabel, widow of James Northam and of a Mr. Catlin of Newark, New Jersey. She died December 8, 1676. He married (third) Elizabeth (Hitch-



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

cock) Warriner, widow of William Warriner, of Springfield, Massachusetts. She died April 25, 1696. (See Warriner I.) Children: 1. Joseph, born about 1640, died in Hadley, November 21, 1681; married Sarah Coley. 2. Benjamin, born about 1642, died in Newark, New Jersey; will dated 1726. 3. Hannah, baptized June 23, 1644; married, May 6, 1658, Jeremiah Hull. 4. Mary, baptized June 23, 1644; married John Catlin, who died in Deerfield, Massachusetts. 5. Elizabeth, of whom further. 6. Martha, baptized March, 1645, died in 1676; married, in 1667, John Haukes. 7. Jonathan, born February 15, 1649; married (first) Hannah Ward; (second) Thankful Strong. 8. David, born October 19, 1651, died September, 1689; married, in 1674, Mary Stream. 9. Sarah, born November 6, 1653, died before 1717; married (second) Samuel Bartlett.

(IV) Elizabeth Baldwin, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Baldwin, was baptized at Milford, Connecticut, in March, 1645. She died in Springfield, Massachusetts. She married, March 31, 1664, in Hadley, Deacon James Warriner, eldest son of William Warriner. (See Warriner II.)

(The Sheldon Line).

*Arms*—Sable, a fess between three sheldrakes proper.

*Crest*—A sheldrake proper.

*Motto*—*Optimum pati.* (To suffer is best).

Among local surnames is that of Sheldon, meaning "of Sheldon," a chapelry in the Parish of Bakewell, County Derby; as well as the parishes of Sheldon in counties Devon and Warwick. Worcestershire has for many centuries been the home of one of the main branches of this old English family. Francis Sheldon is mentioned in volume two of the Register of the University of Oxford as being from Worcestershire in 1584-85, as is also Edward Sheldon in 1621. The heraldic device borne by the descendants of the American progenitor is given on a preceding page.

Heraldic authorities assign a common origin to the various English families bearing from early times the name Sheldon; and notwithstanding the existence of several branches distinguished by armorial devices, these different devices are identical in their main feature, a sheldrake, or, more frequently, three shell drakes, being uniformly borne on the escutcheon, and differences appearing only in the details of the blazonry.

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The Sheldons have been most numerous in Derbyshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Sheshire and Worcestershire. There is a village in Derbyshire named Sheldon, and in this country has long dwelt an important branch of the family.

(The Family in America).

(I) Isaac Sheldon, the American progenitor, was born in England, in 1629, as appears from an entry in the records of the Court of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1679, where, in testimony sworn to by him, he gave his age as fifty. It is supposed that he was the son of Isaac Sheldon, Sr., and was born at Essex, near London. He took passage for the New England Colonies from the Port of Plymouth; was in Windsor, Connecticut, in 1640 (being then eleven years old); and became an owner of lands in that settlement where he continued until after his marriage.

In 1654 he conveyed his Windsor property to Samuel Rockwell, and, with his father-in-law, Thomas Woodford, removed to Northampton, Massachusetts, of which place he was one of the very earliest colonists. His name is recorded among the first selectmen of Northampton, chosen at a town meeting held in December, 1656, and subsequently he held other offices, including that of overseer of the poor. He died in Northampton, Massachusetts, July 27, 1709, at which time twelve of his children were still living.

He was married (first) in Windsor, Connecticut, in 1653, to Mary Woodford, a daughter of Thomas and Mary (Blott) Woodford, of Hartford, and by her had thirteen children. He was married (second) in 1685, to Mrs. Mehitable (Gunn) Ensign, who died January 30, 1720. She was a daughter of Thomas Gunn. Children by first wife: 1. Mary, born in 1654; married John Bridgeman. 2. Isaac, born September 4, 1656; married Sarah Warner. 3. John, of whom forward. 4. Thomas, born August 6, 1661; married Mary Hinsdale. 5. Ruth, twin, born August 27, 1663; married Joseph Wright. 6. Thankful, twin, born August 27, 1663; married Benjamin Edwards. 7. Mindwell, born February 24, 1666; married John Pomeroy. 8. Joseph, born February 1, 1668; married Mary Whiting. 9. Hannah, born June 29, 1670; married Samuel Chapin, of Springfield. 10. Eleazer, born August 4, 1672, died in 1673. 11. Samuel, born November 5, 1675; married and settled in New Marlborough, Massachusetts. 12. Ebenezer, born March 1, 1677; married Mary

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Hunt. 13. Mercy, born in 1681, died in 1682. Children by second wife: 14. Jonathan, born May 29, 1687.

(II) John Sheldon, third of the thirteen children of Isaac and Mary (Woodford) Sheldon, was born December 5, 1658. He was married (first) to Hannah Stebbins, November 5, 1678. She was the daughter of John Stebbins, and at the time of her marriage was less than fifteen and a half years old. John Sheldon married (second) in 1708, Elizabeth Pratt, a young widow, whose former home is unknown. Children by first wife: 1. John, born September 19, 1681, in Northampton. 2. Hannah, born August 9, 1683, in Northampton. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Abigail, born November 21, 1689, died in a few months. 5. Ebenezer, born November 15, 1691. 6. Remembrance, born February 21, 1693. 7. Mercy, born August 25, 1701; killed by the Indians, February 29, 1704. Children by second wife: 8. Abigail, born September 8, 1710. 9. John, born March 8, 1718.

(III) Mary Sheldon, third of the nine children of John Sheldon, was born July 24, 1687, in Deerfield. She was married (first) to Samuel Clapp; and (second) to Increase Clark. (See Clark III.)

(The Cooper Line).

*Arms*—Argent, three martlets gules on a chief of the second, engrailed, as many annulets or.

*Crest*—A lion's gamb erect or, holding a branch vert fructed gules.

Family names were not used in England until after the advent of William the Conqueror (William I) in 1066, when this illegitimate son of a miller's daughter, sired by a noble of high estate, swept over England with his Norman hordes and subdued the Saxon race. The use of patronymics was slow in coming into popular favor, but during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries surnames began to spring up on every side. Outstanding personal characteristics gave family names to some, such as Black, White, Brown, from the color of the hair or the complexion of the bearer. Baptismal names became patronymics in other instances, such as Robert, son of Robert, which developed into Robertson, Roberts, and Robinson. Nicknames also were used, as is witnessed by Gillson and Jillson, son of Gille or Jille. Many surnames, too, were of local origin, such as Sheldon, Copeland, etc., parishes and towns in certain counties. And last, but far from least, was the adoption

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of one's occupation or profession for a family name, instances of which are legion. The family of Cooper, herein considered, was originally occupied in the making of tubs, casks, etc., and this early trade-name is now borne by countless descendants. The name is found to-day in several forms, such as Cooper, Couper, Cowper, and Cooperson. The earliest spellings usually appeared as Cupere, Cupare or Cupper, as is witnessed by the ancient records. The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) contain the names of Alan le Cupere, of Cambridgeshire, Henry le Cupper of Count Motts, and Richard le Cupare and Jordan le Cupere, both of Oxfordshire; while in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire (1379 A. D.) appear the name of Willelmus Couper and Willelmus Milner, Couper. The *le*, evidence of the French influence, was soon dropped. The preceding heraldic device is one of the earliest coats-of-arms borne by the family in England. The family became greatly ramified in its native country, but from what town or county in England came the American progenitor, is a matter of doubt which research has been unable to dispel.

(The Family in America).

(I) Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, of Windsor, Connecticut, probably came over in the ship "Christian," March 16, 1634. He was the first of the name in Connecticut in March, 1636. He, with George Chapple and Thomas Barber, of Windsor, were put out in service to Francis Stiles to learn the trade of a carpenter. He removed to Springfield, Massachusetts, about 1641, and bought some land there on January 27, 1642. He was made a freeman in 1649. Thomas is recorded as being "a useful man, a good fighter, and held in great esteem in this valley" (Springfield). His personal influence was very great. In 1644 he was chosen one of the selectmen of Springfield with Samuel Chapin and three others. In February, 1645, Thomas contracted with the town for the building of a house of worship and the work was completed five months before the time required by the contract. In 1653 he was one of those chosen for the new board of selectmen. After about 1653, Thomas is referred to as ensign, and later as Lieutenant Thomas Cooper who was sent forward by Mayor Pyncheon, "with twenty-seven horsemen and ten Indians, reënforced by a company from Hartford, under Captain Watts," in King Philip's War. He died



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

October 5, 1675 from wounds received from the Indians. His faithful horse carried the wounded man in the saddle on a run up the hill straight to Mayor Pynchon's house, from which he started, but when he stopped at the door Cooper fell to the ground dead.

The loss of Lieutenant Cooper was severely felt. For many years he had been an important man in town affairs. He was auditor of the selectmen's accounts at the time of his death. His various accomplishments show how many were the demands made upon the early dwellers. He was a practicing attorney before the County Court; a practical carpenter and farmer; a bone-setter and surveyor; he had been a deputy at the General Court, and townsman, and had been an invaluable agent in dealing with the Indians. His descendants may well place him beside the good and noble Deacon Samuel Chapin as a pillar of the town. His deeds fully warrant it.

Lieutenant Thomas Cooper married Sarah (surname unknown) and they were the parents of the following offspring, all of whom are recorded at Springfield, Massachusetts: 1. Timothy, born February 26, 1644. 2. Thomas, born May 3, 1646. 3. Elizabeth, born December 23, 1648. 4. Mary, born August 15, 1651. 5. John, born February 12, 1654. 6. Rebecca, of whom further. 7. John, born March 19, 1659.

(II) Rebecca Cooper, sixth of the seven children of Lieutenant Thomas and Sarah Cooper, was born March 15, 1657, in Springfield, Massachusetts. She was married, July 12, 1677, to Deacon John Clark, of Northampton. (See Clark II.)

(The Wright Line).

*Arms*—Azure, two bars argent, in chief three leopards' heads, or.  
*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet or, a dragon's head proper.

The patronymic Wright is an occupational surname, derived from the Anglo-Saxon word *wryhta*, which, like the latinized form, *faber*, signifies a skilled workman of any kind, especially an artificer in wood or hard materials. The early English poet, Chaucer, says: "He was a well good wright, a carpenter." Variants of this surname are Cheesewright, Glasswright, Cartwright, Wheelwright, Arkwright, etc. The early English records abound in instances of the name, the Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) mentioning Robert le Wricte, Roger le Wricte, and Margery le Wrytte, all of

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Cambridgeshire; and the Poll Tax of Yorkshire for the year 1379 gives Adam Wrygson, Johannes Redebarn, Wryght, and Robert Wreghtson. The foregoing heraldic device is the one borne by Lord John Wright, of Wrightsbridge, County Essex, England, who was the grandfather of Deacon Samuel Wright, the latter of whom was destined to become the founder of the family in America.

(The Family in England).

The first certainly known ancestor of this family was Sir John Wright, Lord of Kelvedon Manor, Essex, England. He was born and grew to manhood in the fifteenth century, before America was discovered and before feudalism was extinct. He possessed a large area of land and was subject to knight service to the King. Many of Sir John's descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were men of note in public affairs. His grandson, John Wright, was granted a peerage in 1590, and had a son who was clerk of Parliament in 1642. His great-grandson, Nathan Wright, was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1700. Another was counsel to the crown, and another a charter member of Winthrop's Colony, 1630-32. His great-great-grandsons, Thomas Anthony, Samuel and Richard, came to America in 1630-40.

The Wright family in America, of whom Thomas, who came from England in 1635, and Deacon Samuel, who came about 1638, were the progenitors, descended from John Wright, Lord of Kelvedon Manor in "Ongar Hundred" Parish of Kelvedon Hatch, County Essex, England, as had been stated.

In his will he is called "Yeoman," yet was granted arms, June 20, 1509, (Burke's "General Armory," p. 1139). At that time, however, the word "yeoman" was used in the broader sense of its meaning, "land owner, landman, or lesser baron." The proper rank of John Wright, of Kelvedon Manor, does not appear of record, but as he possessed arms and was by Morant denominated "Gentleman," and, as lord of the manor, possessed the right to hold "courts of baron," he is herein given the title Sir.

(The Family in America).

(I) Deacon Samuel Wright was born in London, England, in 1614, the eldest son of Nathaniel and Lydia (James) Wright. He married, in England, Margaret (surname unknown); settled in

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Springfield, Massachusetts, and was a proprietor there in 1641. He removed to Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1656, and was among the first settlers there. He was made a freeman April 13, 1648, and was a deacon in both Springfield and Northampton. History records him as "a man of much ability and religious ardor, and of much influence in the community." In 1656 he was chosen with others on a committee to the General Court. On April 18, 1661, he and his wife Margaret signed the covenant, First Church in Christ, Northampton, Massachusetts. On October 17, 1665, Deacon Samuel died peacefully while sleeping in his chair. His widow, Margaret, "died A. D. 1681." Deacon Samuel and Margaret Wright were the parents of the following offspring: 1. Samuel (Sergeant) was a husband and a father in 1654. 2. James. 3. Mary. 4. Hannah, of whom further. 5. Margaret, married, December 8, 1653, Thomas Bancroft. 6. Hester, married Samuel Marshfield. 7. Lydia, married (first) in 1654, Lawrence Bliss; married (second) John Norton; married (third) John Lamb; married (fourth) George Colton. She died February 3, 1699. 8. Judah, born in 1642. 9. Helped, born in 1644.

(II) Hannah Wright, fourth of the nine children of Deacon Samuel and Margaret Wright, was married in November, 1645, to Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins. (See Stebbins II.)

(The Strong Line).

*Arms*—Gules, an eagle displayed or.

*Crest*—An eagle displayed or.

The patronymic Strong, like Strongfellow, Strongman; Long, Longman and Longfellow, is classified as a nickname, all being sobriquets for an outstanding physical characteristic of its bearer. Instances of the name appear in all the early records, the Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) citing Simon Strong of County Cambridge; the Rolls of Parliament giving Joscelin le Strong; and "*Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi*" making mention of William le Strong. The French *le*, which was extremely popular following the Norman Conquest in 1066, was finally dropped. The armorial device, previously given, is borne by the Rev. Thomas Lenwood Strong, rector of Sedgfield, County Durdam, elder son of Clement Samuel Strong, Esq., of Lenipsfield, County Surrey, and grandson of Melancthon Strong, whose ancestors were of Nether Stronge,

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County Somerset. One of the family is supposed to have been the Rev. William Strong, rector of More Critchel, County Dorset, the famous preacher of Westminster Abbey, who was buried there July 4, 1654.

The Strong family of England was originally located in the county of Shropshire. One of the family married an heiress of Griffith, of the county of Caernarvon, Wales, and went thither to reside in 1545. Richard Strong was of this branch of the family, and was born in the county of Caernarvon in 1561. In 1590 he removed to Taunton, Somersetshire, England, where he died in 1613, leaving a son John, then eight years of age, and a daughter Eleanor.

(The Family in America).

(I) Elder John Strong, son of Richard Strong, was born in Taunton, England, in 1605, whence he removed to London and afterwards to Plymouth, England. He left for the New World, March 20, 1630, in company with one hundred and forty persons, and among them Rev. Messrs. John Warham and John Maverick and Messrs. John Mason and Roger Clapp, in the ship "Mary and John" (Captain Squeb), and arrived at Nantucket, Massachusetts (Hull), about twelve miles southeast from Boston, after a passage of more than seventy days in length, on Sunday, May 30, 1630.

The original destination of the vessel was Charles River, but an unfortunate misunderstanding which arose between the captain and the passengers resulted in their being put summarily ashore by him at Nantucket. After searching for a few days for a good place in which to settle and make homes, they decided upon the spot which they called Dorchester in memory of the endeared home in England. The grandfather of Elder John Strong was, as tradition informs us, a Roman Catholic, and lived to a great age. Eleanor Strong came with her brother John to this country when he was but twenty-five years of age and she was probably several years younger, and married Walter Deane, a tanner of Taunton, Massachusetts, previously of Taunton, England. Walter Deane was born about 1617, and was a prominent man in the affairs of his new home. They had four sons and one daughter.

John Strong settled in Dorchester and was one of the founders



## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of the town. In 1635 he removed to Hingham, Massachusetts, and on March 9, 1636, took the freeman's oath at Boston. In December, 1638, he was an inhabitant of Taunton, Massachusetts, and was made a freeman of Plymouth Colony. He was a deputy to the General Court in Plymouth in 1641, 1643 and 1644. From Taunton he removed to Windsor, Connecticut, where he was appointed with four leading men to superintend the settlement of the town. In 1659 he removed from Windsor to Northampton, Massachusetts, of which he was one of the first and most active founders, as he had been previously of Dorchester, Hingham, Taunton, and Windsor. He lived forty years in Northampton, and was a leading man in town and church affairs. He was a tanner and very prosperous in his business. John Strong was chosen ruling elder June 24, 1663.

He married (first) in England, (——) Dean. His wife died on the passage over or very soon after landing, and in about two months afterwards her infant, a second child, died also. He married (second) in December, 1630, Abigail Ford, of Dorchester, Massachusetts. She died July 8, 1688, aged about eighty. He died April 14, 1699, aged ninety-four. Children by first wife: 1. John, born in England in 1626, died at Windsor, Connecticut, February 20, 1698, aged seventy-two years. 2. An infant, that died in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630, a few months old. Children by second wife: 3. Thomas, born in 163—. 4. Jedediah, born May 7, 1637. 5. Josiah, born about 1639, died young. 6. Return, born about 1641. 7. Elder Ebenezer, born in 1643. 8. Abigail, born about 1645. 9. Elizabeth, born in Windsor, Connecticut, February 24, 1647. 10. Experience, born in Windsor, August 4, 1650. 11. Samuel, twin, born August 15, 1652. 12. Joseph, twin, born August 15, 1652. 13. Mary, of whom further. 14. Sarah, born 1656 in Windsor, Connecticut. 15. Hannah, born May 30, 1659. 16. Hester, born June 7, 1661, in Northampton. 17. Thankful, born July 25, 1663. 18. Jerijah, born December 12, 1665.

(II) Mary Strong, thirteenth of the eighteen children of Elder John Strong, was born October 26, 1654, in Windsor, Connecticut, and died December 8, 1738, aged eighty-four years. She married Deacon John Clark, of Northampton, Massachusetts, as his second wife. (See Clark II).

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Burt Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron gules between three buglehorns sable, stringed of the second, as many crosses crosslet fitchée or.

*Crest*—A buglehorn as in the arms.

The Burts are an ancient family in England, the surname being of Saxon origin and derived from the Anglo-Saxon word *beort*, signifying "bright" or "illustrious." The name underwent many orthographic changes, and appeared variously as Biert, Birt and Birte, as is apparent from the similarity of the arms borne by each name under the Norman rule. Burt, in the early English meaning, signified a kind of fish; in Gaelic it connoted quizzing or joking; in Dutch it was spelled Buurt and was applied to a hamlet consisting of a very few houses; and in German Burt meant a neighborhood. Old records show that a Von Burt married a sister of Count Von Moltke, and the "Marshal Von Moltke spends a portion of each day in the mausoleum of his English wife, Mary Burt, standing in profound meditation by the tomb."

The earliest mention of the Burt family in England seems to be that contained in Bloomfield's great "History of Norfolk County," where it is recorded that in the year 1199 a manor in that county was granted to Sir Hamo de Burt, which was alienated by his grandson, Sir Thomas de Burt, in the year 1290. The Burts became a numerous and prominent family in England and have been on record in several counties, especially in Leicester, Dorset, Surrey and London.

(The Family in America).

(I) Deacon Henry Burt was the immigrant ancestor of the American Burts. He was born and reared in England, and died in Springfield, Massachusetts, on April 30, 1662. He was married, in England, December 28, 1619, to Ualiala (also given Eulalia) Marche (spelling of surname in doubt), who died August 19, 1690. Just when he came to America is not known, but that he was a resident of Roxbury, Massachusetts, prior to 1639 is proved by the fact that when his home was destroyed by fire in November of that year, the General Court made good the loss by granting the sum of £8 to the town. He and his family removed from Roxbury to Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1640, where he was made clerk of the band and clerk of the writs. Henry Burt became one of the

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most influential citizens of early Springfield, and his name constantly appears in various positions of trust on the records. He was a lay exhorter at meetings on the Sabbath when Springfield was without a minister, and was chosen yearly as one of the five men "by ye general vote and consent of ye Plantation for ye ordering ye prudential affairs of ye towne." His sons and all but four of his daughters were born before the family came to Springfield. Deacon Henry and Ulalia or Eulalia (Marche) Burt were the parents of the following offspring: 1. Sarah, married, June 20, 1643, Juda Gregory. 2. Abigail, of whom further. 3. Jonathan, married, October 20, 1651, Elizabeth Lobdell. He died October 19, 1715. 4. Elizabeth, born in 1630; married, November 24, 1653, Samuel Wright, Jr. She died February 17, 1691. 5. David, born in 1632; married, November 18, 1655, Mary Holton. 6. Mary, born in 1634; married, October 8, 1654, William Brooks. 7. Nathaniel, born in 1636; married, January 15, 1662, Rebecca Sikes. 8. Dorcas, born 1638; married, October 28, 1657, John Stiles. 9. Hannah, born April 28, 1641; married, in 1657, John Bagg. (See Bagg I.) 10. A daughter, born April 19, 1643. 11. Patience, born August 18, 1645; married, October 7, 1667, John Bliss. 12. Mercy, born September 27, 1647; married, January 7, 1667, Judah Wright.

(II) Abigail Burt, second of the twelve children of Deacon Henry and Ulalia (Marche) Burt, was born in England about 1623. She married (first), October 3, 1643, Francis Ball. She was married (second), in 1649, to Benjamin Munn. Abigail (Burt-Ball) Munn was married (third), December 14, 1676, to Lieutenant Thomas Stebbins, of Springfield, Massachusetts. He had been previously married, and his son Thomas married her daughter, Abigail Munn. (See Stebbins II). Children by first marriage: 1. Jonathan, born in 1645. 2. Samuel, drowned in the river in October, 1648. Children by second marriage: 3. Abigail, born in 1650. 4. John, born in 1652. 5. Benjamin, born in 1655. 6. James, born in 1657. 7. Nathaniel, born in 1661.

(The Hadley Line).

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron and fesse argent, in chief three annulets or.

From Hadleigh Parish in County Suffolk, England, the surname Hadley is mainly derived, appearing first in the name of Robert de Hadleya in the Hundred Rolls of Suffolk, A. D. 1273.

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Other possible sources are Hadleigh Parish in County Essex, and another in Shropshire, in the Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) of which is mentioned Nicholas de Haddileg.

(The Family in America).

(I) Joseph Hadley is mentioned in the will of John Richardson, dated Westchester, New York, November 16, 1679, as Richardson's son-in-law, to whom he bequeathes a pasture of eight acres, and in his bequest to his three daughters is "Mary, the wife of Joseph Hadley." She died before September, 1691, for at that date his wife is mentioned as Hittabel. She was the sister of George Tippet. Joseph died before November 20, 1695, for on that date his two children by Mary Richardson are referred to as orphans, and his widow, Mehitable, is the wife of John Conklin. Administration was granted April 28, 1697, on the estate of "Joseph Hadley, lately died intestate." He is mentioned at Yonkers, New York, in 1687. What is now Westchester was settled under grants by the Dutch to English Puritans, chiefly from Connecticut, from 1650 on, at the Dutch Vredeland (or Oostdorp). Children, born in Westchester, New York (Oostdorp): Children by first marriage: 1. George. 2. Mary. Children by second marriage: 3. Joseph, Jr., of whom forward. 4. Mehitable (Hittabel), born before 1692; probably married Edward Smith.

(II) Joseph Hadley, Jr., son of Joseph and Mehitable (Tippet) Hadley, was born in Westchester, New York, and his will was probated November 9, 1754, at Yonkers, New York. He was married, May 8, 1716, to Rebecca Dyckman, who died in 1771. Children, born in Yonkers, New York: 1. George, married after July, 1749, Phebe, daughter of George Tippet. 2. Isaac, died before 1771, probably without issue. 3. Johanna, married Bartell, and died in 1769-71; son John. 4. Rebecca, married, before July 28, 1749, Nicholas Post. 5. Jacob, died probably without issue, before mother's will of 1771. 6. William, of whom further. 7. Elizabeth, born June 30, 1737, died September 25, 1825; married Thomas Lawrence. 8. Mehitable, married before July, 1749, Isaac Vermilye, Jr.; eight children. 9. Joseph, married before July, 1749; and died before 1771, leaving children.

(III) William Hadley, son of Joseph, Jr., and Rebecca (Dyckman) Hadley, was born January 31, 1732, and died at Yonkers,



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New York, November 22, 1801. He was married between July 28, 1749, and January 4, 1755, to Elizabeth Warner, daughter of Charles and Jane (Tippett) Warner. Children, born in Yonkers, New York: 1. Joseph, died in the West. 2. Moses, married and had Moses, Jr. 3. William, died in New York City. 4. Charles, of whom forward. 5. John, died July 21, 1840. 6. James, born in 1767, died January 22, 1830; married Hester Day; six children. 7. Isaac, born in 1772, died February 19, 1841. Two sons died in the United States Army. 8. Jacob, removed to Western, New York. 9. Thomas, died at Charlestown. 10. George Washington, married Mary Richards; eleven children.

(IV) Charles Hadley, son of William and Elizabeth (Warner) Hadley, was born in Yonkers, in 1764, and died in Harlem, New York, on July 22, 1840. He married Mary Ann (surname unknown), who was born in Tappan, New York. She died September 3, 1827. Children, born in Yonkers, New York: 1. Abraham P., born on October 31, 1810, died in Northfield, Massachusetts, April 26, 1876. 2. John William, born August 7, 1812, died August 4, 1846, at Baltimore, Maryland. 3. Benjamin Scudder, born October 28, 1814; married, in 1839, Clarissa Atkins; died March 25, 1888, at South Hadley Falls. 4. Daniel D. Tompkins, born February, 1817, died June 14, 1826. 5. Moses C., of whom forward. 6. Mary Ann Eliza, born September 3, 1823, at Yonkers; married (first) September 3, 1844, Lawrence L. Ryer, who died in New York City, September 17, 1848. Their son, Alfred L. Ryer, born April 21, 1846, married to Fanny Shepherd, August 20, 1868; one son, Frank Ryer, is now living. She married (second) May 20, 1852, Benjamin Berriam, a widower, and they were the parents of two children: Frank Moore, born March 21, 1853; and Emily, born September 5, 1856. Benjamin Berriam died, and she married (third) Rev. Collingwood Rutherford, a Methodist minister, April 7, 1862. There were no children by this marriage. Mary Ann Eliza (Hadley-Ryer-Berriam) Rutherford died in New York City, May 3, 1877. She was the only daughter in the Hadley family, and was a woman of rare grace and charm. 7. Daniel D. Tompkins, born October 17, 1826; married, in 1859, Mary Flandreau. He died in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1872.

(V) Moses C. Hadley, son of Charles and Mary Ann Hadley, was born in Yonkers, October 18, 1820. He was married, October

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21, 1845, to Adeline M. Wells, a daughter of Waterman and Lucy (Sleeper) Wells, in South Hadley Falls. (See Wells II). They had three daughters: 1. Mary J., of whom further. 2. Adeline E., born at South Hadley Falls, September 29, 1848, died August 9, 1849. 3. Lucy Ellen, born December 29, 1850, in South Hadley Falls, and died at West Newton, Massachusetts, December 20, 1889. She married (first) October 20, 1870, Edward Daten, who died March 24, 1872. She married (second) October 11, 1876, J. Foster Ober. They had three children: i. Helen, born in West Newton, Massachusetts, August 13, 1877. ii. Ralph Beverley, born in West Newton, May 1, 1879. iii. Muriel, born at West Newton, September 5, 1884. Ralph Beverley married, in 1909, Eleanor Chapin, of Springfield, and they have two children: (a) Frederick Chapin, born August 30, 1910. (b) Mary, born March 15, 1912.

(VI) Mary J. Hadley, daughter of Moses C. and Adeline M. (Wells) Hadley, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, August 29, 1846, and died at Chicopee, October 6, 1912. She was married, October 5, 1871, at Chicopee, to Judge Luther White, of Chicopee. (See White IX).

(The Welles—Wells Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant double queued sable, on a chief gules two annulets interlaced of the field.

*Crest*—Out of an embattlement proper a demi-lion double queued sable, holding between the paws two annulets interlaced or.

*Motto*—*Virtute et honore.*

The Wells family origin is found in the House of Vaux of the ancient province of Neustria. As early as the year 794 the House of Vaux occupied a prominent position and had intermarried with many of the reigning families of Europe. The earliest record we find of the English branch of the House of Vaux, from which the Wells family is descended, is that of Harold de Vaux, Lord of Vaux in Normandy, who, having conferred his seigniorship upon the Abby of Holy Trinity, founded at Caen in the department of Calvados, France, by Queen Matilda, came into England about the year 1120 with his sons Hubert, Ranulf and Robert, and settled in County Cumberland in the lake and valley region of Northwestern England. The sons took the name de Vallibus, signifying "from the valleys," indicative of their dwelling in the lake and valley region. This quaint assumption of a surname from a residence was in ac-

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

cordance with the custom of the Surname Epoch. In 1145 Robert de Vallibus, a lineal descendant of Hubert de Vallibus, who was the eldest son of Harold de Vaux, is designated in the English records as Robert de Welles, and his descendants bore this name as Lords de Welles of Rayne Hall, County Essex, England.

About the year 1194, Adam, a grandson of Robert, holding the Manor of Welles near Alford, Lincolnshire, is on record as Adam de Welles. He died without issue and was succeeded in his manor by his brother William, and he by his son Adam. This last Adam de Welles was summoned to Parliament in February, 1299, as first Baron Welles. He was constable of Rockingham Castle and Warden of the Forest. King Edward I of England granted to Adam de Welles in 1299 coat armour which is described heretofore.

Since the privileges of nobility in England are limited to the eldest son of a family, and the English records only name the sons who succeeded to the Barony, no mention is found of the younger sons whose inheritance generally consisted of the family name, the right to bear an heraldic device, and possibly a small estate. These younger sons intermarried with and became a part of the upper middle classes, among whose great numbers were largely recruited the splendid pioneers who struck out for the wilderness that was then America. Among the pioneers were many bearing the ancient and honorable surname Welles and Wells.

(The Family in America).

About 1635 several families bearing the surnames Welles and Wells came from England to Massachusetts. Later, others came, some of whom settled in the New England States, others in Virginia and Maryland. Some of the earliest arrivals remained in Massachusetts, while others spread to Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and finally Vermont. The town of Wells River, Vermont, is named for this last-named branch, and it is from this branch that the family herein considered is descended. Although countless records—published, public and private—have been carefully searched, a continuous American line of descent for this particular branch could not be established owing to the family's vast ramifications and the carelessness exhibited in the perpetuating of statistics by the early town clerks and keepers of vital records. The Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Isl-







*Lucy (Sleeper) Wells*

1850-1851

## THE WHITE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and branches of the family have been most fortunate in this respect, but the Long Island, Westchester County (New York), and Vermont branches are available only through sketchy and ill-kept data which rarely if ever resolves itself into a true and authentic line of descent from the American progenitors. The first of the Wells River, Vermont, family of whom we have definite record is Waterman Wells.

(I) Waterman Wells was born in 1788, and lived at Wells River, Vermont, for on December 21, 1817, he was married there to Lucy Sleeper, born in 1794, who bore him a family of eleven children. He died January 21, 1837, while her death occurred May 7, 1866. Issue: 1. Adney, born August 22, 1818, died May 7, 1919. 2. Chester, born November 25, 1819, died January 6, 1820. 3. Clementine Luella, born October 6, 1820, died February 25, 1878; married, January 6, 1839, Timothy Lewis Mace. 4. Amos, born October 12, 1822, died January 19, 1823. 5. Adeline M., of whom further. 6. Orin, born September 8, 1826, died July 23, 1827. 7. Catherine, born September 2, 1827, died in 1903; married Julius A. Eldredge. 8. Lucy Ann, born September 24, 1829, died in 190—; married a Mr. Chamberlain. 9. Waterman, Jr., born September 4, 1832, died September 6, 1833. 10. Helen, born June 3, 1834, died January 3, 1839. 11. Jane E., born May 7, 1836, died in 1892; married Henry Lowell.

(II) Adeline M. Wells, fifth of the eleven children of Waterman and Lucy (Sleeper) Wells, six of whom died in infancy, was born in Newbury, Vermont, on April 6, 1824, and died October 6, 1910. She married, October 21, 1845, Moses C. Hadley. (See Hadley V). Children: 1. Mary J., born at Worcester, August 29, 1846. 2. Adeline E., born at South Hadley Falls, September 29, 1848, died August 9, 1849. 3. Lucy Ellen, born at South Hadley Falls, December 29, 1850. She was twice married.

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Military service in the War of the Revolution stands in the names of the following ancestors of Mabel A. White:

Luther (1) White.

Asaph Stebbins.

Moses Preston.

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## Editorial

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### THE OLD AND NEW NAVY

As this number of *AMERICANA* is in course of preparation, there falls an anniversary of widespread interest and appeal, the 150th anniversary of the founding of the United States Navy. Few institutions of like age have acquired traditions of equal strength and honor, and as the Navy passes the century and a half mark there is an impressive comparison to be made between its first and present estates.

The predominance of English blood in the colonies made dependence in armed vessels, fighting ships, a natural attitude, for through long centuries English supremacy of the seas and pride in her seafaring men has been a national tradition. So in 1775, bills were reported to the Continental Congress for \$100,000 to outfit armed vessels for use in the Revolution, and early in November of that year these bills were enacted. In the same month rules for the regulation of the navy were considered and adopted. Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was commissioned the first commodore and became commander in chief of the Continental Navy. The close of the Revolutionary War found the Navy almost wiped out, by enemy destruction and capture, and we find in the spring of 1794 an appropriation of about \$700,000 for creating a small navy. In the war of 1812 the Navy made history and James Fenimore Cooper, in his "History of the Navy of the United States" wrote of its performances as follows:

The navy came out of the struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadfastness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare.

Steam came to supplant sailing power, tonnage and armor increased, and science lifted the Navy to an effectiveness and strength undreamed at its inception, until the dreadnought and



## EDITORIAL

the super-dreadnought, the torpedo, the destroyer, the submarine, and the airship have made a complex but marvelously coordinated organization whose power is stupendous.

The "Constitution," the "Constellation," the "Maine," Hull, Decatur, Perry, Farragut, Hobson, Dewey, and Evans—all these bring their own dramatic, romantic, and quickening story, and in them were born and sustained the glorious traditions that surround and permeate the naval arm of the service. The past few weeks have brought forth an experience possible only since the practical development of aviation, when a Navy seaplane was lost for a number of days in an attempt to fly to Hawaii. Commander Rodgers, of the crew of the 'plane forced to descend to the surface of the sea by lack of fuel, is representative of the third generation in his direct line to hold a commission in the United States Navy, the period spanned by their combined service reaching from the colonial navy of sail to the modern day in the air.

That the century and a half to come will bring changes almost as revolutionary as that just past is a prophecy that seems justified by the unchecked march of progress. For these great achievements of the past the Navy merits sincere congratulation; in those of the future we have faith.

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### A MATTER OF INTERPRETATION

The following communication was to have been published in the October, 1925, number of this magazine, but in the absence of the editor it was overlooked. This explanation is made because the letter refers to an article which appeared in the third number of the 1925 volume, and this reference to it would have been more suitable in the number next following. It is a communication of the type showing thoughtful analysis of AMERICANA's offerings by one qualified for such critical survey. Mr. Samuel is the author of "Secession and Constitutional Liberty," a member of the Authors' Club, of London, and is in official charge of the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

I do not know if AMERICANA admits correction of obvious errors in articles appearing therein. If it does, the following misstatement (I imply no intentional inaccuracy) is so grave as to

## EDITORIAL

induce me to seek rectification of same. Viz; the opening paragraph of Mr. Shriner's article on "Nullification" in your No. 3, Vol. 19 states, "The question whether the Constitution of the United States is the supreme authority in all the states, or whether it is merely an agreement entered into between the various states and liable to be revoked by any of them at any time was frequently discussed in the early days of the Republic."

The Supreme authority of the Constitution has never been seriously in question. The *interpretation* of the document has been the crux. Who is to be the final judge of the meaning of its provisions? Is it the government erected by them—its creature? Or is it the State—its creator?

The difference in the statement of the question is vital.

The question is at the root of our political institutions. It is therefore of the greatest moment that it should be correctly put when given currency in a magazine such as *AMERICANA*.

Neither is Mr. Shriner's antithesis between the authority of the Constitution and that of the States necessarily correct. As Mr. Hayne, I think, pointed out, let governmental contravention of one of the provisions which the Constitution expressly withholds from alteration, viz; the equality of the States in the Senate, and the integrity of every State, be supposed. Has the aggrieved State no Constitutional redress for this infraction of the Constitution? If it has, then must it also have that redress against other action which in its belief contravenes that instrument. If it has not, it is at the mercy of any act of a self created despotism.

This is the mere statement of the doctrine of "Nullification" without going into its pros and cons.

Respectfully,

BUNFORD SAMUEL.

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## FOR "FOLIOPHILES"

There were placed upon the desk of the editor during the past week two portfolios which, although bearing only remotely upon *American* history, touched European history so intimately and promised so much in connection with American history that they deserve the attention of the public. These portfolios are the work of the Society of Foliophiles, a New York City organization, whose name (in which the keyword was coined by Mr. G. M. L. Brown, known as an authority on Oriental and rare books) is readily translated as a "lover of the printed page".

The two portfolios consist of leaves of rare books from English literature and from continental European literature. Each

## EDITORIAL

is complete in itself and covers many examples of printing, from early manuscripts down through centuries of change and progress. The following are a few of the rare and valuable volumes that are represented in the two portfolios: a breviary used in Salisbury Cathedral during Queen Mary's reign (one of the few that escaped destruction at the hands of the leaders of the Protestant Restoration); Darcie's translation of the "Annalles of Queen Elizabeth"; the first edition of Milton's "Paradise Lost"; the first popular edition of the "King James" Bible; the London "Evening Post" of two centuries ago; the first edition of Scott's "Marmion"; two incanabulas artistically rubricated; a 15th century breviary MS. on vellum; other examples from such celebrated printers as Amerbach, Stephanus, Aldus, Froben, Plantin, and Elzevir, and from cities as far removed from one another as Antwerp and Venice, Basle and Salamanca, Amsterdam and Lyons. Heretofore the possession of these original treasures was limited to persons whose means permitted the great expenditures involved in collecting them, but under the popular plan of this Society every student and lover of early literature may possess, in part and for moderate sums, like treasures. To the discriminating collector of the old school a defective volume is a thing to be cast aside. Perfect, it represents to him a great desideratum; imperfect, it must be discarded or lightly treasured. To this Society the defective volume is still of much value, for from it may be taken many pages for use in a series of portfolios, so that the individual of ordinary means may own a part of the work of one of the first masters of printing or a hand lettered page that first received its message in a continental cloister.

It is the intention of the Society of Foliophiles to perform a like service for early American books, and here the interest of this magazine becomes acute, for it means that many persons may enjoy and cherish work from printing presses dating to 1539 in Mexico; 1586 in Peru; from the press of Stephen Day, who began his work in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639; and from that of John Buckner, in Virginia in 1680, whose work was stopped by Governor Culpeper and his Council upon Royal instructions. This is a popularization of a hitherto prohibitively expensive pursuit that has exceptional potentialities.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1925.

City and State of New York, }  
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th Street, New York City, Editor, Winfield S. Downs, No. 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City.

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MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1925.

(Seal).

F. M. KELLER.

Notary Public Bronx Co., No. 84.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 482.

(My commission expires March 30, 1926).









THAYER







THE WASHINGTON-LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL AT MEADVILLE,  
ON CAMPUS OF ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

VOL. XX

APRIL, 1926

NUMBER 2

# AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



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# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

April, 1926

## Washington's Mission to the French Forts in 1753\*

BY DON MARSHALL LARRABEE, WILLIAMSPORT, PENNA.



IRGINIA may proudly claim the immortal Washington as her native son and the imperishable glory of Mount Vernon with its cherished memories but Pennsylvania enjoys the rare distinction that within her borders was the scene of his first public service, his first great adventure. In the western section of the Keystone state was the active beginning of his public life. Along the banks of French Creek the young Virginian followed a trail that led to the founding of a nation and a deathless name. Beyond the rude walls of the stockade at Le Boeuf there loomed the ramparts at Quebec and Yorktown and the vision of a fair city that would one day rise beside the Potomac.

In all his eventful career no chapter surpasses in thrilling interest and importance that dangerous journey undertaken by George Washington when but a lad of twenty-one to the French Commandant at Fort Le Boeuf in the northwest corner of Pennsylvania, bearing a message and answer that as one historian has said was to start a world conflagration. An event that was to result in changing the map of this continent. The mission that marked the beginning of the French and Indian War in America and the Seven Years War in Europe. A journey through an unbroken wilderness of nearly six hundred miles, frequented by hostile savages, his trail flanked by snow covered mountains and crossing swollen streams filled with floating ice. The dangers and trials which beset him being so graphically pictured by the youthful Washington in his famous diary.

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\*This is a reprint of an article contributed to "Pennsylvania, A History," Dr. George P. Donehoo, editor-in-chief (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1926). Mr. Larrabee had previously (June, 1924) published a monograph containing the diaries of Washington and his guide, Christopher Gist, on this mission to the French, with various notes.



## WASHINGTON'S MISSION TO THE FRENCH FORTS IN 1753

This very expedition that marked the opening scene in a great world drama proved to be the young Virginian's entry to the stage whereon he was to enact his immortal role. For the rare courage and fortitude shown by him on this hazardous mission, his sagacity in dealing with the Indians and French and his remarkable journal giving information of vital import as to the French plans for the occupation of this territory, which was widely published in England and America, made Washington an outstanding figure in the colonies and brought him to the public notice for the first time.

It was December, 1753. The first great struggle on this continent was impending, that inevitable clash between the French and the English. A conflict momentarily awaited in the capitols of Europe, and which had as its immediate cause the respective claims of France and England over territory on the upper waters of the Ohio (as the Allegheny River was then called).

As the noted historian, Parkman, has so well stated: "French America had two heads—one among the snows of Canada, and one among the canebrakes of Louisiana; one communicating with the world through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other through the Gulf of Mexico. These vital points were feebly connected by a chain of military posts—slender and often interrupted—encircling through the wilderness nearly three thousand miles. Midway between Canada and Louisiana lay the valley of the Ohio. If the English should seize it, they would sever the chain of posts, and cut French America asunder. If the French held it, and intrenched themselves well along its eastern limits, they would shut their rivals between the Alleghanies and the sea, control all the tribes of the West, and turn them, in case of war, against the English borders—a frightful and insupportable scourge."

The Marquis Duquesne sent over from France to become Governor of Canada took the first decisive step in the spring of 1753, and sent a large force to the southern shore of Lake Erie at the present site of the City of Erie, where a fort was erected. From that point a roadway or portage of fourteen miles was cut through the virgin forest to the stream afterwards known as French Creek, where Fort LeBoeuf was erected, at the present site of Waterford. This creek at flood tide would bear the fleet of canoes and bateaux with troops and light artillery to the Allegheny River at Venango (now Franklin), thence down to the Ohio and on to the Mississippi.

## WASHINGTON'S MISSION TO THE FRENCH FORTS IN 1753

The French planned to establish a chain of forts and control this vast water way between her great colonial settlements in Canada and Louisiana.

The English soon learned of this move and young Washington was chosen by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, to bear the momentous message to the French Commander at Fort Le Boeuf warning the French to quit this territory and retire to Canada under open threat of compelling them so to do by force of arms. This memorable note was inscribed on parchment, bore the official seal of the colony, and was encased in a water proof leathern cover.

The French received young Washington courteously but returned a defiant answer to the English governor. Washington hurried back to deliver this ominous reply to Dinwiddie laying it before him at the colonial capitol in Williamsburg the following January.

The French dispatched a thousand troops from Fort LeBoeuf on the April flood to the present site of Pittsburgh, and colonial forces rushed forward by Dinwiddie for the purpose of seizing that strategic point, as advised by Washington, found it already in possession of the vigilant French. A clash ensued marking the overt act upon which both nations could declare war and the great conflict had begun. Its results are known to every school boy. It cost France her vast empire in America and led inevitably to the American Revolution and our independence.

The story of that memorable expedition to Fort LeBoeuf is best told in Washington's own words. The perils he faced, the great obstacles met and overcome, the miraculous escape both from savages and the elements, and the intrigues of the French, all constitute a thrilling tale, modestly related in the journals of Washington and his guide, Christopher Gist. The young Virginian in this, his first exploit, gave early promise of his greatness and leadership.

On this epoch making mission, Washington and his party, composed of his interpreters, three friendly Indian chiefs (including the famous Tanacharison, also known as the "Half King"), frontiersmen, pack horses and baggage, camped over night, on Saturday, December 8th, at the foot of what is now the campus of Allegheny College at the present site of the City of Meadville. The spot then being known as the Indian village of Cussewago, so called because of the stream which empties into French Creek at that point. Gist's

## WASHINGTON'S MISSION TO THE FRENCH FORTS IN 1753

diary states that one of the horses was so exhausted it had to be left here when they resumed their journey the next morning.

Allegheny College appreciating the historic significance and importance of that expedition and its inheritance of an imperishable tradition by virtue of this visitation and presence of the youthful Washington at the site of its campus, has erected a lasting memorial to commemorate the event. A bronze tablet mounted on a huge boulder on the campus, overlooking the French Creek valley and City of Meadville, was formally unveiled commencement week June, 1924. In this connection it seems a most rare and happy circumstance that Lafayette, the great friend and compatriot of Washington, accompanied by his son and namesake, George Washington Lafayette, visited Allegheny College on June 2, 1825. He graciously inscribed his name in the college visitor's register and from the steps in front of Bently Hall had pointed out to him the route through French Creek valley followed by his friend, Washington, on the memorable expedition to Fort LeBoeuf. This rare visit of Lafayette is also recorded on the memorial tablet.

Other distinguished sons were to visit this historic spot, for in after years there came to this same French Creek, at Cussewago, a dark haired lad from Ohio named William McKinley. As a freshman at Allegheny College he roamed the banks of that stream at the foot of college hill where the youthful Washington, bearing in his breast the portentous message, had built his camp fire and rolled himself in his blanket that December night of the long ago. His college course was interrupted, however, by the roll of the war drum and Lincoln's call for troops and he shouldered a gun to help save the nation which Washington had done so much to establish, and at the close of the war entered at once upon the study of law. In June, 1895, when Governor of Ohio, he returned to Allegheny College to deliver the commencement address, and among the events of that day visited, with Mrs. McKinley, the home on North Main Street where he had roomed during his student days. The following year he graciously welcomed on the lawn of his Canton home a delegation of one hundred students from his old college who had come to extend greetings to him in that first campaign. One whose college days were spent on the soil of Pennsylvania and whose princely personality, illustrious career, and pure, unselfish life, closing in the tragic scene at Buffalo, has enshrined him for all time in the hearts of our people.



## Indians and Their Antiquities

BY E. MELVIN WILLIAMS, NEW YORK CITY



THE early history of the aborigines of America cannot be compiled from written records; but it is possible to translate into written history, with reasonable confidence, and in some cases positive assurance, the evidences of human activity that are contained in the crumbling debris of former ages brought to light by archeologists. "Since the remote days when man appeared upon earth, he has been writing his history," states Parker, in his comprehensive *Archeological History of New York*.<sup>1</sup> "This writing has been, as it were, a tattooing of the brown skin of the earth mother, and the ages have covered the tracings with layers and obscured them." When unearthed, this buried history, "the accumulated debris of the centuries," is translated into the language that men of today understand, and forms an important base for historical study. "This story of ancient man and his activities is of much importance today," states Parker, for "without this knowledge history is without a basis."

For instance, it is interesting to read that "the ancient inhabitants of York, England, 2,500 years ago were living in about the same way and making the same things that the ancient inhabitants of New York made at the same time, and even two thousand years later." The earthen pottery, the chipped arrow-points and bone awls of the British Isles "are so similar to those found in America that one can scarcely tell them from the same objects found on the sites of the Indian villages of New York State." These and other exhibits indicate that primitive peoples throughout the world have passed through somewhat similar cultural stages from the primitive state, some races advancing more rapidly than others. European civilization, for example, developed more rapidly than American, or along different channels than those of Indian culture; and the white race showed more constructive ability than the red. Nevertheless,

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\*This article is from advance sheets of a "History of New York State," by Dr. James Sullivan, editor-in-chief, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., publishers.

<sup>1</sup>New York State Museum Bulletin, Nos. 235-238, 1920, published by the University of the State of New York, 1922.



## INDIANS AND THEIR ANTIQUITIES

there seems to have been little difference, intellectually or culturally, in the primitive races of mankind. This, which is nearer fact than theory, is generally recognized by American students of anthropology, archaeology and kindred sciences.

Students of the natural sciences found the solution of many problems by studying the condition of the American aborigines. The origin of man in America, studied in all the correlated branches of science, seems to point to the advent of man in America by migration, perhaps from the steppes of Asia, or the islands of the south.

Man rose above the beasts when he began to use objects external to his hands as tools. When in groups he learned how to shape wood, bone, and stone progress began. He then became superior to all other animals. He discovered by experience that the harder the stone, the sharper was its broken edge. Flinty rocks, chipped with other stones, could be made to shape wood and bone. This was the beginning of sharp-edged tools, and the discovery made man no longer a creature of circumstances for he could, within limitations, carve his own way.

The use of flints brought him soon to the realization that he had made a captive of fire for at will almost he could draw fire from the stone itself. This discovery placed him still farther from the beasts, who feared fire. Fire made man's domain safer and more comfortable, and perhaps awakened in his heart gratitude to the unseen powers. Fire became his deity and the Sun which warmed him became the symbol of fire.

He made arms for his own protection. Groups banded together to protect themselves, their women and children against attack by beasts, or by other groups of men, who coveted their women or their means of subsistence. The implements, made of chipped chalcedony, jasper, quartz or flint, took different shapes, to meet various needs, some for industry and some for fighting. Throughout the world, wherever these implements are found, they show a marked similarity. "The flint spear of prehistoric France is like that of Arkansas; the knife blade from Belgium is like that of Quebec; and the arrow points of China resemble those of Egypt."

One school of archeological scholars attributes this similarity of stone implements to a similarity of reaction of impulses in primitive peoples. Another school thinks that these basic discoveries—"the use and control of fire, the art of shaping flints and the inven-

## INDIANS AND THEIR ANTIQUITIES

tion of the spear were made while the human race still inhabited a limited area." Parker is of opinion that "the ancestors of the human race lived in some restricted geographical area until such a time as certain initial usages had become fixed parts of the pan-human material culture."

With these facilities man grew confident of his ability to cope with the uncertainties of a nomadic life and migration reached farther and farther from the primal centre. Environment and local need suggested improvements in the basic implements, the same suggestion possibly coming to two or more nomad groups at same time, though separated by thousands of miles and with no means of contact. "One man might make the discovery in South America ten thousand years later than another man who lived in a cave in the foothills of the French Pyrenees." This would explain why the same types of implements are found throughout the world.

Skeletal remains and cultural artifacts, such as chipped flints, guide archaeologists in determining the former presence of man in a given area. The finding of chipped stone implements and the cracked bones of extinct animals in the caves of France and Belgium indicate that man had lived in that region in the period when the cave bear, hairy rhinoceros, mastodon, and saber-toothed tiger roamed Europe. Confirmation is to be found in the carvings of these extinct animals on fragments of bone and ivory. The Magdalenian painting in the cave of Altamira is further supporting evidence. There is indeed abundant evidence in Europe, but little in America. There is no evidence to support a belief that mankind had found a footing in America at the time when human beings lived in the caves of Northern France, and saber-toothed tigers were abroad over Europe. No human remains yet unearthed in America reach the antiquity of European or of Asiatic discoveries. This fact leads scientists to believe that *the American continent was without human occupants at a time when the Old World had a considerable population*. Biologists have arrived at similar conclusions from the fact that no skeletal remains of the higher primates have been reported from either North or South America. The proto-human ancestors of man, they conclude, did not develop in America, the *Hominidae* attaining the human type in the Old World, possibly in southern Asia or the islands to the south.

The advent of man to America has been a subject that has de-

## INDIANS AND THEIR ANTIQUITIES

veloped many theories, some ingenious, some absurd. The aborigines of America are, by one theory, the peoples of the mythical Atlantis; another would connect the American Indians with the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; another theory, which ignores discoveries, has it that the original cradle of mankind is in America. Scientists however look with more confidence upon the clearer proofs of the Old World, and look more to the northwest than to the eastward, in trying to determine how America was populated. It is generally thought that the primitive cradle was in Asia. Certainly, the Old World was thickly peopled at a time when the New World had few inhabitants. As migration from the Himâlayas of India westward and northwestward gave the strong Indo-European race that peopled Europe, and a south-eastern migration settled Aryan tribes in what is India and Persia, so might an eastward migration have taken place, the migrants struggling into and out of the inhospitable colder regions of the northeast across the Behring Strait onto the American continent. Then, in the search for more desirable food areas, or to escape other groups of men, this migration seems to have spread southward along the Pacific coast of America.

This migration from the hypothetical cradle of mankind in the warm regions of Asia would naturally develop greater volume in the direction of the more inviting regions than toward the rigors of the north. So it would seem that the westward drift of population—the migration of Aryan tribes to the Bosphorus and Europe, and to the plains of India and the rich lands of Persia—would have continued to completion, after which a pressure of population backward would begin a positive migration eastward and northward into the less endurable climates. This theory would support the belief that America was not populated until long after the richer parts of the Old World had become the domain of human groups. It is feasible to think, that at first only small groups of the eastward and northern drift (the more adventurous or the most harried by foes) would attempt the passage across the Behring Strait to the new land, and once upon it, they would probably follow the waterline—the easiest line of travel—southward. Others would follow, and would distribute themselves in groups, preferably near water because of the food therein, and eventually would settle where climatic conditions were endurable and food supply was not precarious. Resistance



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of attempts by other groups to oust them from coveted areas would develop group consciousness, and in time distinct national features.

It seems, however, that the aboriginal Americans were of one race. Throughout America the Indians show uniform physical characteristics. There is variety of course, but not more than is shown in species of animals—the bear for instance—in the gradual process of adaptation to climatic and other conditions of life. In course of time, the transplanted human groups in America lost their Asiatic characteristics, except perhaps the pigmentation of the skin. If they did not lose them entirely, they developed features sufficiently different to be distinctive. It is said that some Indian words are not dissimilar in root to those of the Welsh who were the ancient Britons<sup>2</sup> and Welsh shows similarity to Arabic, both being to greater or lesser extent rooted in Sanscrit, the base of most of the dialects of India. At the same time it is true that the language of the American Indians is as different from the Asiatic as any European tongue.

The migration was probably spread over scores of generations, over thousands of years. “The ancient period when the distribution of the race was complete, from the icy northlands of Alaska through the Central and South American tropics to the bleak snow-covered tundras of Patagonia, was one far back in point of time,” writes Parker, “and, it may be, followed the subsidence of the last glaciation in the north.”

There is no reason to believe that the aboriginal Americans were more turbulent or warlike than other contemporary human groups. With time and comparative peace, would come an increase of population, which could not be accommodated in the narrow Pacific Coast area, between the mountains and the sea. So the different groups, which had now become distinct linguistic stocks, developing many complex cultures, began to spread out in all directions from the sea. Those that remained in the Pacific Coast area developed some of the most highly distinctive culture traits. Other groups, of more nomadic tendencies, had to concern themselves more

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<sup>2</sup>See Parker's *Archaeological History of New York*, part 1, pps. 19-20, wherein he further directs students of the problem of man's antiquity in America to study the publications of George Grant McCurdy, the works of W. H. Holmes, particularly *Some Problems of the American Race*, in the *American Anthropologist*, xii, 2; and Ales Hrdlicka, *Skeletal Remains Suggesting or Attributed to Early Man in North America* (*Bureau of Ethnology, Bul.* 33).



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with the pressing needs of the moment. West of the Sierra Nevadas there was no congestion and the linguistic stocks were widely distributed. The entire interior of Alaska and of Western Canada was held by divisions of the Athapascan stock, though the Eskimoan race held the coast, except about Cook Inlet. They even excluded the Athapascans from Hudson's Bay. Southward, the trend of the Athapascans was along the Rocky Mountain foothills into the arid sweeps of New Mexico, Arizona, Texas (western) and Chihuahua (Mexico). The Athapascan stock also was to be found in a few isolated spots along the Pacific in Oregon and Northern California, but generally they settled in the least desired lands. Maybe, they had no option. They were characteristically peace-loving, and may not have wished to contend with the more belligerent tribes for the richer areas. In the rigorous north, the culture of the Athapascans was limited, but southern divisions of this stock—the Navaho and Apache—developed complex culture.

While the Athapascan stock swept from the north to the south, the powerful Algonkian stock spread out, fanlike, from the Rockies to Labrador and to the New England coast. It held the southwestern shores of Hudson's Bay, most of the region north of the Great Lakes and spread down the Atlantic coast. Its northern neighbors were the Eskimo and Athapascan peoples; its western course was checked by the tribes of the Sioux, and, in Tennessee, by the Muskogean stock. The Algonkians however held most of the Mississippi Valley from the source to the mouth of the Ohio. The Siouan stock occupied a desirable tract extending from east Assiniboia southward into southern Arkansas. Beyond were the Cheyenne-Arapahoe tribes of the Algonkian stock, and the Shoshoni.

The Shoshonean stock occupied the Rocky Mountains region, pushed across to the Sierras and on, southward, into California, reaching and holding a strip of the sea coast. Its territory included southwestern Wyoming, all of Utah, Nevada and the western half of Colorado and also reached into northeastern New Mexico and northwestern Texas. Traces of the Shoshoni are found southward in Mexico. Indeed, it is said that "the Shoshoni, the Paiute, the Bannock, the Comanche and the Hopi are but northern kinsmen of the Aztecs."

Caddoan stock occupied land adjoining that of the Sioux, in North and South Dakota. Another group was in Nebraska, and

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other smaller bands farther south among the Kiowan stock. South of the Kiowan stock, between the Shoshonean stock on the west, the Muskogean on the east and the Siouan on the north, was the principal division of the Caddo people. South and east of them were the Natchesan, Tonican, Attacapan and Chittemachan groups.

The Muskogean stock dwelt in the eastern part of the South. They occupied most of Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, northern Florida, and advanced wedge-like northward through western Tennessee into Kentucky and along the south bank of the Ohio. The Algonkians lay to the northward, deriving benefit from the contiguity. Indeed, the material culture of the Muskogean stock exercised more influence upon the cultural development of the northern tribes than is generally supposed.

The Iroquoian stock, which includes the Cherokee, the Wyandot-Huron, the confederated Five Nations, the Erie, the Neuter, the Tuscarora and other smaller tribes, wedged itself into the lands of the eastern Algonkians, holding the St. Lawrence Valley on the north, the northern shores of lakes Ontario and Erie, the southern tip of Lake Huron and part of Indiana. The Iroquois tribes spread over all of northern Ohio and all of New York, except the triangle running from Lake George to the Delaware river, and occupied all of Pennsylvania, save a small strip on the eastern border. The Iroquoian stock was also to be found in parts of Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia.

The Eskimoan stock in America seems to have been always that which they still are, a circumpolar people; but the Eskimos "show a close cultural affinity to other boreal people," and must be looked upon as a distinct division of the American race. The area which they occupy stretches from the Aleutian Islands to the tip of Cape Prince of Wales, and northward into the Arctic Circle.

It does not seem that there was much intertribal warfare among the aborigines. Some groups were more restless and predatory than others, perhaps because living conditions were not ideal with them. Although, however, tribal boundaries were somewhat flexible and at times changed, because of pressure by stronger groups, the hunting grounds of the various stocks seemed to be well recognized, and in the main respected. Boundaries could be more rigidly maintained among the various tribes of the same linguistic stock. Under the Iroquois governing code, for instance, a tribesman who pursued

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a deer from the Onondaga country into that of the Oneida might slay the animal, and take away the perishable meat "but its pelt must be left hanging conspicuously near the trail and marked in such a way as to show that a person without the group had killed it."

There were some wars, of course, and in the course of centuries stocks have increased and decreased in numbers. Some have been exterminated, either by warfare or by absorption into other stocks. Generally, during a war there was no progress in material culture and almost invariably the greater wars were waged by the nations that had become superior in material culture during long periods of peace. These peace-loving people, in their more settled life, had accumulated wealth in movable property. This was coveted by less fortunate tribes, and so to ward off raids by predatory tribes fortifications were built. Probably the greatest Indian wars were those in which the mound-building peoples were reduced and expelled from their country between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. A later war of importance was that in which the Huron-Iroquois, pushed aside the Algonkian tribes, and established themselves where they were found at the opening of the historic era. It is doubtful, however, whether the aboriginal wars of pre-historic times resulted in heavy mortality. Though fearless and ruthless in war, the Indians were resourceful and honorable and favored deliberations by their elders with those of their adversaries, so as to reach peaceful settlement in council if possible. Most wars were based on the struggle for existence and probably a contributing factor was the encroachment of wild animals. For instance, buffalo herds may have made agriculture so precarious for the mound-building people that a readjustment of territory south and east became imperative and this could only be effected by invading the Muskogean and Algonkian areas.

Coming more definitely to the aboriginal occupation of New York, we find that there have been several waves of occupation. How many there have been will never be known, but it seems quite clear that the Iroquois who were the last aboriginal people to occupy the land were not the first.

The area embraced by the present State of New York was probably looked upon as desirable territory by all of these early groups. Its physiographic features are undoubtedly inviting. The





"APPEAL TO THE GREAT SPIRIT," BY CYRUS EDWIN DALLIN, BOSTON ART MUSEUM





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region "seems always to have been designed as a great natural empire." In variety of landscape there may not be its superior upon the continent. Its geographical position, physical features and natural resources; its waterways, soil, vegetation, and general fertility must have marked out the land as a most desirable possession. Its position at the head of the Great Lakes was probably of as great strategic importance to the Indians as to the English. Its numerous waterways were of even greater value to the Indians, for their light craft could pass from lake to sea and the portages presented no insuperable difficulty to them. The Hudson from its source afforded access to a considerable area. Over the divide near Fort Edward, the Champlain watercourses could be reached by two general routes, one touching Lake George and the other Lake Champlain. These portages were later of value to the English, and during provincial days were well guarded by Fort Edward at the point of debarkation on the Hudson, by Fort Ann on Wood Creek, and by Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George. Westward along the Mohawk an all-water route ended in the Oneida portage near the present site of the city of Rome. A portage of eight miles at this point brought the voyager to the Finger Lakes drainage basin and Fort Stanwix protected the route. Through Wood Creek and Oneida Lake all the lakes of Central New York could be reached. By way of Irondequoit Bay and the mouth of the Genesee river, or along its tributaries, the Genesee country was reached. Tonawanda Creek, Cattaraugus Creek and other water routes or land trails connected the Niagara and Cattaraugus regions with the overland trails and with the water route down the Allegheny to the Ohio. Leaving the Hudson near Albany, the great natural route from the east to the west was by the Mohawk Valley. The routes to the south country were along the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. The Susquehanna could be reached from the Mohawk trail and these waterways brought the Pennsylvania regions and the Chesapeake country within reach of the New York tribes. The natural overland trails that followed the ancient shore and beach lines of the larger lakes were also of great importance and eventually, in the course of white settlement, these Indian trails became the wagon roads, and finally the routes of the railways.

A region so united by natural agencies must therefore have

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seemed especially desirable and potential to Indian groups. The land itself was naturally so fertile, fish and game were so abundant and other living conditions so inviting, that one is not surprised to find that the most powerful Indian confederation grew up in it. Climate also, probably had important part in developing in the Indians of New York a more vigorous mentality than that shown by aboriginal stocks in more temperate regions. The warm summers and fertile soil yielded the abundance of food that sustained the New York aborigines in vigorous physical activity during the rigorous but exhilarating winter months. Physical vigor brings mental keenness. The wide variations between summer and winter temperatures in New York seem to benefit the human frame. Certainly when the white races began to occupy the land of the redmen they found in New York State tribes of Indians worthy of their respect. Within the borders of New York at that time were probably about six thousand Indians. They were living on tracts of land that they had held "from very early time." They wore little clothing in summer or winter and seemed to thrive. "One Jesuit father who lived among the Mohawk people states that he saw one warrior braving a storm with the upper part of his body bare, and only protected by a wild cat skin through which he had thrust his arm, holding it on the windward side." These people lived in bark houses, unheated save by the floor fires lighted for cooking.

The incoming white men, with their superior tools, were able to derive greater benefit from the natural resources of the region. Utensils of iron, copper, tin, glass added to their conveniences. Sheep, cattle, and horses were assets the Indians had not had. The wool of the sheep, the milk of the cow, and the carrying capacity of the horse gave the whites considerable advantage over the aboriginal Americans. Their implements of war increased the advantage and the more advanced state of European civilization gave them cultural advantages, practical initiative, and conscious superiority that enabled them to become eventually the paramount race on the American continent.

The presence of man in the New York region during the glacial periods has not up to now been suggested; at least not with any archeological basis. No paleoliths, such as have been found in Europe and elsewhere, have been brought to light in this state; the rock shelters have yielded some rude flints, but none that indicate

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remarkable antiquity. Man may have lived on earth fifty thousand, maybe five hundred thousand years ago, as a study of geology suggests, but he left nothing by which scientists might know of his occupation of the New York region in the immediate postglacial times, at which time apparently certain Asiatic tribes were migrating over Behring Strait, and settling along the Pacific coast. When distribution began, more seem to have travelled southward into South America than eastward. Parker thinks that many parts of North and South America had been long settled and that there may have been millions of red men in America before any considerable number crossed the Rocky Mountains and the prairies to begin a migration by slow stages to the Atlantic coast. The oldest evidences of man's presence in New York seem to be on some of the upper terraces. In Western New York are several strange sites where the artifacts are crude and all osseous matter completely absent. Carbonized material in the pits show that fire had been used. Along the headwaters of the Hudson are similar ancient sites; but their age cannot be determined nearer than that they are likely to be older than other sites where the artifacts are less crude.

Archeological study, however, convinces the student that long before the Iroquois other aboriginal groups lived in the New York region. At various times before the Iroquois occupation, Algonkian tribes occupied almost every part of the State. There is evidence, also, that bands of the mound-building people lived in New York, and at an earlier time there may have been an Eskimoan occupation.

The first definite occupation of New York seems to have been by a people influenced by the Eskimo. Perhaps they were Eskimoan tribes, or Algonkian groups intermarried with the Eskimo, and culturally influenced by the latter. This faint impress soon became dominantly Algonkian as their artifacts come to light in almost all parts of the State. Wave after wave of Algonkian stock passed over New York, the last being the Delaware. Following them came the Mound Builders and the Iroquois. There may have been other waves of occupation, possibly Siouan or Muskogean stocks, for many of the sites examined by archeologists are puzzling, and "suggest an occupation by people the nature of which we have now no means of determining." An estimate of the artifacts dis-



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covered in the heart of New York State, in the region extending from Oneida Lake to the Genesee, classifies 20,000 specimens<sup>3</sup> thus:

Eskimoan .....	267	articles
Algonkian .....	8,763	"
Mound Builders .....	1,608	"
Iroquois .....	8,147	"
Undetermined .....	1,215	"

The Algonkian occupation seems to have been of longest duration and that of the Iroquois the shortest; "but the Iroquois left such abundant traces, such thick refuse deposits, and so many relics of their material culture, that they appear to have not only lived on the land but to have actually used it. In viewing the remains of their occupation no anthropologist would make a mistaken estimate of their mental or moral energy."

Measured in years, the Algonkian occupation may be counted by thousands. Its several periods seem to merge into each other so that to determine where one ends and the next begins is difficult, if not impossible. The first Algonkian people were merely roving hunters, living without pottery and knowing nothing of agriculture. Next came the occupation by other Algonkians who are represented, in unearthed relics, by crude implements, large clumsy spears, steatite pottery, some rough and low-grade clay pottery, occasionally a stone notched at the top for choppers, and now and then a grooved axe and celt, and in rare instances by implements of bone. This seems to have been a period influenced by the Eskimoan culture. "Probably no graves of this period have ever been found." What seems to have been the intermediate period of Algonkian occupation is characterized by a larger number of grooved axes, roller pestles, and by a greater abundance of crude pottery that shows fabric or cord marks, by steatite pottery, by pits filled with crumbling and almost completely disintegrated refuse, and especially by the great

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<sup>3</sup>Including hammerstones, anvils, mullers, celts, gouges, adzes, grooved axes, grooved weights, net sinkers, bannerstones, birdstones, gorgets, plummets, other ceremonials, stone pipes, bone implements, shell beads, stone tubes, notched flints, triangular flints, pottery vessels, Steatite vessels, copper articles, pestles. The figures are given on page 44, Part I, of Parker's *Archeological History of New York*. The tabulation is based on a careful estimate of artifacts from the heart of New York State, extending from Oneida Lake to the Genesee. A tabulation of the entire state would probably alter the percentages, although perhaps not importantly. Of the 20,000 specimens identified 2,150 were hammerstones, 1,600 were net sinkers, 1,300 were shell beads, 2,100 were stone tubes, 7,000 were notched flints, and 2,300 were triangular flints.

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abundance of drills, of notched arrowheads and spears of chert and other stone. "Many of the finest ceremonial stones from New York belong to this intermediate period." "The sites are generally along the waterways, on the banks or upon the high level fields near creeks lakes and rivers." To some extent the early Algonkian sites are found in such places also, though most are on the slopes and terraces far above the present river beds.

The later Algonkian occupation as indicated by relics is more definite in character. The occupation covered almost the entire area of the State, and is characterized by numerous flints, by steatite pottery, clay pottery, notched choppers, grooved axes, celts, adzes, hoes, some copper implements, gouges, gorgets, birdstones, banner stones, cord-marked and pattern-marked clay pottery, mediocre clay pipes, roller pestles, net sinkers, and bone implements, such as awls, harpoons, needles and beads, in considerable number. The sites are generally on the lowlands. The Algonkians of this time led a more settled life. Numerous instances of charred maize and beans found in refuse pits prove that they were agricultural. Large areas filled with carbonized matter, fire-burned stone and calcined bone indicate that this wave of occupation was stronger, and that the settlements were larger. Graves of this period have been found, the skeletons being doubled up on one side. Artifacts are seldom found in the graves. The Markham site, near Avon, is a typical grave of this period and a typical village site is that excavated on the outlet of Owasco Lake, south of Auburn.

The coastal Algonkians differed somewhat from the inland Algonkians in culture. For example, in the refuse layers and shell heaps of Long Island, Staten Island, Westchester county coast and the northern end of Manhattan Island has been found pottery of the unmistakable Algonkian type but stamped with the edge of a scalloped shell, instead of a cord-wrapped paddle. The shell-heaps on the west side of Milburn Creek, south of Lott's and Bedell's Landing are the most extensive in the country.<sup>4</sup> They were the sites of large wampum factories before that part was settled by white men. Shellfish was evidently abundant, and the Algonkians used it for food to a considerable extent. Typical coastal Algonkian sites excavated are at Port Jefferson, Oyster Bay, Matinicock and Shinne-

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<sup>4</sup>See History of Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, by Henry Isham Hazleton, 1925.

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cock, on Long Island; Throgg's Neck, Eastchester and Westchester, on the Westchester county coast; and on Manhattan and Staten islands.

Throughout the length of the Genesee Valley are definite traces of Algonkian occupation, Wyoming and Monroe counties containing many camp sites. Other evidences are found eastward through the Finger Lakes district, southward along the valleys of the Chemung, Susquehanna and Chenango, through portions of Chenango, Otsego and Oneida counties. In Jefferson County to the north along the St. Lawrence are abundant traces, while southward along the Delaware River, through the counties of Delaware, Ulster, Sullivan, Orange and Rockland the relics of occupation seem almost entirely Algonkian. The Hudson Valley shows an Algonkian occupation. Along the shores of the St. Lawrence River Algonkian articles have been found directly beneath Iroquoian deposits.

Some of the Algonkian relics show a higher state of culture than is to be found in the artifacts of the same stock, and probably of the same period, farther north. There is a noticeable thinning-out of polished slate objects in eastern New England, southern New York, Pennsylvania, and the region north of the St. Lawrence basin, including the Erie-Ontario slopes in Canada. The presence of these polished articles, in abundance, west of the Mohawk headwaters, westward into Ohio and down the Allegheny to the Ohio and southward to Tennessee, seems to point to cultural stimulus exerted on the eastern Algonkians by intruding and more advanced groups from the south or west. Relics of the last period of Algonkian occupation show some sculptural skill. Well-modelled stone effigies of human faces have been found on certain Algonkian sites in New York. The remains on these were of tribes influenced by the Delawares. Some of the pipe fragments of the later period take artistic shape and show elaborate modelling. Copper articles, such as arrow-heads, small hatchets and other implements of war and industry, have been found in Algonkian sites; but the instances are rare, and it is considered doubtful if the New York Algonkians ever made copper implements. These articles seem to indicate a cultural influence of mound-building people upon the Algonkian, though the articles of native copper may have come to them by barter. It seems to be well established, however, that the Algonkians were not the



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Mound Builders, though in certain emergencies they did erect fortified stockades.

At one time, it seems, some parts of western New York were regarded as the domain of this mysterious race known as the *Mound Builders*. Probably, no aboriginal American group has so excited the imagination of modern theorists. The mounds, conjecturally sacrificial or sacerdotal, have prompted some to link these American aborigines with the ancient Britons and Gauls. The cromlechs of Wales and of northern France, the evidences of sun-worship at Stonehenge, of human sacrifice among the Welsh and Gallic Druids, and the finding of calcined human remains in the mounds of Ohio, encouraged the thought that the mounds were of great antiquity, and served a devotional purpose. Some of the great thinkers of colonial and early republican times found their imagination peculiarly receptive to thoughts of a great but obliterated American past. Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Ezra Stiles, the Indian missionary, Noah Webster and others advanced fanciful theories. Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, in 1797, in his *New Ideas on the Origin of the Tribes in America*, suggested that the mounds were not built by Indians but by "a people of higher cultivation, with established law and order, and a well-disciplined police." Dr. Barton was perhaps the first to suggest that the mounds were the work of "a lost race." The subject was fascinating to theologians. Bishop Madison, of Virginia, soon afterwards made a close study of many mound sites, and became convinced that Indians were not the builders. Rev. T. M. Harris thought that the mound-builders "possessed superior skill and were of higher civilization" than that of the Indians. So, speculation continued, in some quarters, during the next century to keep this fascinating study from being reduced to prosaic fact. The lover of the mysterious found greater satisfaction in mythical meditation, in imagining that America was the seat, in ancient days, of a mighty aboriginal race, rivalling in culture and power the ancient oriental monarchies, than in accepting the deductions of scientists. Romancers felt that the picture of sachems of the Mound Builders surrounded by splendors equal to those of the Chaldaean king, Uruk, or of the times of Sennacherib, Assur-izir-pal, Achaemenes or Darius should not be permitted to be ruthlessly slashed by scientific vandals who would suggest that



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as objects acquired *after* the coming of Europeans to America had been found in the mounds, the latter could not be very old. Yet, such seems to be more than a possibility. Indeed, early explorers actually saw mounds being built. That the mounds were built by Indians, and not only by one tribe, is proved by the artifacts found in them. "No native object found in the mounds differs from objects that Indians at the time of discovery made, or were able to make," states Archaeologist Parker, who is himself of Indian blood and thus has been more keenly interested in the study of aboriginal culture. He writes: "The links connecting the Indians with the mound builders are so firmly established by historic and archeologic evidence that archeologists now know them to have been one and the same people." The Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, a department of the Smithsonian Institution, shatters many myths as to the Mound Builders.

The mounds found in New York State have not shown European articles among the specimens unearthed. Indeed, the local mounds seem to have been pre-Iroquoian as well as pre-colonial. Save for intrusive burials by Iroquois in these sites, Iroquoian culture is not represented in the artifacts found. It is possible that the mound-building people intruded upon the eastern Algonkians, or that expatriated tribesmen of the former merged with the latter, influencing Algonkian culture by their own, to perhaps the same degree as that of the later New England tribes was modified by Iroquoian culture.

The study of mounds of western New York, particularly those in Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie and Livingston counties, indicate that the Mound-Builders were a village-dwelling people. They had the custom of burying in small mounds. They cultivated corn and other vegetable foods, also tobacco and they made woven fabrics. Among the artifacts are platform pipes, grooved axes, celts, adzes, gouges, gorgets, banner-stones, boat-stones, bird-stones, stone tubes of several varieties, native copper implements and ornaments, such as chisels, celts, spearheads and arrowheads, beads, ear ornaments and so forth, numerous flint drills, shell beads, pearl beads, mica ornaments, bone and antler implements, hematite articles, pottery, discoid stones, concaved disks, cylindrical and bell pestles. Evidences of mound culture are not so numerous east of the Genesee as in western New York. The trail of mound culture into the State



INDIAN STATUE, STATE PARK, LAKE GEORGE



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seems to have been along the shores of Lake Erie and up the Allegheny river.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, the mounds in New York State have had no systematic examinations, and the possibilities of methodical study are now reduced by two-thirds, "through the vandalism of inexperienced relic hunters," states Parker. None of the mounds are especially conspicuous, one of the larger mounds being only nine or ten feet high, with a diameter of about sixty-four feet. Many have been reduced by cultivation of the topsoil. T. Apoleon Cheney, in the *13th Report of the New York State Cabinet of Natural History* (1860), described his examination of a mound situated on a terrace above the Conewango Valley at Poland Center, Chautauqua County. He found eight skeletons buried in a sitting posture, and makes some speculations which Parker thinks are "specious." Cheney reported that the mound "from the peculiar form of its construction, as well as from the character of its contents," had "much resemblance to the Barrows of the earliest Celtic origin in the Old World." Some of the relics, amulets, chisels, *et cetera*, were "of peculiar and interesting character" and elaborate workmanship, "resembling the Mexican and Peruvian antiquities." Several interesting objects have been taken from New York mounds. From one grave opened by amateurs, in a gravel bank near Vine Valley on Canandaigua Lake, were taken a large tablet gorget, a copper chisel blade, a segment of a mastodon ivory dagger.<sup>6</sup> Other mounds contained graves

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<sup>5</sup>The regions showing the greatest evidence of the mound culture are: (1) the south shore of Lake Erie from Westfield to the mouth of Cattaraugus creek; (2) the valley and terraces of the Cattaraugus to Gowanda; (3) the Allegheny valley; (4) the valley of Chautauqua Lake and the Chadekoin river; (5) the Connewango valley; (6) the Casadaga valley; (7) Clear Creek valley; (8) the valley of Buffalo creek; (9) the valley of Tonawanda creek eastward to the overland trails to the Genesee; (10) eastward along the Allegheny valley from Bradford northward along the tributaries, thence overland to the Genesee valley; (11) the Genesee valley, from Portageville to the mouth of the river; (12) Irondequoit creek; (13) Canandaigua Lake valley; (14) the region of the Finger Lakes, to the Seneca river; (15) the valley of the Seneca river; (16) southward and along the southern shores of Oneida Lake; (17) scattering relics along the Oswego river; (18) Jefferson county along the shores of Ontario and the lower waters of the neighboring creeks; (19) the St. Lawrence valley; (20) south of the Finger Lakes, especially along the headstreams of the Susquehanna and of the Delaware and scattering relics; (21) portions of the Hudson valley, as near Athens.—*Archæological Hist. N. Y.*, by Parker, Part I, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup>One writer who believed that the Mound Builders were the great aboriginal nation of America, and had a past which reached far into prehistoric times, and that they reached a high state of civilization, claimed to have found a copper tablet upon which had been engraved a *mastodon in harness*. This significant relic was, so he said, sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It does not however seem to have reached that society.—See "*Ancient Man in America*," by Frederick Larkin, Randolph, N. Y., 1888.



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boxed by stone slabs. Most of the burial-places however are not of unique interest and indeed, some "would be considered ordinary in Ohio." The pottery resembles Ohio mound pottery, and the culture is plainly derived from the Ohio region and southward.

The Mound Builders in New York seem to have had their southernmost division about Chautauqua Lake and the valley of the Allegheny, and perhaps found a portage to the upper waters of the Genesee river. The Genesee Valley is rich in artifacts of mound culture. Apparently, they represent "the expansion of the parent culture beyond the limits of its home; and archeological deductions point to the disappearance of the mound-building people from New York at or before the time of the coming of the Iroquois. Whether they were ousted, exterminated, or absorbed cannot be determined, though a survey of the earliest Iroquoian sites, especially those in western New York, indicate "that the earliest Iroquoian immigrants were measurably influenced by the mound-building culture;" to such an extent, in fact, as to suggest three possibilities: first, that the Iroquois may have been of the mound-building peoples originally; second, that the Iroquois in entering this region subdued and absorbed considerable numbers of the mound-building peoples, absorbing at the same time some of their culture traits; third, that the earliest New York Iroquois were merely influenced by mound culture. The main points of similarity between certain Iroquois forms and mound-area forms are in some pipes and pottery vessels. Early Iroquois sites in New York have yielded objects similar to those in the mounds, but not the distinctive gorgets, birdstones and related forms. Metapodal scrapers found in a prehistoric Iroquois site at Richmond Mills, N. Y., are similar in every way to those found in Ohio mound sites. A survey of the whole field of the earlier Iroquoian occupation in New York and Ontario leads archeologists to believe that the Huron-Iroquois were the immediate successors of the Mound Builders in this area; that the invaders, pushing up the Ohio encountered the Mound Builders and finally conquered them. Parker inquires whether or not the Catawba, Tutelo and Saponi do not represent the survivors of the vanquished mound peoples.

The influence of Mound culture upon Iroquoian did not long continue however. "The Iroquois once established culturally did not copy Mound artifacts. Indeed they seem to have deliberately

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avoided the use of the distinguishing badges of their vanquished foes. Just as the conquerors of the first Mound people of Ohio beat up the mica ornaments and hammered into shapeless masses the copper tools and gorgets of their despised victims, so did the Iroquois taboo, or avoid with deliberateness, the banner-stone and the gorget and similar artifacts of polished slate."

Most writers point out that Iroquois artifacts are almost all of the historic period, or at least that most Iroquois sites show evidence of contact with Europeans. However, some sites are prehistoric, though not ancient. Mr. Parker, who was probably the first to attempt an analytical study of Iroquoian archeology, thinks that objects recognized as Iroquoian in these prehistoric sites, within New York State, are not more than 500 to 600 years old, thus giving Iroquoian culture a fixedness of less than 600 years. However, it cannot be positively stated that Iroquois were not earlier in New York. Iroquoian art and artifacts may have been different in earlier generations. Supporting this argument, Mr. Parker refers to conversations he has had with tribal authorities. He showed some of the Lafitau drawings to Edward Cornplanter, a Seneca Indian who could speak authoritatively as to religious ceremonies of his tribe. "Our people never lived that way," said Cornplanter. The Iroquois of today have apparently forgotten their early fortifications and architecture. Another native authority who was interrogated as to when the Iroquois Confederacy originated, replied: "With the teachings of our great ancestor, Handsome Lake, I think," adding after some hesitation: "No, it was before that; I remember now it was in the time of Dekanawida." These answers point out two men whose names are linked with two distinct periods of cultural revolution. "Each blotted out the memory of a former period. The people of each period systematically forgot the history of the preceding periods. Today the Iroquois of New York base nearly all of their tribal ceremonies on the doctrines of Handsome Lake, who flourished between 1800 and 1816. So great was the influence of his teaching that he practically created and crystallized a new system of tribal thought and a new plan of action. His earlier predecessor was Dekanawida, to whom, with the aid of Hiawatha, is ascribed the origin of the Iroquois Confederacy. Dekanawida so crystallized the things of the older

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period with his own devices, teachings and admonitions that the methods, beliefs and thought-ways of the preceding period lost their identity in the minds of the Iroquois people." "All civic and much of the religious thought centered in Dekanawida. That which preceded it was either blotted out or swallowed up. The Iroquois took on a new mantle." With these comparatively recent instances of distinct revolutions in the thought of the Iroquois, it cannot with assurance be argued that there were no like revolutions in earlier centuries, and that there was not an earlier and quite different Iroquois culture than that which is generally accepted as Iroquoian, and which seems to have an antiquity of only about 600 years.

Certain Iroquois traditions of seemingly good foundation relate to a period in which all the Iroquois were one people, living together and speaking the same tongue. One woman was recognized as "the lineal descendent of the first Iroquoian family"; yet she did not belong to one of the Five Nations, but to the Neuter people. Tradition has it that "when the bands divided, it was found that the family of Dyigonsase (Fat Face or Wild Cat) fell to the Neuter Nation." The Neuter woman was called *Ye-gowane*, meaning *The Great Woman*; and she was looked upon as "*the Mother of the Nations*." In the Dekanawida-Hiawatha tradition a woman so named was often consulted by both Dekanawida and Hiawatha. The former was a Wyandot (Ouendot) from the Bay of Quinte at the head of Lake Ontario. This recognition of blood relationship confirms a fact established by archeology and philology, viz: that the Erie, Neuter, Huron, Seneca and Mohawk-Onondaga peoples were of one common tribe.

Whence came the original tribe? Traditions point to the southwest. The Dekanawida epic refers to the "tree of the long sword-like leaves," which so learned an Iroquois as Dr. Peter Wilson called a "palm tree." Many Iroquois expeditions were directed against enemies down the Ohio and on the Mississippi. Again, there is similarity in the Caddoan and Iroquoian languages. Parker thinks that the older theory that the Iroquois had their origin, or their early home, along the St. Lawrence, about Montreal, "is not entirely without serious faults." Archeological evidence is that certain Iroquois tribes never came from that region; for example, the Senecas, who were closely allied to the Eries, if not derived directly from that people; indeed, Dr. William M. Beauchamp, the dis-



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tinguished authority on New York archeology, "suggests that the Erie were the parent stock of the Huron-Iroquois family and further suggests that the Seneca were derived from them, possibly within historic times." The Erie and Seneca tribes were as closely allied in western New York as the Mohawk and Onondaga peoples were in eastern and northern New York. "The Mohawk (or Laurentian Iroquois) never agreed with the Senecan division, and there indeed seems to have been a long period of separation that made these two dialects more unlike than all the others of the five" nations. Eventually, in or about 1655, the Erie people (*La Nation du Chat*) were exterminated by the Seneca,<sup>7</sup> or if not exterminated were so weakened as to then cease to be an independent tribe.

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<sup>7</sup>The Cat Nation had sent 30 Ambassadors to the Sonnontouahronnons to confirm the peace between them; but it happened that by some unexpected accident, that a Sonnontouahronnon was killed by a man of the Cat Nation. The murder so incensed the Sonnontouahronnons, that they put to death the Ambassadors in their hands, except five who escaped. Hence the war was kindled between those two nations, and each strove to capture and burn more prisoners than its opponent. Two Onnontagehronnons among others were captured by men of the Cat Nation; one of them escaped, and the other, a man of rank, was taken home by the enemy to be burnt. He pleaded his cause so well that he was given to the sister of one of the 30 Ambassadors who had been put to death. She was absent from the village at the time, but the prisoner was nevertheless clothed in fine garments, and feasting and good cheer prevailed, the man being all but assured that he would be sent back to his own country. When she to whom he had been given returned, she was told that her dead brother was to be restored to life, that she must prepare to regale him well, and then to give him a most gracious dismissal. She, however, began to weep and to declare that she would never dry her eyes until her brother's death was avenged. The elders shewed her the gravity of the situation, which was likely to involve them in a new war; but she would not yield. Finally, they were compelled to give up the wretched man to her to do with him as she pleased. All this occurred while he was still joyfully feasting. Without a word he was taken from the feast and conducted to this cruel woman's cabin. Upon entering, he was surprised at being stripped of his clothes. Then he saw that his life was lost, and he cried out, before dying, that an entire people would be burned in his person, and that his death would be cruelly avenged. His words proved true, for no sooner had the news reached Onnontague, than 1,200 determined men started forth to exact satisfaction for this affront.

We have already observed that the Cat Nation is so called from the large number of Wildcats, of great size and beauty in their country. The climate is temperate, neither ice nor snow being seen in the winter; while in summer it is said that grain and fruit are harvested in abundance, and are of unusual size and excellence.

Our warriors entered that country remote though it was from Onnontague before they were perceived. Their arrival spread such a panic that villages and dwellings were abandoned to the mercy of the Conqueror—who, after burning everything, started in pursuit of the fugitives. The latter numbered from two to three thousand besides women and children. Finding themselves closely followed, they resolved, after five days' flight to build a fort of wood and there await the enemy who numbered only 1,200. Accordingly, they intrenched themselves as well as they could. The enemy drew near, the two head chiefs showing themselves in French costume, in order to frighten their opponents by the novelty of their attire. One of the two who had been baptized by Father Le Moyne and was very well instructed, gently urged the besieged to capitulate, telling them that they would be destroyed if they allowed an assault. "The Master of Life fights for us" said he; "you will be ruined if you resist him." "Who is the Master of our lives?" was the haughty reply of the Besieged. "We acknowledge none but our arms and our hatchets." Thereupon the assault was made, and the palisade attacked on all sides; but the



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As a working hypothesis, but probably based upon very sound scientific foundation and his own particular study of Iroquoian material culture, Dr. Parker advances the following theory to explain the presence of the Iroquois in the New York region. He supposes that one, two or more related tribes of early Huron-Iroquois lived in a portion of a region embraced within a circle at the mouth of the Ohio River, where they were in contact with the Caddo, Muskogee, Sioux and some Algonkian tribes. They were a pastoral village-dwelling people, had some knowledge of agriculture, and knew how to erect stockades and earthen walls for their inclosures.

Pressure of intruding immigrants, or some other influence, caused the Huron-Iroquois to move as a body northward up the Ohio River. Some went eastward into the Carolinas, but the main body migrated northeasterly, the tribes of the Cherokee leading the way into the region of the Mound Builders of Ohio. The latter resolutely resisted the invasion, and fighting extended over a long period of time before the Mound Builders were overcome and the Iroquois were finally in possession of their country. The defeated people were perhaps absorbed into the tribal divisions of the Iroquois, who possibly were assisted in this conquest by bands of Choctaw, Algonkians. To some extent the characteristics of the Mound Builders would appear in the Iroquois of the period of transition, but the influence was soon lost and Iroquoian material culture became distinctive.

Following the Cherokee vanguard, other Iroquoian tribes pushed northward into the conquered region of the Mound Builders.

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defence was as spirited as the attack, and the combat was a long one, great courage being displayed on both sides. The Besieging party made every effort to carry the place by storm, but in vain; they were killed as fast as they advanced. They hit on a plan of using their canoes as shields; and bearing these before them as protection, they reached the foot of the entrenchment. But it remained to scale the large stakes, or tree trunks of which it was built. Again they resorted to their canoes, using them as ladders for surmounting the stanch palisade. Their boldness so astonished the Besieged that, being already at the end of their munitions of war—with which, especially powder, they were but poorly provided—they resolved to flee. This was their ruin; for after most of the first fugitives had been killed, the others were surrounded by the Onnontaguehronnons, who entered the fort and there wrought such carnage among the women and children that blood was knee deep in certain places. Those who had escaped, wishing to retrieve their honor, after recovering their courage a little, returned to the number of 300, to take the enemy by surprise while he was retiring and off his guard. The plan was good but it was ill executed; for frightened at the first cry of the Onnontaguehronnons, they were entirely defeated. The Victors did not escape heavy losses—so great indeed, that they were formed to remain two months in the enemy's country, burying their dead and caring for their wounded.—The Destruction of the Erie Nation (*La Nation du Chat*), as described in *Jesuit Relations*, 1655-56, Thwaite's edition.

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Jealousies arose, and the newcomers, with the Delaware as allies, fought their own kinsmen, and drove the Cherokee tribes to the southward and across the Appalachian ranges. In this way, the two Iroquoian branches became estranged and the outcome was war which continued well into the historic period.

The ousted Cherokee gave the other Iroquois little peace, though the latter would have liked to have settled peaceably in the beautiful fertile Mound-Builder country. Increasing raids by predatory Cherokee and allied tribes had their effect, and bands of Iroquois began to cross the Detroit River and push their way into the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario. A band now known as the Huron established themselves near and southward of Lake Simcoe. An allied tribe, the Attiwandaronk, or Neuter, occupied the region east and south of them, taking the Grand River country and pushing eastward across the Niagara. Other bands pushed over the northern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario and fought their way to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Powerful bands established themselves about the St. Lawrence, with the site of Montreal as a center. They were the Mohawk-Onondaga, though the Onondaga soon pushed southward into the hilly region to the eastward of the foot of Lake Ontario, in what is now Jefferson County, N. Y.

One part of the migrating Iroquois pushed eastward along the southern shores of the lakes. One division of this part was the Erie tribe which claimed the entire southern shore of Lake Erie; another was the Seneca tribe, which took possession of the country from the Genesee River to Canandaigua Lake. Another tribe, the Conestoga or Andaste, took northern Pennsylvania, especially the region embraced by the two branches of the Susquehanna, including the Chemung River and southward, perhaps as far as Harrisburg.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, in 1722 referred to the Conestoga Indians as follows: "The Conestoga Indians were formerly a part of the Five Nations, called Mingoes, and speak the same language to this day; they actually pay tribute now to the Five Nations, and either from natural affection or fear are ever under their influence and power." The tribe was seated on the Conestoga flats, east of Turkey Hill a few miles from Lancaster (Pennsylvania). When the Whites began to settle around them, Penn assigned to them a residence on the Conestoga Manor, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Conestoga Creek, which runs through Lancaster County and empties into the Susquehanna River, was an important waterway in early settlement days. An Indian fort, known as Susquehannock Fort, was on the western bank of the Susquehanna River, in Conestoga Manor, and was the scene of severe fighting between the Susquehannocks and the Mohawks in the later middle decades of the seventeenth century. According to the *Jesuit Relations* "the Susquehannocks used a cannon with which to defend their fort, and which they took with them when in battle."—See *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (H. M. J. Klein and E. Melvin Williams, 1924), vol. I, pp. 10 and 29-30.

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Beyond them southward, to the headwaters of the Chesapeake, the Susquehannocks claimed dominion. Further southward, but east of the Cherokee pushed the Tuscarora.

These tribes of kindred people held the blood tie, it seems, though each was recognized as a separate nation. While alliances were loose, there was constant intercourse between the tribes over this wide area, and attack upon the region of one tribe would sometimes bring aid from a distant people. At one time the Tuscarora were allied with the northern Iroquois. The Cherokee and Seneca were inveterate enemies; and to the north, the chief enemies of the Iroquois were the Adirondack, who later allied themselves with the Huron.

The Huron-Iroquois advance pressed the eastern Algonkian tribes to a narrow strip along the coast, and in time dominated them, weakened as the Algonkians were by separation from their western kinsmen. The Mohawks were dreaded in New England, and many of the Massachusetts tribes paid tribute to the Iroquois. The Delaware nation was always somewhat friendly, and latterly—during the historic period at least—acknowledged the supreme authority of the confederated Iroquois over them.

But not even kindred tribes could always agree. The southern Iroquois became hostile; and this danger, also the raids of the Adirondack or Abenaki of the north, caused the Laurentian Iroquois—the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Oneida tribes—to form an alliance. Two other tribes later added their strength to the compact, first the Cayuga and then the Seneca. The raids of the Abenaki had compelled the Onondaga tribe to move southward from their Jefferson County strongholds. They moved into the present Onondaga County, occupying the hilly country south of the Onondaga Lake. The southern movement of the Laurentian Mohawk people which soon followed arose from their disagreements with the Laurentian Huron. The Mohawk, migrating southward, came into the Mohawk Valley, and took possession first of the highlands north of the river, in the present counties of Fulton and Montgomery; later they crossed to the southern side of the river. The Oneida, long a separate body, went westward into the highlands of Madison County. Further westward, and on the hills near Limestone Creek, were the Onondaga. Beyond them, along the Seneca River and southward about Cayuga Lake, were the Cayuga people.



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While there were frequent feuds between these divisions of Iroquois, the greater dangers that beset them in north and south kept them from serious war among themselves. The Mohawk took the offensive against the Huron and Abenaki, and even against the Micmac in the north, and in turn had to withstand attack by the Conestoga or Andaste of the Susquehanna. The Conestoga also made war on the Cayuga.

In the Genesee country and along Lake Erie were the Seneca and Erie tribes, who were in constant intercourse and perhaps allied for defense. On both sides of the Niagara River were the villages of the Attiwandaronk or Neuter tribe looked upon as an old and parent body of all the Huron-Iroquois stock. Ji-gon-sa-seh (Yegowane), the "*Mother of Nations*," the woman who was recognized as a lineal descendant of "the first woman of earth," e. g., the direct descendant of the first Iroquoian family, lived in a Neuter village near the Niagara; and the tribe enjoyed enhanced prestige in consequence. Some eastern settlements were occupied by a band known as the Wenro; they were of the Neuter tribe.

When the idea of an Iroquoian confederacy was conceived, presumably by the Seneca, the Erie nation could not be persuaded, and the southern Iroquois were not at all attracted. The Neuters seemed to see no need of entering the league, for in their distinctive place as the parent nation they did not anticipate that either of the main branches—their Huron and Iroquois kin—of the parent stock would cease to respect their ancient authority. Hence, only the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca tribes subscribed to the articles of friendship which created the Iroquois Confederacy, or *Long House* as it was otherwise called. Power creates envy; and soon the Five Nations had to recognize that their confederation, instead of establishing peace by its strength, was fast adding to the number of their enemies, all of whom were jealous of their power. Their own kinsmen outside the league were fast drifting into the ranks of their enemies. However, the central position of the Confederacy gave it an advantage, and its leaders developed a strong front. By mass attack nation after nation fell before them—the Erie, the Neuter, the Huron, the Wenro and the Conestoga. Thousands of Iroquois warriors fell in these wars, but the loss was more than made up by the adoption of captives after the enemy had



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been subdued. Indeed, the ranks of the Confederacy were swelled "enormously" in this manner," and it virtually united by blood mixture all the Iroquois."

This triumph came to the Iroquois in the middle of the colonial period, and began the *golden age* of the Iroquois Confederacy. For the next century—until about 1755—the Iroquois Five Nations exercised dominance among tribes of the East, and were the buffer states that protected the Dutch and English colonies from French attack. With the passing of the French, the ascendancy of the Iroquois as a dictatory power came to an end. The irresistible inroads made by Europeans, and the strengthening of the rule of the English in America after the defeat of the French, convinced the Iroquois that the Five Nations could no longer be paramount, that the future of America would be in the keeping of white men.

Such a realization must have tended to weaken the national morale, and undermine the cultural, as well as the political acumen of the Iroquois. Still, in view of the mixed character of the Iroquois Confederacy during the period of absorption of other peoples and cultures it is astonishing that a material culture so distinctive as the Iroquoian was developed during the period of the ascendancy of the Five Nations. Few non-Iroquoian artifacts are found among the unmistakably Iroquoian specimens unearthed in New York State. This fact points to a determination of the Iroquois people that their material culture should become "a crystallized thing, a possession that must not be adulterated or violated." And, just as the Iroquois removed the moccasins of their captives and placed upon their feet those of Iroquois pattern, so might the absorbed peoples have been stripped of evidences of their material culture upon adoption, and forbidden thereafter to make any but Iroquoian types.

The stone age passed with the coming of the white man. His tools, so much superior to those of the aborigines, were eagerly sought by the latter. The routes of the early fur-traders in the Iroquois country are marked by European relics among the Indian, the percentage of the former increasing as time passes. By the middle of the colonial period, it would seem that the Iroquois were very generally using European articles, the sites of Iroquois towns, such as Bouton Hill and Rochester Junction, being strewn with

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scraps of brass and bits of iron. In the graves are found guns, scissors, copper and brass kettles and glass beads in considerable number. In late colonial times, European articles were evidently in general use for the percentage of Indian articles found in the sites occupied by Iroquois grows less and less, and examination of the refuse of the nineteenth century in Indian settlements or reservations brings to light only an occasional article of distinctive Indian type. Today, in only a few places do the Iroquois tribes make any durable article of the old Iroquoian type, at least nothing of stone clay or flint. Some of the so-called "pagan" Iroquois make some ceremonial articles of bark, wood, husk and skin, and turtle-shell rattles, but "the white man's goods and the white man's way of living have all but obliterated the Iroquois." While, however, the national spirit is at a low ebb with some, there are many progressive independent Iroquois, who, though proud of their origin, have lost identity as Iroquois and can hardly be distinguished from other self-reliant American citizens, having donned the garb of the white man and entered into his occupations, professions, and civil activities. They have not shirked military responsibility, either. For instance, during the World War several hundred stalwart Americans of Iroquois blood went voluntarily and unobtrusively into units of the American and Canadian Expeditionary Forces—bedecked not in the war-paint and plumes of the warriors of old, but in regulation uniform like other American soldiers. Thus, and in other ways, has the Indian of the past been merged in the American citizen of the present.

There are still some large Indian reservations in New York State, proving that the Europeans, in the march of civilization, have not inexorably pushed all the aboriginal Americans ever and always westward. According to the Federal Census of 1920, the Indian population of New York State then was 5,503. Hence, it is clear that there has not been an appreciable shrinkage of Indian population of New York since white settlement began, three centuries ago. Most of the Indian reservations fringe the Great Lakes, or are near thereto, extensive reservations being in Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie, Niagara, Genesee, St. Lawrence and Franklin counties. Nine-tenths (4,458) of the Indians in the 1920 enumeration are to be found in the reservations, and apparently live somewhat as their fore-

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fathers did; but it is pointed out that Indians are to be found in forty-two counties and twenty-two cities of the State. The Indian reservations within New York State are:

Allegany Reservation of 30,469 acres, in Cattaraugus County, the Federal Census of 1920 showing that it then had 934 Indians in residence.

Cattaraugus Reservation of 21,680 acres, in Erie Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties; population, 1,198.

Oneida Reservation of 400 acres, about four miles south of Oneida Station, on the New York Central Railroad; population, none.

Onondaga Reservation of 7,300 acres, near Syracuse; population, 475.

St. Regis Reservation of 14,030 acres, in Franklin County; population, 1,016.

Shinnecock Reservation of 400 acres, near Southampton, L. I., this including the Poospatuck Reservation; population of both, 112.

Tonawanda Reservation of 7,548 acres, in Erie and Genesee counties; population, 400.

Tuscarora Reservation of 6,249 acres, in Niagara County; population, 319.

Another is the Oil Spring Reservation, in Allegany and Cattaraugus counties. It was not separately returned in the Federal Census of 1910, but that of 1920 shows its population as four only.

*Authorities:* This chapter is based mainly upon, and indeed may be considered an abridgment of, the excellent and exhaustive *Archeological History of New York*, written by Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist, and published in 1922 by the University of the State of New York, as Nos. 235, 236, 237, 238 of the *New York State Museum Bulletin*. Another principal source is *Aboriginal Occupation of New York*, by Dr. Wm. M. Beauchamp, published in New York State Museum Bulletin, 1900, No. 32.

Other sources include other works by Beauchamp and Parker; *Jesuit Relations* and Allied Documents, 1610-1791, Thwait's edition; *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, by O'Callaghan; *Ancient Man in America*, by Frederick Larkin; *Ancient Monuments in Western New York*, T. Apoleon Cheney, in *Thirteenth Report State Cabinet of Natural History* (1859), and *Senate Documents*, 1860, No. 89; bulletins of *United States Bureau of Ethnology Smithsonian Institution*; Francis Parkman's works; Severance's *Niagara Frontier* works; Brodhead's *History of State of New York*; Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (1636); *History of Brooklyn and Queens, and Counties of Nassau and Suffolk*, Long



LAKE GEORGE BATTLE MONUMENT





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*Island*, by Henry Isham Hazelton, 1925; *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, H. M. J. Klein and E. Melvin Williams, 1924; *Pennsylvania Archives*; *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois*, by L. H. Morgan, and *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York (1727)*, by Cadwalader Colden.



## Ruling Spirit and Good Genius of First Settlers of Western Massachusetts==William Pynchon

BY ERNEST NEWTON BAGG, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS



HE founder of Springfield, William Pynchon, like his father, John, a graduate of Oxford, was a man of much learning, as well as being one of the patentees of the Colony, while in England, under Charles I, one of Governor Winthrop's magistrates and "assistants," the trusted treasurer of the Colony, and high commissioner for the government of the Connecticut River settlements. Pynchon matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford, (afterward Hertford College) when he was eleven years old, October 14, 1596. It was the custom to send boys to Oxford at a very early age. Here he acquired great familiarity with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and accumulated the theological stores of knowledge of which there is so much evidence in his later books. The historian Henry M. Burt says that "William Pynchon was undoubtedly the ablest reasoner and the best scholar residing in the colony during the first century." The one man whom Josiah Gilbert Holland called "the ruling spirit and good genius" of the first decade and a half of the settlements of Western Massachusetts, so thoroughly laid the foundations upon which the later structure of town, county, and city life has been reared, that he well deserves this separate and particular encomium. "The Father of the Valley" he was, indeed.

He was a man "well fitted" as Dr. Lockwood says, "for leadership in several spheres,—commercial, theological, political, and intellectual." He came primarily as an active man of business. It was the business of trade in fur, particularly beaver, which induced him to go up into the heart of what was then considered the New World's fur country, and to select and create the first outlines of the four counties,—Hampshire, Berkshire, Franklin and Hampden, named in the order of their establishment.

*Mme. Pynchon and the Lady Arbella Johnson*—When the "Jewel," one of the four ships of Governor Winthrop's daring

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little fleet, sailed from Southampton, England, March 22, 1630, it carried William Pynchon the acute, self assertive, resolute, energetic man of large affairs; the "country gentleman" who was also the merchant, and pre-eminently the fur-trader. With him went his wife, Anna, daughter of William Andrews, of Twywell, Northamptonshire, and their three daughters. The oldest was Anna, later to become the wife of Springfield's first recorder, Henry Smith; Margaret, who married Captain William Davis, of Boston; and Mary, who was later Mrs. Elizur Holyoke, whom the ornate tombstone in the old Peabody cemetery at Springfield declares was "a very Glory of Womanhood." In the archives at Boston is a document showing that the son, John, at this time nine years old, but later the famous "Worshipfull Major Pynchon," remained behind, to come over by a later ship.

The sea was reported to be infested by pirates, a fact which caused no little dread and apprehension. Once on the toilsome voyage the sight of "eight strange sail" caused an immediate clearing of the decks for action, and the throwing overboard of some things which were considered too combustible. There were anxious hours when the elders knelt in fervent and continuous prayer for deliverance. The fears of the company were turned to joy when the unexpected wayfarers proved to be "friends, not enemies."

An extraordinary storm, continuing ten days, caused much distress; and so tossed and bruised the cattle imprisoned below decks that "more than three-score died" or had to be butchered. When, on the 72d day outward bound, "land was sighted and there came a smell of the shore like the smell of gardens," their joy knew no bounds. Saturday, June 12, 1630, they "came to anchor in the harbor of Salem."

Many of the 180 who had come over on the "Jewel" or her sister ships had died on the way over. Some had strength and courage enough to reach land, though not lasting much longer. Since the little company had formed itself into this historic group, nearly two hundred had been eliminated by death. All its leaders were "men of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." The "Arbella," the "Ambrose" and the "Talbot" were the sister ships of the "Jewel;" and the first of this trio was named for one of the "stockholders," the Lady Arbella Johnson, widow of the late Sir Isaac, and the first titled woman to reach New England. The same



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terms used in Hubbard's eulogy of the Lady Arbella would apply to Mme. Anna Andrews Pynchon, for the excitements of the enterprise and the inevitable nostalgia caused the death of both these women, almost as soon as they had come on shore. "She came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, and into a wilderness of wants. Although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was she not able to encounter the adversity with which she was surrounded. In about a month after her arrival she ended her days in Salem." It is related of Mme. Pynchon that she died in Salem before the return trip of the "Jewel" which had brought her over.

*The Merchant and Fur-Trader*—Pynchon never lost sight of his main objective, that of merchandizing and trading in furs. Up and down the coast, trading with both the English and the Indians, sailed the little ships in which he was financially concerned exchanging the goods he had imported from England for native products, and particularly furs. It is recorded that one of his ships "coming from Sagadahock in October 1631, was wrecked at Cape Ann, but the men and chief of the goods were saved." No one thing did more to effect the colonization of America than the pursuit of fur-bearing animals, and particularly the beaver. Competition and search for new sources of supply lured the hunter into remote regions, only to be followed by the settler. The beaver furnished food and clothing, and its skin was one of the chiefest articles of commerce with the mother-country. On the frontiers it became a unit of currency.

As early as November, 1630, the regulations controlling the price of beaverskins were cancelled, and it "was left free for every man to make the best profit and improvement of it he could." June, 1631, "upon the reading of certain articles concerning a general trade of beaver agreed upon by Captain Endicott and divers others, it was ordered that the persons interested therein should . . . decide such differences as were betwixt them, and for such as they could not end, to bring them to the next Court to be there determined. "June 5, 1632, a tax of twelve pence was levied on every pound of beaver passing through the trader's hands. As this entailed rather onerous details of accounting, Pynchon proposed that he pay a flat rate of twenty-five pounds a year. In the October

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Court this proposition prevailed and continued until the spring of 1635, when the possibilities of securing furs had become so meager that he felt that the yearly payment should be reduced to twenty pounds. This also was adopted.

Naturally, Pynchon was much interested in the visit of the sachem Wahginnacut who came out of the unknown "Quonehtacut" country in April, 1631, in an effort to get Englishmen to plant and trade in his territory. He wanted two men to go up and see the "country which was very fruitful," and offered to find them not only plenty of corn but eighty skins of beaver annually.

*The Traders Propose, But Small-Pox Disposes*—Pynchon had heard, even before he left England, of rich and productive virgin forest lands and great lakes to westward of the Bay Colony. When the governor refused to entertain the Connecticut sagamore's proposition, Pynchon resolved at the earliest opportunity to settle for himself the beaver-trade problem. He looked with growing alarm on the trading schemes and the encroachments of the Dutch in the territory "leading to great northern lakes" of which he heard and read much; and heard with anxiety that the Dutch had built their fort without interference, as far up the river as Hartford. In 1633, John Oldham and his party returned from their explorations, reporting that he had been received kindly by the Indians, and had lodged peacefully at Indian towns all the way. Pynchon examined with keen interest the beaver-skins which had been given them and the specimens of hemp and black lead they had secured. In the fall of that year the Plymouth Colonists sent Winthrop's bark up the Connecticut River, and past the Dutch forts, despite the protests of the latter, and built a trading post at Windsor. The commander of this expedition reported that the "Connecticut River runs so far northward that it is within a day's journey of a part of the Merri-mac, and so runs thence northwest so near the 'Great Lake' as allows the Indians to pass their canoes into it overland. From this Lake and the hideous swamps around it comes most of the beaver."

Every scrap of information which Pynchon could obtain more fixed his intention to develop the resources of the unexplored upper Connecticut. The fear of interference by hostile natives was much lessened by the report brought back, 1634, by one Hall, who, after untold hardships, had fought his way back from the Connecticut, to

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bring word of terrible ravages of the small-pox the previous winter among most of the Indian tribes to the north and west.

Governor Bradford's journal relates the futile attempt of the Dutch, established in their fort at Hartford, to dissuade the Indians at Springfield from sending their furs to or dealing with the English in any way. A few of the Dutch, it seems, had gone up in the winter of 1633-34 to the Springfield Indian fort to stay awhile and induce them to dispose of all their furs in Hartford. "The enterprise failed," says Bradford "For it pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness, and such was the mortality that over nine hundred fifty of the thousand (in one fort) died; and the Dutch almost starved before they could get away." Gradually they worked their way back to Windsor, and, by about March 1, 1634, to Hartford. For more than two hundred and fifty years this statement remained almost unverified, save by the report brought back to Pynchon by Hall and his comrades, before alluded to. When the ancient fort on Long Hill, Springfield, was recently unearthed in excavations for new streets, there were found scores of clay tobacco-pipes, with tiny bowls, each bearing initials which have been identified with those of known Dutch pipemakers of the period. The Dutch emissaries brought these along as part of their equipment of gifts with which to purchase the exclusive trade of the up-river Indians. Most of the latter who made promises to the Dutch on this basis, died of the "providential scourge" before those promises could be fulfilled.

*The Impatient Fur-Trader's Explorations*—Early in the spring of 1635, Pynchon made elaborate plans for re-arranging his affairs at the Bay, and establishing fur-trading headquarters farther up the river than any of the other settlers. To that end he decided to personally select when the weather would open, the best possible site for a post. For the subsistence of the traders and their families, farmers would be required; and these, in turn would necessitate the coming of carpenters and blacksmiths, as a matter of course. His preliminary survey-party was therefore made up of carefully selected members; those particularly suited to the task as well as being helpful with good judgment and practical experience. Hence it was natural that he should take his carpenter-neighbor, Jehu Burr; his own fur-trading helper, Richard Everett, his trusted son-in-law,



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Henry Smith; young John Holyoke, placed in Pynchon's care by the latter's "ancient friend Holyoke of Lynn; one Joseph Parsons, "fluent in Indian tongues;" John Cabel (Cable), able seaman and ship's carpenter, and as an assistant to the latter, a certain John Woodcock, experienced in trapping and in trading with Indians, but who turned out afterwards to be a trouble-maker and a ne'er-do-well.

Permission to migrate was about to be granted by the Court, and Pynchon knew this. As a matter of fact it was agreed, at the session of May, 1635, that the Roxbury petitioners, and some others, might depart "to any place they should think meet, not to prejudice of any other plantation provided they continued under the same government." Pynchon's first absence from Court for five years was in the fall of that year, months before Springfield was planted. Pynchon's "shallop" used for this expedition, a light-draught, sea-going, single-mast vessel, carried the house material used in the erection of the first dwelling on the Agawam, already referred to. His expedition, like the Windsor and Saybrook ones of the previous year, had for its prime object the establishment of permanent settlement far enough up-river to be "nearest the 'Great Lake,' all ready to intercept the Indians bringing down their wealth of furs." His boat was the same "greate shallop which was requisite for the first plantinge," referred to in "compact" adopted the following year, in that part regarding the assessment of individual settlers for exploration-trip expenses.

These details of systematic pioneering and exploration of territory about which he had determined to gain first-hand information before risking his own capital and that of his friends in the problematical expedition were characteristic of Pynchon the founder. They are essential to this first really adequate picture of the progressive, ambitious, super-promoter, "not slothful in business and serving the Lord." The trip up the river to the promised land,—as he then visualized it,—was purely a commercial proposition. It is to be remembered that at that time the rapids at Windsor had a greater depth of water than in modern times after much of it became diverted into the locks at that point. There is evidence to show that after successfully negotiating the rapids in the shallop, the navigators "with a fair wind" proceeded up stream until halted by the "great falls," where the Holyoke dam now is. Learning



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there that the country immediately above was rock, with no substantial out-spread of meadow-lands or swamps in which the beaver was supposed to thrive most, and the wind being again favorable, the shallop retracted its course. Attempts were vainly made to ascend the "Chickuppe" ("raging" or "violent water" in the Algonquin tongue), and the boat descended to the delta where the Agawam and the Mill rivers come together from opposite directions into the Connecticut. Here they finally decided was "a location most fitly seated for a beaver trade." They were unaware that they had passed beyond the boundary, as later fixed, of Connecticut Colony and State. Pynchon lost no time in trying to reach an understanding with the Indians about the land he wanted. Leaving his men Cable and Woodcock to plant, build and keep possession until he should return, Pynchon valiantly hastened back to Roxbury.

Pynchon went back alone and on foot, through the autumn woods toward the sea, as he could spare neither of his companion-explorers, and he could not sail the shallop alone. "The direct route taken by the Indians, following about the present course of the Boston and Albany Railroad, was not known to the English until the following year," says Mr. Wright. "He then knew that by following the river down he would soon come to the so-called 'Connecticut trail,' which followed a fairly direct course from the foot of Windsor rapids through Woodstock, to Boston." The way was through a district peopled by peaceable natives, enabling travelers, as has been said, to "lodge at Indian towns all the way."

He was glad to give a somewhat roseate report to the waiting Roxburyites who were growing anxious over his protracted absence. The natives seemed friendly enough. Fortune seemed to smile on the "man who dared." He put in a favorable light the advantages possessed by the permanent site he had chosen for extensive fur-trading operations; the virgin forests abounding in large and small game would furnish food and clothing; the rivers teeming with shad and salmon; the abundance of nuts, fruits and berries; the hemp for lines and nets growing at their very doors; and the rich lands suited for all kinds of gardening and farming. Some of the Roxbury listeners were duly impressed, but some shook their heads.

On Pynchon's return in the spring, he received something of a shock. The growing greed of the Indians and the lack of tact and executive ability by those who had been left in charge, were disturb-

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ing factors confronting the promoter. Reluctantly he gave up his choice of the west side and set new bounds on the east side of "ye Greate River."

In his own words to Winthrop, June 2, "The best ground at Agawam is so encombred with Indians that I shall lose half the benefit yearly and am compelled to plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing thereon." So it was not alone the danger of the probable annual spring overflowing of the meadows which induced Pynchon to change his mind on the subject of the most suitable site for Springfield.

It was also in part the inability of the settlers to properly restrain their domestic animals, which contributed to their change of base to the east side. No provisions having been made for fencing, the cattle trampled down the corn fields of the Indians, and the hogs also created much damage, which threatened their friendly relations. So, all things considered, it was thought highly advisable to put the river between them and their new neighbors.

The Agawam-side "first house" was undisturbed by any flood that first winter; for it is recorded that John Woodcock lived in it "all that somer" of 1636, and for some time after the more enterprising John Cable had set to work improving his own special allotment of land on the east side.

William Pynchon early built the trading storehouse on the Connecticut above the Windsor and for that reason is to this day called "Warehouse Point." Here freight was transferred to shallower-draught boats for up-river points, and vice versa. Later the account books of William's son, John, abounded in credits in the name of fellow-townsmen for canoe-freight trips between the town and the warehouse.

For the attitude which William Pynchon took on the Indian ownership of the lands throughout what is now Western Massachusetts, he was severely criticised by church and state. He always contended that until such time as the natives voluntarily subjected themselves to the government and sold all of their lands without restrictions, they must be considered a free and independent people. The crop conditions at first became a serious problem which called for all the ingenuity the leaders possessed. The hurried preparations for spring planting after the Colonists arrived resulted in light harvests that year, and the following winter was one of extra-

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ordinary severity. The spring of 1638 was cold and backward; and it was necessary to plant the corn two and three times because the seed rotted in the ground.

Because Pynchon, Burr, and Smith had "constantly continued to prosecute efforts in behalf of the settlers at greate charges and greate personal adventure" an extra forty acres of meadow-land free of all taxes was given them.

*Pynchon's Fair and Honorable Dealings*—On July 15, 1636, Pynchon completed negotiations with the Indians for the desired Agawam lands, with the "ancient natives, Commucke (he who takes it), and Matanchan (old and decrepit one)." When he came to dealing with Menis, Naponpenam, and Wrutherna, for the now thickly-settled territory from Chicopee River to Mill River with a depth (east to west) equal to its length, he was particular to pay the latter in pacification an extra pair of coats—or two more than the others had. Yet this was the same Wrutherna who, forty years after, was the aged ring-leader of the Indians in the burning of Springfield. Wright states that the name "coates" were not coats in the modern sense of the word. It was merely a strip of cloth made from a mixture of English wool and flax, called "Essex shag,"—sixty inches in width, and with a nap making it resemble in texture, though firmer, the skin-clothing of the natives. Pynchon imported quantities of this "trucking cloth," for his own trade in furs and other commodities. It was carried in various colors, such as "tawney," "liver culler," violet, and russet. An Indian "large coate" was merely a piece of this cloth approximately five feet square, perhaps the progenitor of the Indian blanket of later years. What the deeds term a "small coate," was a shawl-like wrapping about one and one-half yards long; and "coates" still smaller than these were called "childe's coates." The large coats were rated at the value of sixteen shillings each. This fixes the price which Pynchon paid for approximately thirty square miles of territory in one deal, as the equivalent of about one hundred twenty pounds or six hundred dollars of the money values of the present day.

For about twenty dollars a mile the Indian relinquished certain rights in a small fraction of a domain, the vastness of which he never comprehended. That there was in the dales and valleys up-river, plenty of land to which he could and did migrate, history



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clearly shows. He received for this the only standards of value which he could recognize. Pynchon and his associate-promoters took pains to find out whatever was of greatest value to the Indian; and these things immediately became units of currency value. Articles of clothing which made him feel more comfortable or better adorned than he was before; ornaments which were of ceremonial value alone; tools and implements the like of which his nearest ancestor never suspected and the use of which materially decreased his labor, leaving him more time to hunt and fish; and, above all, friendly-appearing neighbors who would in emergency act as a bulwark against invading enemies;—all these desirable things were theirs in exchange for comparatively small tracts of land, much of which was unproductive so far as they were concerned except in a general way. Pynchon found them eager to dispose of lands in this way, and for a price which, in their condition at that time, was wholly satisfactory to them. The white men secured the land they wanted in the only fair and equitable way it could be obtained. Not the least of the value of these transactions lay in the fact that the natives felt they were dealing with almost supernatural beings able to guide and teach them ways to acquire some of the many wonderful possessions and appliances of the English. Almost without exception the Indians of the Valley were well satisfied with the land-dealings of the whites, certainly with those in which Pynchon was involved. And for the following forty years peace reigned between the Western Massachusetts Indians and their European visitors.

*Measures of Protection—Native Needs Supplied*—The Colonial laws had been framed to prevent the Indian from possessing guns, ammunition, and other things which would make him harmful to himself and others, when greedy fur-traders, less scrupulous than Pynchon, supplied arms and weapons to the covetous natives. Once in their hands, the Indians began to feel almost invincible; and used this new power to revenge themselves, Indian fashion, for real and fancied wrongs. Men of the caliber of Pynchon and Winthrop little feared the hickory bow and stone-tipped arrow; but it was quite another matter to cope with craftsmen who quickly became excellent marksmen with the gun.

Stringent laws were made by the colonies, on the advice of Pynchon and other frontiersmen of active experience, against “all



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trade of powder and guns to the Indians by occasion whereof the greatest part of the beaver trade was drawn to the French and Dutch by whom the Indians were constantly furnished with those things, although they made profession of like restraint, yet connived at the practice."

Pynchon saved the Connecticut Valley from being a battleground in 1648, when the relations between the whites and the natives were strained in surrounding sections almost to the breaking point, by insistence on a policy of justice; and this in the face of opposition from his superiors in office. His shrewdness and diplomacy in dealing with certain chieftains over the murder of two groups of peaceable Indian settlers near Brookfield, averted what promised to be a sharp conflict and much ill-feeling. He made the Indian authorities feel that the English were just as keen about the apprehension of native murderers of natives as they would have been had the victims been of their own people. In the words of the junior Pynchon, "They saw our care of them and readiness to protect and revenge them." Pynchon's adroit handling of the affair was such that everybody was satisfied and the threatened danger vanished. It speaks volumes for the wisdom of his dealings with the Indians that as long as he lived he retained their confidence and respect.

*Map Making and Monopoly*—The old Dutch map by Jasper Danker, published about 1650 and a few years later used by Van Der Donck in his "New Netherlands" has faithfully even if crudely set down many easily recognized points in our story. Its central motif is the "Versche (Fresh) Rievier" (Connecticut), starting at the south with "Zeebroeck" (Saybrook) and involving "Herfort" and "Voynser" (Hartford and Windsor). Just above the latter are two allusions to the pioneer who for so many years dominated in affairs of the upper Connecticut. One is the legend "Mr. Pincer's Cleyne Val" (Little Falls) now Enfield Falls, and farther northward still, "Pincer's handel-huys" (trading house), shown as being some distance from the Agawam River. This has been confusing to many; but the explanation is simple. When Thomas Cooper, builder of the first meetinghouse, exploring the Agawam in a birch-bark canoe, was able to portage around the rocky pass at Mittineague, and so follow up the Agawam, as William Pynchon had been unable

**William** the Third by the Grace of God of England, Ireland, France  
 and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith &c. **TO OUR** Trusty and Wellbelov'd  
 John Pynchon, Samuel Partrigg, Joseph Hawley and Joseph Parson Esq<sup>r</sup>. Greeting.  
**Whereas** the Great and General Court or Assembly of our Province of Massachusetts  
 Bay in New England in America have lately received the Oath for Establishing of Judicatories  
 and Courts of Justice within our Province except such paragon, pho, antimo, slaves and sentenced  
 thereof as have been heretofore repeated, altered or otherwise provided for by the General Assembly  
 and with such further alterations and amendments as we have signified our Royal  
 pleasure to be necessary upon our Declaration of the 18<sup>th</sup> Oct. To continue and abide in full force  
 until the end of the first Session of the General Assembly of our Province, to be begun and  
 held upon the last Wednesday in May next anno 1697 and no longer. **WE** have assigned  
 and do hereby constitute and appoint you our Justices of our Inferiour Court of  
 Common Pleas within the County of Southampton during the continuance of the said Oath. And  
 you or any three of you to hear, try and determine all causes and matters civil by Law cognizable  
 in said Court. With authority to use and exercise all powers and jurisdictions belonging to the same  
 and to award execution, and to do that which to Justice doth appertain according to Law.  
**In Testimony** whereof we have caused the great Seal of our Province of the  
 Massachusetts Bay to be hereunto affixed. **W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton** Esq<sup>r</sup> our  
 Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over our Province, at Boston the  
 Twentieth day of October 1696. In the Fifth year of our said

By Order of the Lieutenant  
 Governor and Council -

W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton

J<sup>o</sup> Pynchon  
 S<sup>am</sup> Partrigg  
 J<sup>o</sup> Hawley  
 J<sup>o</sup> Parson



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to do in his early attempt with the shallop, he found at "Woro-noake," near the mouth of "Little River," most attractive conditions for the Indian trade in furs. So he established himself there in the second "trading house" indicated on the Dutch map, as Pynchon's agent. The third of the Pynchon trading houses was established later in similar manner by Joseph Parsons. His canoe-trip up the Connecticut several miles farther than the Pynchon shallop could go, enabled him to find a good site for a branch post just above the gap between Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke. There, at "Nonotuck" (the far-away lands), he established himself as another of Mr. Pynchon's agents to collect furs of the Indians.

To Mr. Pynchon was given the monopoly for fur-trading in the Agawam district by the General Court at Hartford, held April 5, 1638, while it was being contended that the settlers at Springfield were in the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The lower Court distinctly "ordered that none should trade there for beaver but those hereafter named, and if any others trade for beaver they shall forfeit five shillings per pound" (about seven one-half shillings per skin), "for every pound so traded."

For exchange with the Indians for furs and other things, as well as with the sea-board merchants for wampum, in turn exchanged with the Indians, Mr. Pynchon imported direct from England knives, hatchets, hoes, mirrors, and various kinds of cloth.

The details of a single transaction at this time will show what a keen and careful merchant he was. Late in that year the younger Winthrop at Saybrook received from Pynchon goods which the latter had purchased for him in Boston. These included "35 yards of violet colored shagg,  $72\frac{3}{4}$  yards russet colored shagg, and  $35\frac{1}{2}$  yards of murry (mulberry) colored shagg." While admitting that the price of this in Boston was but eight shillings a yard he contended that an additional sixpence a yard "was but a reasonable added charge to cover freight and venture." He asked that in case Winthrop could not use it at that price, the goods be safely kept by the latter until called for, well knowing that at the proper time he could easily dispose of it in trade with the Indians.

Although we have no record of the actual results of the fifteen seasons during which Mr. William Pynchon actively operated, yet when he returned to England at the end of that time, his son John, continuing the business, was in the habit of sending two thousand



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beaver skins annually to England. It is reasonably certain that in the prime of the business, before the number of traders had grown large, the father's shipments were considerably heavier. Pynchon's other chief trading-representatives, besides Cooper and Parsons, were David Wilton of Northampton, and John Westcarr of Hadley. His usual allowance for the beaver-skins secured by these agents was fifteen shillings apiece. At one time he paid ten shillings a pound for 3,572 pounds of beaver fur, which involved a sizeable sum of money for those days, and which gives some idea of the magnitude of the business, as a systematically conducted enterprise.

*Annoyances by Men and Animals*—Chroniclers seldom mention the smaller, day-by-day troubles confronting the Pynchon coterie—comparatively insignificant, but very real in their historical effect, and supplying true coloring to the picture.

The elder Pynchon was not reimbursed for the thirty pounds of purchase money he advanced in 1636 for the Agawam land until after 1647, when it was "voted that ye 30 pounds wch is due Mr. Pynchon shall be rayased on all ye alotments. . . from each inhabitant for his purchase of ye land from ye Indians." In March of that year this assessment was levied on forty-seven land-owners, jointly owning 2,013½ acres, plus an assessment of 165 other acres, contained in eight vacant lots, also assessed. Of this total of 2178 acres, Pynchon and his two sons-in-law, Smith and Davis, respectively owned 237, 148, and 125 acres, or nearly a quarter of the whole amount of Springfield territory; and because of this, their assessment was over seven pounds of the amount due the founder. The rest of the community had to raise less than twenty-three pounds.

A constant source of annoyance to the Pynchon group was the attitude of the Indians who grew more independent as they found their labor materially lessened by the use of European tools. Appreciating the ready market for the corn which was raised by their women, they began, in 1639, to "break up" new ground already granted to the English, contrary to agreement. The following year, it becoming apparent that they were planning on an even more extensive scale of operations, Pynchon caused a committee of three to be appointed to confer with the Indians and stake out the bounds beyond which they should not pass in their cultivation of the soil.

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No attempt was made to restrict their labor in the domain which by agreement had been left to them; and the white representatives, Rev. Mr. Moxon, Henry Smith, and Thomas Mirick, satisfactorily curbed this source of annoyance.

Another cause of worry, the wolves, proved a serious menace to the young cattle, as well as to the deer and bears. Both the latter were popular for food, bear-meat being even preferred to venison by many. The bear never annoyed the cattle, though it would attack bravely when molested. It was said that the wolves, often mistaking a red calf for a deer, destroyed so many of that color that the valuation of white or black calves was greatly increased. But the most obnoxious of all the elements of trouble which they had to meet in their new environment, and which gave the careful Pynchon no small concern, were the swarms of "musketoes" which had their breeding places in the beaver swamps and ponds close to the settlements. These were found to "sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the English swelled and scabby, as if the small-pox for the first year." It is recorded that in April 1640, such was the scarcity of timber partly due to the Indian custom of burning over their lands in November, that without special permission, not even "canoe trees could be cut or destroyed within the bounds of the plantation." In March 1647, on account of the great, "scarcity of tymbre about the towne for buildings," the selling of any timber to out-of-town buyers was expressly prohibited. The new settlers found the pine and oak more useful to them than all others of the trees with which they had been unacquainted. The formed furnished the candlewood or "weakshackquoock" of the Indians; and the latter a much larger variety of acorn, for "hog-mast," than the English oak. Sickness, and weather conditions, too, were among the worries of William Pynchon. In July, 1646, there is record of a "great damage to grain by a caterpillar like a black worm 1½ inches long" especially destructive to almost the whole crops of wheat and barley. June, 1647, was very cold, with frosts killing many growing things; and "an epidemic" sickness, sparing neither English, Indians, French nor Dutch." In August, 1648, there came a small "fly, out of the ground, about the bigness of a man's little finger, brown in color, filling the woods and eating the young sprouts of trees, though they meddled not with the corn." In June, 1638, two years after the settlement, "in the afternoon, it being clear,

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warm weather, with a westerly wind, came a great earthquake... with a noise like continued thunder...continuing about four minutes...The earth was unquiet for twenty days after, at times." Sunday, March 5, 1643, at seven in the morning, occurred another "great earthquake, with a rumbling noise like the former one. That same summer was so cold and wet that little grain matured; and what did appear was destroyed by the pigeons which came in such flocks, above ten thousand in one flock, that they beat down and ate up a great quantity of all sorts of English grain." The spring of 1646 was early and more seasonable than many before it; "yet many were taken with a malignant fever, whereof some died in five or six days, but if they escaped the eighth, they recovered." In the late summer of 1648 came another scourge of wild pigeons, when it was not unusual for a man to kill eight or ten dozen in a half day.

*Inflammable Bon-Fire Material*—The activities of William Pynchon, while he remained in Springfield were hampered by the jealousies of men envying him for his enterprise and successes, and by the quite savage criticism of both laity and clergy over alleged breach of contract in furnishing the Connecticut Colony with food supplies. Comes now the period which must be included in a truthful account of epochal doings in Western Massachusetts. The founder of Springfield was not in accord with the chief men at "The Bay" in theological matters, who had for some time looked askance at Pynchon's rather outspoken utterances both in and out of the church. The Storm broke when "The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, &c Cleering it from some common Errors," was published in London in 1650. Copies of this rare work reached Boston at the October term of Court that year, and produced mingled dismay and consternation. So important did the authorities (some of whom had fled from the home-land danger of like persecution) feel this evidence of liberalism to be, that all obtainable copies, with exception of a handful saved for evidence in Court, were ordered to be "burned in the Market Place, at Boston, by the Common Executioner, after lecture." The orthodox stalwart Rev. John Norton of Ipswich, was ordered at the time to prepare and publish a reply to the pernicious work of "William Pinchin, Gentleman of New England."

In the light of twentieth century reasoning it is hard to see



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what could have been considered so incendiary in the Pynchon arguments. On the title-page he honestly sets forth attempts to "prove, 1st, that Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath, commonly called Hell-torments, to redeem our soules from them; 2, That Christ did not bear our sins by God's imputation; and therefore he did not bear the curse of the Law for them; 3, That Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, not by suffering said curse for us, but by a satisfactory price of atonement, viz, by paying or performing unto his Father, that invaluable precious thing of his Mediatoriall obedience, whereof his Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement was the master-piece; 4th, A sinner's righteousness or justification is explained . . . ."

The book was a small quarto of one hundred fifty-eight pages, of which at least three copies are known to be extant, and one of these in the British Museum. It would be strange if more copies, in time, did not come to light. The edition was quite large, and quickly exhausted, such was the great interest in the controversy throughout the colonies. Surely, only a small part of the whole edition fed the inglorious Boston bon-fire!

The care taken by the authorities to have the people served with only orthodox theology and to avoid any danger from such works as that of William Pynchon, is shown in the words of the Court in reference to those regions which were without the ministrations of a tried and true clergyman of the acceptable type; "Though some private men may exercise their gifts, when there are such as are known, able, approved *and orthodox*, their best, safest and most peaceable way is to assemble all at one place and to spend their Sabbath together, besides praying and singing, in reading and repeating of known godly books and sermons." Roger Williams, from Rhode Island, had written to his friend John Winthrop, of Connecticut, that the burning of Pynchon's book in Boston had brought up the question whether "The Most High and Only Wise will by this case discover what liberty hath conscience in this land."

Pynchon had undoubtedly published this book as a labor of love, and because he thoroughly believed there was a need for its teachings. He hoped to spread among the people a more tolerant spirit than the old theology had been able to inspire.

There is no evidence whatever that he was particularly cast down by this turn of affairs. Your keen and fair-minded contro-



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versialist even if he be a layman, does not flinch from discussion with the clergymen whom he must have known would be stirred up by such published opinions; even if such divines were skilled in the metaphysical niceties in which the theologians of that day delighted. It is not now generally known that Pynchon had only a short time before written thus in the British parliamentary contest over the form of church discipline to be adopted. This has much weight in considering the attitude of Pynchon in the face of opposition which he had taken pains to arouse:

“The Scotts say that their fourme of Presbyterian government is the only way of Christ. ‘The Independents’ say that their fourme of discipline is the only way of Christ. Parliament says that neither of them is the only way of Christ. Therefore they have ordained Commissioners to supervise the conclusions of the Presbyterian courts. But, truly, where zeal of God’s glory and godly wisdom are joined together; a world of good hath bin done by godly ministers, (even in England), that have held no certain fourme of discipline; on the contrary where a cold spirit doth rule in ministers, though they may have a good fourme of government, their people may be said to have a name to live and yet be dead Christians!”

All of which shows a remarkably liberal tendency, and a considerable basis for adverse criticism. The criticism was not slow in making itself known. Pynchon’s outspoken religious views were privately discussed especially among the ministers, long before they became matters for state-wide consideration.

*Pynchon Receives Encouragement from England*—The Massachusetts governor, John Endicott, had eight councillors at this time, two of them Thomas Dudley and Richard Bellingham, later destined to be governors also. These men received a letter from Sir Henry Vane, who was a warm personal friend of Pynchon, and who was governor of the colony in 1636, when Springfield was planted. Since returning to England he had been knighted, had been made treasurer of the British navy, and had succeeded Pym as leader in the house of Parliament. A letter from a nobleman of his prominence was something not to be lightly regarded. It urged the Massachusetts authorities to deal with Pynchon in a brotherly way, and to do whatever was possible to encourage him

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to remain in the service of the churches. And it deplored the repudiation by the General Court of the "false, erroneous and hereticall opinions and assertions (as they were pleased to name them), in the book which had been publicly burned by the court's order. Nothing could more clearly reflect the gravity of the question in their own minds, nor the trend of thought causing it to be made a public issue than the letter which this solemn jury of nine wise men, Endicott and his councillors, wrote in reply to Sir Henry; a part of which follows:

Honored Sir; We received your letter bearing date of April 15, written in behalf of William Pincheon, who is one that we did all love and respect. But his book and doctrine therein contained we cannot but abhor as pernicious and dangerous; and are much grieved that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a Magistrate amongst us, wherein he taketh upon him to condemn the judgment of most, if not all, ancient and modern divines who were learned, orthodox and godly in a point of so great weight and concernment, as tend to the salvation of God's elect . . . . Neither have we ever heard of any one godly orthodox divine that ever held what he hath written; nor do we know any one of our ministers in all four jurisdictions that doth approve of the same . . . . but all do judge it as erroneous and heretical. . . .

Mr. Pincheon might have kept this judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect and love. But when God left him to himself in the publishing and spreading of his erroneous book here amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might come to read them (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts), we held it our duty, and believed we were called of God to proceed against him accordingly. And this we can further say that we used all lawful Christian means with as much tenderness, respect and love as he could expect, which we think he himself will acknowledge. . . .

Divers of our elders, such as he himself liked, did confer with him privately, lovingly and weekly to see if they could prevail with him by arguments from the Scriptures . . . . and he was then thereby so far convinced that he seemed to yeild for substance the case in controversy signed with his own hand . . . .

The Court gave him divers months to consider both of the book and what had been spoken unto him by the elders. But in the interim (as is reported), he received letters from England which encouraged him in his errors to the great grief of us all . . . .

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We therefore leave the author together with the maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth . . . .

Touching that which your Honoured self doth advise us unto, viz, not to censure any person for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice from you, according to the rule of God's word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pincheon's case either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according unto rule,—in conscience to God's command. All of which we hope will so far satisfy you that we shall not need to make any further defence . . . . The God of peace and truth lead you into all Faith and guide your heart aright in these dangerous and apostatising times, wherein many are fallen from the faith . . . . and make you an instrument, in the place God hath called you unto, of his praise; to stand for his truth against all opposers, thereof, which will bring you peace and comfort in the saddest hours . . . . The prayers of

Your Unworthy Servants,

John Endicott, Govr.	Tho Dudley, Depty.	Rich Bellingham
Increases Nowell	Simon Bradstreet	Wm Hibbins
Sam Simonds	Robt. Bridges	John Glover

It is noticeable that no mention was made in this "explanation" to Sir Henry of the "tenderness, love and respect" shown by the burning of the magistrate's honest little book on Boston Common. The nobleman who was beheaded in England the year before William Pynchon died doubtless held to his own opinion as to that. Meantime, with the consciousness of a man who has made a success of a business in which the risk had been tremendous for those times, and who has asserted religious views which he honestly held and wanted others to have the comfort of believing, he was making his quiet preparations to retire, being now well along in years, to well-earned rest and enjoyment in his native England. It was no suddenly conceived plan. He had been quietly bending affairs to that end for some time.

*The Nonconformist Church Warden*—There were many evidences, to close observers of that time, that witchcraft and heresy were walking hand in hand. Pynchon and his son-in-law Henry Smith went to Boston in 1651, with a number of other citizens, to appear at the May term of the higher Court in the case of poor, bewildered Mary Parsons, alleged witch. The previous March the magistrate had heard the charges against Mary for killing her in-



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fant son Joshua. But he found there was a more serious matter for him, awaiting his attention. Some of the most prominent men of the colony, had resolved to try to "win back Mr. Pynchon to orthodox ways if possible." He was deeply troubled over other matters, quite apart from this. During the fortnight he was detained in Boston, after giving his testimony as witness in the Parsons case, he had to face theological music in this form:

May 22, 1651. William Pynchon, being summoned to appeare before the General Courte, according to their order, made his appearance. Being demaunded whether that booke which goes under his name and then presented to him was his or not; he answered for the substance of the booke, he owned it to be his.

Whereuppon the Court, out of tender respect to him, ordered him liberty to conferr with all the reverend elders now present, or such of them as he should desire and choose. At last he took it into consideration, and returned his mind at the present in writing, under his hand, viz;

"According to the Court's advice, I have conferred with the Rev. Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice and Mr. Norton about some points of the greatest consequence in my booke; and I hope I have so explyned my meaning to them as to take off the worst construction. And it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my booke so fully of the price and meritt of Christs sufferings as I should have done, for in my booke I call them but trials of his obedience, yet intending to amplifie and exalt the mediatoriall obedience of Christ as the only meritorious price of Man's redemption. But now at present I am much inclined to think that his sufferings were appointed by God for a farther end, namely as the due punishment for our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice . . . .  
Subscribed, your humble servant in all dutifull respects, William Pynchon.

It is not hard to read between the lines of this "heroic retreat from fixed theological convictions," the author's determination at a later convenient season to "speak more fully" and to "amplifie and exalt" more freely the very views in controversy. This "retraction" did not altogether please the Court, which made this significant reply:

Finding by Mr. Pynchon's writing, given into the Court, that through the blessing of God on the paines of the reverend elders to convince him of his errors in his booke they conceive he is in a hopefull way to give good satisfaction, and therefore, at his request,



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judge it meete to grant him liberty, respecting the present troubles of his family, to return home some day next week if he please, and that he shall have Mr. Norton's answer to his booke up with him, to consider thereof that so at the next session of the Court, being the 14th of October next, he may give due satisfaction as is hoped for and desired; to which session he is hereby enjoyned to make his personal appearance to that end.

It is ordered that thanks be given by the Court to Mr. John Norton for his worthy paines in his full answer to Mr. Pynchon's booke, which at their desire he made, & as a recompense for his good service therein doe order that the Treasurer shall pay him twenty pounds from the next levy.

The clear conscience of one who had made known to the world the truth as he honestly saw and believed it, must have been a consolation to the dissenting magistrate on his sturdy horse plodding homeward along the fragrant May-time bridle-paths for the next three days, westward bound, towards the promising settlement he had so firmly planted on the banks of the Connecticut at Springfield. And the wise law-givers of the General Court, "reverend elders" and all, riding their horses back to their homes were possessed of a comfortable complacency in their consciousness of delicate duties bravely performed.

*Remonstrance and Attempted Humiliation*—Pynchon, engrossed at this time by the details of equitably settling his affairs before he should permanently leave America, passed through something of the trials of most men who are ahead of their own time. It was undoubtedly a source of satisfaction to him that Henry Smith was honored with the high office of which this year's Court had obligingly relieved the father-in-law. The first magistracy in Western Massachusetts, held by the founder for fourteen fruitful and busy years, was to be continued in his own family, which was an indirect tribute to his administration of the office of magistrate. The "reverend elders" feeling that their contention regarding Mr. Pynchon's "haeresies" had been publicly confirmed, caused this further "resolve" to be recorded:

This Court, takeinge into consideracon howe farre Sathan p'vayles amongst us in respect of Witchcraft, as also by draweing away some from the truth to the pfession & practice of straunge opinions, & also consideringe the state of England, Ireland & Scot-

KNOW all men by these presents, That whereas Mr Henry  
 Smith late of Springfield was by a Bargaine of Sale under  
 the hand of Mr William Pyncheon bearing date the 17th of .i.  
 April 1631, possessed of One third parte of the Mill, which  
 was the said Mr William Pyncheon, situate longer & longer  
 in Springfield aforesaid, and of One third parte of the lot  
 which lay out to it, containing severall acres more or  
 less lying between the said Mill & the great River  
 As also One third pte of an Allotment of ten acres more or  
 less, lying in the power of ~~the~~ commonly called the Neck  
 on a West side of the said great River: And whereas when  
 the said Mr Henry Smith went into England he made  
 his wife Mrs Anna Smith his true & lawfull Attorney, to  
 sell or any way dispose of any his lands houses or goods, as  
 by a deed under his hand bearing date the 17th of October  
 1632 more at large appears: Therefore these presents  
 testify, that the said Anna Smith doth for in the  
 name & on the behalfe of the said Mr Henry Smith his  
 husband & for & in consideration of the summe of Twenty  
 pounds to her in hand paid by the said John Pyncheon  
 hath given granted bargained & sold & by these presents  
 doth fully & lawfully & absolutely give grant bargain &  
 sell unto Mr John Pyncheon of Springfield All that  
 her said husband's third parte in the said Mill and  
 all her third parte in the severall Allotments above  
 mentioned to have to have said husband's terming or in  
 any wise appertaining: To have and to hold the  
 said third parte of the said Mill & allotments of land  
 above mentioned to the said Mr John Pyncheon his heires  
 and assigns for ever: And the said Mrs Smith doth  
 hereby Covenant & grant, to & with the said Mr John  
 Pyncheon that the said devised premises are free from  
 all former bargains & incumbrances: And in witness  
 to these presents the said Mrs Smith hath set her hand  
 and Seale: the 18th of August 1654.

Signed Subscribed & Delivered  
 in the presence of

Anna Smith

John Allen:  
 Eli Holyoke

Benajah Smith



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land & the great thinges now in hand there, conceive it necessary that there be a day of Humiliation throughout or jurisdiction in all the churches.

But if they sought to add humiliation to Pynchon by this procedure, they signally failed in that purpose.

More "fuel for the flame" was furnished by the "encouraging letters" referred to in the Endicott reply to Vane. The author of the disturbing pamphlet had a wealth of friends in England; and some of these, both clergymen and laymen, became greatly exercised that his modest volume of personal religious opinions had been so violently received. They wrote letters of remonstrance against what looked to them to be prejudiced criticism of a work which interested them keenly, though some did not hesitate to say that they were not yet ready to acquiesce in all the Pynchon views. To these, at length replied five of the foremost "thinkers" and preachers of the colony,—Richard Mather, author of the first printed book in America, "The Whole Book of Psalmes;" Zachariah Symmes and John Cotton, eminent "Bay" theologians; William Thompson, the saintly pastor of Braintree; and John Wilson the first minister of Boston. The reply, filled with pious phrases, took some time to prepare. It is a masterpiece of involved sentences and cumbersome reasoning. It seems that the writers of several letters had urged the preachers mentioned to "incline to a favorable construction" of the Pynchon tenets, and "to intercede with the magistrates to deal favorably with a Gentleman so pious and well-deserving." The reply defended the judgment of the deputies to the General Court that the Pynchon book was "unsound" and "derogatory to the justice of God." The book was deemed to be one "adding to the many Errors and Heresies already too much abounding;" and went on to state the belief of the Court that it "shook the Fundamentals of Religion." The repudiation of the book was rushed through so that the opinion of the deputies could be sent back on the return trip of the ship which brought it over. It was "feared that the book being published under the name of a New England Gentleman might occasion too many to think that New England also concurred in the allowance of such Exhorbitant abberations."

No apology is found in this reply for the drastic action of the Court demanding the services of the "Common Executioner" in the Boston market-place.



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*Censure for "Offenses" Withheld*—In pursuance of his careful plans for retirement, he conveyed to his son John, as a gift, September 28, 1651, all his lands and buildings on both sides of the river.

The new magistrate, Henry Smith, appeared at the October term of Court, but William Pynchon did not. On hearing that the man accused of heretical tendencies was to absent himself, it was promptly "voted, that the Court is willing that all patience be exercised toward Mr. Pinchon, that, if it be possible, he may be reduced into the way of truth, and that he might renounce the errours and haeresies published in his booke; and doe give him time to the next Generall Courte in May, more thoroughly to consider of the errours and haeresies in his sd booke & well to weigh the judicious answer of Mr. John Norton, and that he may give full satisfaction for his offence, which they more desire than to proceed to so great a censure as his offence deserves. In case he should not give good satisfaction, the Court doth therefore order that the judgment of the cawse be suspended till the court in May, and that Mr. Pinchon be enjoyned under the penalty of 100 pounds to make his personall appearance at and before the next Court to give full answer—or otherwise to stand to the judgment and censure of the Court!" "It is ordered that the answer by Mr. Norton shall be sent to England to be printed."

William Pynchon, now sixty-two years old, had given the best years of his life to the upbuilding of the colony. He possessed not only rare executive ability but the vision to see which principles should make for the greatest permanence in the State. He had founded two great settlements which have existed through two centuries. He had prosecuted a successful business, and had vigorously maintained the principles he believed in. He was no coward; but he saw the needless labor of continued controversy with the little handful of leaders of thought in the new world, some of whom were by no means his equal in either intellect or education. In the last analysis he found himself only slightly at variance with certain nice points in theology held by the few ministers of the newly established church, and the leaders in the colonial legislature. The intolerant reception in Massachusetts given his little book was doubtless to some extent a disappointment to him and his American friends. But he knew there were numerous friends abroad who would express interest and even approval for his religious views, and this was a

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consolation. Undoubtedly the book episode hastened his plans for returning to his native England,—an ambition quite worthy of any prosperous, successful man of large affairs.

The founder of Springfield passed through Hartford on his way home in July, 1652. With him was Rev. George Moxon, who had arrived at "Agawam" in 1637 with his family, and Mme. Frances Sanford Pynchon, who had arrived in America with the first company in 1630, and who had been known as "a grave matron of the church at Dorchester." William Pynchon had married her in Roxbury, in 1635, for his second wife; and her son Henry had wedded Pynchon's daughter Anna. So it came about that Henry Smith followed his mother to England on a later ship, though the wife Anna decided to remain with her sister and brother in Springfield. But it is certain that Smith stayed over until sometime later than the date of his making his wife his "lawfull Attorney to dispose of any of his lands, houses or goods." William Pynchon's hundred-pound forfeit for not appearing before the intolerant Massachusetts Court when it met the following May was honorably paid; and it must have been a disappointment to some who were so unexpectedly deprived of another chance to labor with the author for his "errours and haeresies." They were to hear from him later, and in no uncertain way.

One proof of Henry Smith's staying until after the Pynchon party had gone to England, is found in the Anna Smith deed of 1654, reproduced on another page. Allusion to the "deed under his hand" made October 17, 1652, "when the said Mr. Henry Smith went unto England," is contained in this original document of extraordinary Springfield interest. The deed also fixes the exact date of the settlement of lands on his daughter Anna by her father as April 17, 1651. It is in the fine, legible handwriting of another son-in-law of Pynchon, the Elizur Holyoke before mentioned, whose signature as one of the three witnesses is attached to this deed. It is to be recalled at this point that the same "Captain" Elizur Holyoke, first man to be married in Springfield (at very near the time he drew up and signed this paper) was appointed Magistrate in place of his brother-in-law; but another evidence of the respect and esteem in which all members of Pynchon's family were held by the General Court.

Abigail Smith, eleventh of her children, was but six months and

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eight days old when her mother signed this interesting deed of relinquishment of about twenty-seven acres of valuable Springfield land to her brother John "for the summ of Ffive & Twenty pounds." The John Allyn, whose name is also signed as a witness, is stated in Burt, volume II, to be a Hartford nephew of John Pynchon.

*"Convinced" Against His Will*—That the Western Massachusetts pioneer-promoter had decided to remain, so far as religious views were concerned, "of the same opinion still," is apparent from his course when he reached home. Whatever errors he had made were plainly those of judgment rather than conscience. In May, 1653, he purchased land in Wraybury, Buckinghamshire, near his Bulstrode family connections. The same year he published "The Jews' Synagogue, A Treatise Concerning the Worship Used by the Jews," and Rev. John Norton's reply to Pynchon's "Meritorious" first edition, was published in England about the same time. Pynchon's pen was the busy one of a man by no means crushed or cast down. He published in 1654 a treatise on "The Time When the First Sabbath Was Ordained," in 1654, and quickly followed it with another treatise on "Holy Time, Or the Time Limit of the Lord's Day," both with his own name. The greatest of his works was published in 1655, a new and enlarged edition of the book which had been called heretical; "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption, Or Christ's Satisfaction Discussed and Explained," by William Pynchon, late of New England. In this he controverted Mr. Norton's arguments, and strongly reaffirmed his own views, this time in a work of four hundred and forty pages. There is a single copy of this in the library of Harvard University.

He followed up the success which this book proved with his last religious book, "The Covenant of Nature Made With Adam,—Cleerd From Sundry Great Mistakes." In this volume he dates the preface, "From My Study, Wraybury, February 10, 1661."

In 1657 William Pynchon sent to his son John in Springfield the oil painting from which the founder's portrait used in this volume was obtained. This was a year of real sorrow for him. On October 10, 1657, his wife Frances died at Wraybury and there was a largely attended funeral for this former Springfield resident. Weeks later, from America came the news of the death, sixteen days after that of her step-mother, of Pynchon's daughter, Mary Holy-





OLD PYNCHON MANSION.



OLD INDIAN HOUSE, BUILT BY ENSIGN JOHN SHELDON.





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oke, "a very glory of womanhood," as her elaborate tombstone in the Peabody cemetery at Springfield declares. "I am the more solitary," wrote Pynchon "as son Smith is of a reserved melancholy, and my daughter (Anna) is crazy." She lived until after her husband's death in 1681. William Pynchon the founder, died in Wraybury aged seventy-two years, October 29, 1662. This was the very year that Hampshire County was formed including all of the present counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire.

William Pynchon had no other children than the four already mentioned, John being his only son. The 1638 letter of Rev. George Moxon to Governor Winthrop, already quoted, contains the allusion to one of Pynchon's numerous hired helpers, which has misled so many historians:

Mr. Pynchon lately lost a boy who, tendinge cowes near our river, too venturously went into a birchen canowe, wch overturned & he was drowned.

One of the four large bronze tablets on the Hampden County Memorial Bridge at Springfield starts with the following inscription:

Memorial of William Pynchon, who in 1636 led the first company of settlers to this river in the Massachusetts Bay Colony: and of his son, John Pynchon, soldier, magistrate & citizen, who after his father's return to England, sixteen years later, was for half a century the important man of an ever-widening region.

As has been well said, "William Pynchon founded Roxbury, mother of fourteen towns, and Springfield, mother of thirteen New England towns, and god-mother to quite as many more." Both Roxbury and Springfield have named streets for him, and there is an elaborate Pynchon family tombstone in the Peabody Cemetery. Beyond these, the only other public memorial of William Pynchon takes the form of three of the sixteen bronze panels designed by Gail S. Corbett for main doors to the Municipal Group in Springfield, entitled respectively, "Buying Lands," "Trading With the Indians," and "William Pynchon and Settlers from Roxbury en route to Springfield."

## Shays's Rebellion\*

BY CHARLES A. SHRINER, PATERSON, N. J.



THE demand a revision of the constitution in order that the state government may be deprived of its aristocratic features; that the salary of the governor and the grants made to the attorney-general may be reduced; that lawyers may be prevented from continuing their extortions; that all debts may be annihilated; that taxes may be made less burdensome; that the payment of the debt to the Federal Government may cease and our state debt liquidated by the sale of state lands; that there may be a large issue of paper money.—The Massachusetts rebels in 1786.

No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did, and no day was ever more clouded than the present. . . . We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion.—Washington to Madison, November 6, 1786.

*Discontent*—The people of Massachusetts had made great sacrifices in the cause of liberty and had hoped for great results. When the close of the Revolutionary War, with an unsettled state of government and commerce, brought on a wave of "hard times," they began to wonder whether what they had secured was worth the price they had paid. They had liberty, but there was less prosperity than there had been in colonial times. A large majority viewed with disfavor the recently adopted state constitution; the United States constitution was still among the things talked of, and all was so unsettled that the people began to squirm, knowing not which way to turn for relief.

In the light of the present day the causes of this discontent are plainly discernible. Before the war the debt of Massachusetts was £100,000; at the close of the war this sum had grown to £1,300,000 and in addition to this the state was indebted to its own soldiers to the extent of £250,000; its proportion of the Federal debt was

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\*This is the fifth and last of a series of articles on "American Rebellions" by Mr. Shriner, who is author of "Wit, Wisdom and Foibles of the Great." For more extensive treatment of modern date of this subject the reader is referred to a chapter in "Western Massachusetts—A History," to appear from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., of New York City, early in 1926.

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computed at £1,500,000. The continental paper money had depreciated almost to the point of worthlessness and nothing better had been found to take its place as a circulating medium. The Federal government was as poor as were the individual states; all had difficulty in meeting ordinary expenses.

Demand for many necessities of life, and a few of its luxuries, had established commerce with the nations of Europe, but this commerce required coin made of gold or silver or an equivalent; the state indulged its ever expensive spirit of patriotism by contributing to the needs of the Federal government and the result of it all was that the purse, which had never been anything but slender, was almost depleted.

People resorted to barter: they carried grain, food and fish to market, but there were no large warehouses and cold storage was not to be found even in the dictionary. The currency proved cumbersome, even when taken for immediate consumption, and there was no authority to fix a standard of value. The legislature in 1782 attempted to afford some relief by enacting that neat cattle and some other products of the soil could be used as a medium of exchange, but the law so little answered the purpose for which it was enacted that it remained in force only a very short time.

Numerous as were the perplexities besetting continual barter, the people might have worried along, for nearly all were in the same predicament, but the annoying became the impossible when taxes and foreign exchange fell due. The products of the field could not be exchanged for a receipted tax bill and the merchants of Europe objected to fish as a substitute for coin.

As the general impoverishment of the country increased the work of the courts kept pace with it. The laws for the collection of debts were crude—the creditor who had priority in bringing suit had the best chance of having his claim satisfied. Executions were levied in the order of the attachments and the laws still provided imprisonment for insolvent debtors. In 1784 every fourth man in Groton, if not every third, had from one to twelve suits against him, and in the same year Gloucester, with a population of less than 50,000, had a civil court calendar of over two thousand suits. Men who were accounted experts at figures declared that all the money in circulation was not equal to one-sixth of the total amount of taxes levied.



## SHAYS'S REBELLION

Blaming the government for all discontent not otherwise easily accounted for having already developed as one of the frailties of human nature in the American republic, the belief gained ground that the governor and council intended to bring the state into lordships and make serfs of all people who had no means of paying their taxes. The senate was pointed to as a body of aristocrats, the members of which took care of themselves and their families, instances being cited where seven or eight prominent offices were held in one family. There were complaints that there were too many officials with high salaries, that unreasonable grants had been made to the attorney-general and others; people felt assured that if the governor and some other high officers would be satisfied with a moderate compensation for services taxes would be less burdensome.

The dislike of lawyers, due to the numerous civil suits, soon spread to the courts and a cry arose for the abolishment of both, as they were regarded equally culpable as means of extortion.

The people in the interior counties saw that they were suffering more in proportion than the residents along the coast: an intense feeling of bitterness was the result. But even in the coast towns there was no lack of discontent and the people there pointed with envy at Boston, where there was a greater resemblance at least of prosperity than anywhere else. So Boston became a word of reproach and, if the people of the state had been permitted to vote on the proposition, Boston would have been shorn of its power, and the General Court would have been compelled to resolve itself into a peripatetic body.

To make matters worse, the soldiers, whose manners and habits had certainly not been refined by years of warfare, were seeking employment which was not to be found.

Resistance to constituted authority as a means of redressing grievances had been successful in so many instances, especially in Massachusetts, that the argument was soon advanced that what had been done before could be done again. The air was still surcharged with the electricity of rebellion. Conventions had been the beginning of the overturning of British rule and so the people in Western Massachusetts, presuming that conventions could have no result other than the attainment of the will of the people, began to meet as early as 1782 to discuss the overturning of the rule of Boston, just as they had met only a few years before to discuss the

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overturning of the rule of George III. Each convention named a committee on correspondence and lists of grievances were sent from county to county; the propaganda was carried on further by speakers who inflamed the popular mind.

The traveler of the day found that the agitation increased in violence with the number of miles he traveled to the West. The conventions were pledged to secure the desired reforms by lawful means, but there was a wide diversity of opinion as to what constituted lawful means. One remedy which seemed to find popular favor was the sale of state lands for the payment of the state debt. But all the propositions advanced were not of so mild a character. The assembled statesmen at one convention devised a plan which evidently has been wholly overlooked by the Napoleons of finance of later days—a plan, which, if generally adopted, would have avoided many financial embarrassments, both public and private. The convention determined that there should be an emission of paper money large enough to pay all debts and that this money, having served that purpose, should gradually depreciate in value until finally its usual resting-place would be changed from the cash drawer to the waste basket. Another convention roundly demanded the “annihilation” of all courts and lawyers. In the disaffected part of the state a disposition was evident on election day to send tradesmen and farmers to the legislature instead of lawyers.

Even Boston caught the fever of holding conventions, but its action did not serve to allay the hostility in other parts of the state, for at the Boston convention, on March 15, 1784, “after a fair debate it was unanimously determined to express the sorrows of the town that at a time, when we have a constitution of our own choosing, and which has been approved by the world, there should yet remain any uneasy persons in the community, who could form the fruitless design of disturbing the tranquility of the state by proposing the unnecessary measure of meeting by counties.” In the same year Groton and Shirley appointed delegates to meet with delegates from other towns.

Thirty-seven towns in Worcester County held a joint convention on August 15, 1786, which, after having declared itself a lawful and constitutional body, satisfied itself with a recital of the popular grievances. The convention in Middlesex County in the same year went a step further by declaring against holding the General Court

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in Boston and in favor of the suspension of the collection of all debts, a general moratorium until there should be more money in the country. Delegates from fifty towns in Hampshire County—which county at that time included the territory now figuring on the map as Hampden and Franklin counties—held a convention in Hatfield and talked the matter over for three days. One of the speakers declared that they “had fought for liberty and meant to have it,” that liberty “is for every man to do as he pleases and to make other folks do as you please to have them.” There was a loud demand for more paper money and a great deal of energetic fault-finding. The remedies suggested for the cure of the ills of the day were a revision of the constitution and the abolishment of the senate and the court of common pleas. Having made these declarations the convention urged all other counties to take similar action but to be careful to abstain from all unlawful assemblies. Springfield proved itself very conservative, for at a town meeting the representative to the General Court was urged to oppose an issue of paper money and also a revision of the constitution.

*Resistance*—The first attempt by the disaffected element to interfere with court proceedings took place in April, 1782, in Hampshire County, under the leadership of Samuel Ely, a “cast-off, irregular preacher, become demagogue.” He created a disturbance in the court room, for which he was sentenced to prison. His followers assembled and secured his release by force. The military was called out and the ringleaders of the mob were taken prisoners; a parley then ensued between the two parties, the authorities agreeing to liberate all who had been arrested if the insurgents would return Ely as a prisoner. The terms were accepted and the agreement carried out, all escaping punishment, Ely excepted. In the following year a mob undertook to prevent the holding of court; there was a fight but the sheriff and his posse proved victorious.

Springfield was the scene of an insurrection in 1783, an account of which was given in *The Massachusetts Gazette or the General Advertiser*, published in Springfield, May 27 of that year:

On Tuesday last, the date on which the General Sessions of the Peace and the Court of Common Pleas opened in this town, a banditti, collected from the obscure corners of the county, composed of men of the most infamous character, to the amount of about sixty



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in number, met in this town to prevent the sitting of the court . . . They showed no disposition to attack the courts in the forenoon; at two o'clock they met at a public house in the town, and resolved themselves to be a convention of the county, met together for the purpose of redressing grievances; after having passed several important resolves they adjourned their convention to the elm tree near the court house; when the bell rang for the court, they, in hostile parade, armed with white bludgeons, cut for that purpose, marched before the door of the court house, and, when the court, headed by the sheriff, came to the door, with insolence opposed their entrance; the sheriff, in the mild terms of persuasion, addressing them as gentlemen, desired them to make way. His civility was repaid with outrage, and an action soon commenced; happily there was a collection of people friendly to the government present and the mob was repulsed with broken heads. A number of them were taken and instantly committed to prison; after which, by a regular procedure, they were brought before the court of Sessions for examination, and were bound to appear before the Supreme Court.

As if waiting to see what results would follow the threatening attitude they had taken, the insurgents assumed an almost passive attitude in most parts of the state; in others there were sporadic outbursts of violence, but there seems to have been little concerted effort on the part of the disaffected communities. Being apparently satisfied that a threatening attitude would not suffice to secure a redressing of their grievances, the insurgents determined upon more drastic action.

A term of the Court of Common Pleas should have been opened at Northampton on the last Tuesday in August, 1786, but at the usual hour for convening of court the local temple of justice was in possession of a mob some fifteen hundred strong. What was done stands recorded in the minutes of the court as follows:

Early on the morning of this day there was collected a considerable number of persons under arms, who paraded near the court house, with a proposed design to prevent this court from sitting; a committee from whom presented a petition, requesting the court would not proceed to do any business. The court having considered thereof thought proper to open the same at the house of Capt. Samuel Clark, innholder, in Northampton; and having continued all matters now pending in said court to the term of this court next to be holden in Springfield, in and for the county of Hampshire, on the second Tuesday of November next, adjourned without day.



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The flames of rebellion were spreading wide and mounting high. A number of men from Groton prevented a session of the court at Concord; they then moved on towards Cambridge but, apparently satisfied with what had been accomplished or not daring to go further, they dispersed on the way. The house of Judge Sedgwick was raided and the judge threatened with death if he should make any attempt to exercise a judicial function: no court was held in Barrington. The insurgents were successful in preventing all court proceedings in Middlesex, Hampshire, Worcester and Berkshire. There were insurrections, more or less successful, in other places; the rebels had substantially control of the state.

Boston remained consistently steadfast in its opposition to mob rule. Bristol was loyal, although at one time it showed signs of weakening. Major-general Cobb was chief justice of the Bristol County courts and had obtained from Governor Bowdoin authority to call out the militia, if necessary to secure the transaction of the business of the courts. When court met the insurgents were present in large and threatening numbers, but they were cowed by the militia and dispersed. Court might have proceeded with business as customary, but the law-abiding citizens pleaded for an adjournment, having in view the lawless doings in numerous other communities. The court yielded, but when the Supreme Court met a few days afterwards General Cobb was present with the militia and kept the precincts of the court free from intruders.

Pursuant to a proclamation of Governor Bowdoin the legislature convened in special session on September 22. The governor's message contained a history of the insurrection and asked that full power be given to the executive to act as circumstances might indicate to be advisable. The senate was in favor of vigorous measures in support of the government; in the house there were some who were in sympathy with the insurgents. There were also others who saw in the insurrectionary doings a presage of the failure of republican institutions and who were ready to take steps towards securing an aristocratic government. The legislation enacted was practically the result of a compromise. The governor and council were authorized to imprison all persons whom they considered dangerous to public safety and the right of habeas corpus was suspended as far as these cases were concerned; persons indicted for treason might be tried in any county the prosecuting officials might

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select. On the other hand, no money was provided with which to carry out the laws; the insurgents were requested, in tones almost of kindness, to lay down their arms and all were offered a free pardon who before the close of the year should take a prescribed oath of allegiance.

This indecision on the part of the legislature was a source of encouragement to the insurgents. In some places orders calling out the militia were quickly countermanded when it was found that many of the men in uniform harbored sentiments in unison with those of the insurgents. Good citizens felt little inclination to organize for the purpose of enforcing laws which had been so reluctantly passed. A large number of the inhabitants of the state—according to what is considered a conservative estimate about one-third—were in a state of open rebellion; a number of others by their inaction gave their prudence the color of supporting the rebellion; those who openly favored the established institutions were almost if not wholly in the minority.

Opinions as to the probability of the success of the insurgents differed widely: many believed that the government of the state would be eventually overturned; others maintained that the acts of rebellion were merely ebullitions of local dissatisfaction which came unheralded and that the insurgents would be quickly subdued should their operations ever reach a magnitude which would indicate to the proper authorities where and when to strike. As if to answer any challenge thus intimated the leaders of the rebels announced that no court would be held in Springfield on the fourth Tuesday of September, the day fixed by law for the assembling of the judges and other officers of the law. This declaration was met with the dignified announcement that courts would be held as usual. An important move had been made on the chess board: if the courts met and the grand jury proceeded with its work there was no doubt that indictments for treason would be found against the leaders of the rebellion at least; they could be arrested at any time and taken to Boston for trial where it might be presumed the courts would make short work of them.

Neither leaders nor forces could afford to despise their opponents. General William Shepard had been a trusted officer of Washington during the revolutionary struggle and he had assembled about six hundred militia and volunteers. Daniel Shays, the

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leader of the insurgents, had been conspicuous for bravery at Bunker Hill and Stony Point; he was supported by a force considerably larger than that under the command of General Shepard, but the rebels were not as well drilled nor as well armed as those whom they were apparently anxious to meet. Many on both sides had seen service in the Revolutionary War. Then there were the non-combatants, many of whom were ready to exult in victory no matter where its perch might be. There was supposed to be no neutrality; the emblem of rebellion was a sprig of evergreen worn in the hat; those who were loyal to the state wore a somewhat similar emblem, but the difference between the two emblems was readily discernible; it is said that there were those among the population who wore one kind of emblem in their hats and carried the other in their pockets and who made no scruple about effecting a quick change when the elements of personal safety indicated such a course.

General Shepard's first step was to take possession of the court house. Court was opened as usual. A communication was received from the insurgents offering to withdraw if the judges would agree to attend to no functions other than such as ordinary criminal complaints might present. The judges declined to have any limit placed on the purview of their duties. The insurgents then sent word to General Shepard that they intended to march past the court house. No reply was received to this. The insurgents then did as they had threatened to do; they marched and countermarched under the windows of the court house; molestation, expected by many and desired by at least some, did not materialize.

The insurgents announced that they had won the day and that there was no need of shedding any blood. They had gathered for the purpose of preventing court proceedings and they had succeeded, for so many of the grand jurors, petty officers, litigants and lawyers were under arms on one side or the other that no session of court was possible. This was true, for, although the court was in session three days, the only business transacted was the calling of the default of bail in one case. The grand jury made no attempt to meet. All that was left for the court to do was to adjourn.

In their exultation over their victory the insurgents went so far as to demand the surrender of the court house and they were pleasantly surprised when General Shepard moved his troops to the arsenal, not deeming a court house with no judges in it worthy of



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letting blood. The arsenal was Federal property and the insurgents, concluding that they had enough on their hands with a war against the state, dispersed, as in fact had been their custom on all previous occasions of similar import.

The state of affairs in Massachusetts began to attract the attention of the Federal government. Colonel Humphreys wrote to General Washington on November 1, 1786:

The troubles in Massachusetts still continue. Government is prostrated in the dust, and it is much to be feared that there is not energy enough in the state to re-establish the civil powers. The leaders of the mob, whose fortunes and measures were desperate, are strengthening themselves daily, and it is expected that they will soon take possession of the Continental magazine at Springfield, in which there are from ten to fifteen thousand stand of arms in excellent order. A general want of compliance with the requisitions of congress for money seems to prognosticate that we are rapidly approaching a crisis. Congress, I am told, are seriously alarmed and hardly know which way to turn or what to expect. Indeed, my dear general, nothing but a good providence can extricate us from the present condition.

General Knox, who was then Secretary of War, visited Massachusetts for the purpose of inquiring into the nature and extent of the trouble, and wrote to Washington:

Their creed is that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of all and therefore ought to be the common property of all, and that he that attempts opposition to this creed is an enemy to equity and justice, and ought to be swept off the face of the earth. . . . They are determined to annihilate all debts, public and private, and have agrarian laws, which are easily effected by means of unfunded paper which shall be the tender in all cases whatever.

General Washington replied to this letter:

After what I have seen, or rather what I have heard, I shall be surprised at nothing; for, if three years since, any person would have told me that there would be such a formidable rebellion as exists this day against the laws and constitution of our own making, I should have thought him a bedlamite, a fit subject for a mad-house.

In another letter Washington wrote:

What, gracious God, is man, that there should be such inconsistencies and perfidiousness of his conduct! It was but the



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other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we now live: constitutions of our own choice and making; and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them. The thing is so unaccountable, that I hardly know how to realize it, or to persuade myself that I am not under the illusion of a dream.

Early in December Shays and his fellow leaders in the rebellion mapped out a definite programme of operations. They resolved on a descent upon Cambridge, ostensibly for the customary purpose of interfering with the sitting of the courts; their real intention probably was to hold the place until terms they might dictate should be accepted by the government and, in event of failure in that direction, to capture Boston and set up a provisional government. They collected their forces at Concord, but the number answering the summons was disappointing to the leaders; apparently dissatisfaction had begun its work of disintegration among such as had arrived at the conclusion that grievances might be redressed without present demolition of constituted authority and reconstruction along lines necessarily somewhat similar; their faith in government by representatives chosen by the people remained unshaken. Accordingly, when the sheriff of Middlesex County, pursuant to orders received from Governor Bowdoin, and backed by a strong posse comitatus, undertook to arrest some of the leaders, the resistance was not as strong as might have been expected. Three of the leaders soon found themselves behind the bars in Boston charged with treason. Perhaps with no further definite idea than to infuse spirit into his followers by a success, Shays led his troops to Worcester, where he prevented the courts from exercising their usual functions. A descent was announced upon Boston for the immediate purpose of releasing the imprisoned rebels and the ultimate object of capturing the archives and state house and ensuring the success of the rebellion. But Shays had underestimated the strength of the military now under command of General Lincoln. The latter found little difficulty in driving the rebel leader, together with nearly his entire force, to a point beyond the confines of Massachusetts. Shays now apparently regretted the part he had taken in the rebellion and at Rutland he made an offer to a confidential agent of the government to abandon the project on condition of a pardon for himself. This offer was communicated to the state government and an author-

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ization issued for its acceptance; before this answer could be communicated to Shays he had conceived a new idea and indulged in further acts of open rebellion. His experience at Springfield had been so pleasant, and had infused so much spirit into his followers, that Shays determined upon a repetition. Entirely unexpected, he and some three hundred of his followers put in an appearance again at Springfield on the day when according to statute the courts were to open there. When enough of the judges had assembled to constitute the courts they received the following communication:

Springfield, December 25th, 1786.

We Request the Honble Judges of this Court not to open said Court at this Term, nor to do any kind of business whatever, but all kind of business is to remain as tho no such Court had been appointed.

Luke Day, Daniel Shays, Thomas Grover.

To this the following reply was received:

Springfield, December 26th, 1786.

The Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace now assembled at Springfield, in consideration of the opposition made to the opening of said courts, have determined not to do any business or open the said Court at this Term.

Eleaz'r Porter, on behalf of sd. Courts.

Shays dismissed his men, saying that government was so readily yielding to all their demands that he did not think it would be necessary to call them together again.

Although Shays apparently intended to abandon the project, the spirit of rebellion which he had aroused would not permit him to do so. The infection had spread to adjoining states and disturbances were reported from a number of places. In New Hampshire an armed mob demanded an unlimited emission of paper money from the legislature. Encouraged by these indications, and spurred on by the more radical of his followers, Shays determined upon seizing the Continental arsenal at Springfield.

In the mean time the authorities in Boston had not been idle. The legislature had left them in poverty but prominent men subscribed liberally to a loan for the repayment of which they trusted to the honesty of the next legislature. The strength of the military was materially increased and arrangements were made with

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local authorities by which the government was kept informed as to the movement of the rebels and their probable intentions. Whenever disturbances threatened, the military were hurried forward and in a number of instances sessions of court were held with soldiers in arms in the yard—generally awaiting attacks that did not come.

All arrangements had been made for an attack on the Springfield arsenal. Shays was encamped at Wilbraham and Day at West Springfield. Shays sent word to Day that he intended to attack on the 25th; Day replied that he could not possibly be ready before the day following. The messenger to whom Day's reply was entrusted fell into the hands of the state military and the message reached General Shepard. Not aware that his message had gone astray Day sent the following message to Shepard:

Headquarters, West Springfield, January 25, 1787.

The body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles in nature, self-preservation, do, in the most peremptory manner, demand,

1. That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.
2. That the arms be deposited in the public stores, under the cover of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination of the present contest.

3. That the troops return to their homes on parole.

To the commanding officer at Springfield, January 25, 1787.

Luke Day,

Captain Commandant of this division.

The document was endorsed on the back, "By Col. Eli Parsons."

General Shepard sent a message to Shays inquiring what he wanted and the reply was that he "wanted barracks, barracks he would have, and stores." General Shepard replied that the price would be high, at the same time informing Shays that if his men advanced any further he would order the artillery to fire on them. Shays replied that was all he wanted. The government troops had a howitzer which they fired over the heads of the insurgents. This did not serve to check the advance and the next shot went into the ranks of the rebels. Three fell dead and another was seriously wounded. The rebels at once retreated, not a musket having been fired on either side.

In the evening Shays sent a flag of truce to General Shepard,

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asking for the return of the bodies of five men who had been killed. General Shepard replied that he had only three, that he had one rebel who was nearly dead, but if Shays insisted on more he would be accommodated to any extent if he would only attack the arsenal again.

Shays retreated five miles during the night and on the following day joined Parsons's force at Chicopee. He then retreated through South Hadley to Amherst. While at Hadley he received a last warning from General Lincoln, demanding his surrender under pain of punishment for treason. Shays replied, suggesting an armistice, asking an immediate and unconditional pardon and a hearing before the legislature of the various issues in what he termed the "present controversy." General Lincoln, not being empowered to grant any such terms, Shays sent a communication to the legislature, admitting his mistake in taking up arms and offering to suspend hostilities if a free pardon were granted to all. He then retreated thirty miles through the deep snow to Petersham, to await a reply from the legislature. There were men in the legislature ready to yield to all the demands of the rebels, but their opponents were strong enough to prevent such action.

At Petersham, in snow eighteen inches deep which the rain had covered with an icy crust, the state troops gained the top of a hill which the rebels were ascending. The order to fire was given to the state troops but every musket was discharged into the crust, for the regulars had a feeling of sympathy—perhaps a stronger sentiment—for the rebels. Both parties then retreated, no one having been injured. A hundred and fifty of the rebels subsequently yielded themselves prisoners.

Shays crossed the Connecticut River into Vermont; he announced that he would erect his standard in Pultney and called for volunteers; only three responded, the rest of the party having sought employment on the farms in the vicinity. He gathered together some of his officers in Bennington, but the rebellion had ended. Shays then joined his sister at White Creek, in New York State.

*Forgiveness*—The authorities and people of Massachusetts did not take the rebellion seriously, at least not sufficiently so to become imbued with a spirit of vindictiveness. The avenging arm of the



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law did reach out to smite some of the offenders, but the proceeding bore more resemblance to a Punch and Judy altercation than a serious prosecution. The insurgent leaders had fled to neighboring states and the governors of those states were called upon to deliver them to the State of Massachusetts. Fourteen were tried for high treason and sentenced to death; one of the last acts of Governor Bowdoin was to issue reprieves. The election of John Hancock to the office of chief executive was looked upon as presaging better government for all. It certainly was better for the convicted, for nine of those who had been sentenced to death were pardoned at the foot of the gallows, the only limitation to the pardon being deprivation of citizenship. Those convicted of minor offences, such as taking part in seditious disturbances, were either not even troubled to answer any criminal charges or were promptly pardoned after conviction. The scriptural formula of "Go your way and sin no more" was frequently abbreviated to its first three words, such was the consideration for the sensitive feelings of those to whom it was addressed. The only sentence carried into execution, the only punishment meted out, was in the case of a member of the legislature, convicted of treasonable practices, the offender being compelled to stand under the gallows for an hour with a rope about his neck and to pay a fine of fifty pounds.

The light shed by later investigations shows that neither the rebels nor the government were aware of the extent of the rebellion. A law had been passed depriving all persons who had taken part in the rebellion of the right of franchise, but it was found that in some towns there were not men enough of untainted character to fill the necessary offices; supplementary legislation was enacted to bridge over the difficulty. Pardons and restorations to citizenship followed each other in rapid succession, until finally an executive order, dated September 12, 1787, granted full pardon to all offenders.

There are numerous instances showing quick action on the part of the pardoning power. When the convention met in Boston in January, 1788, for the purpose of ratifying the new state constitution, several of the prominent leaders of the rebellion were among the delegates. John Wheeler was first lieutenant in the Hardwicke military when he joined Shays and became one of his most strenuous and active supporters. During the first days of April he was con-

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victed of treason and was sentenced to be hanged, but before the close of the month he had been pardoned and sent back to his company; in September, 1789, he received his commission as captain.

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Daniel Shays was a native of Hopkinton, Middlesex County, where he was born in 1747. He lived for some time in Great Barrington and then removed to Pelham. He joined the Revolutionary Army in 1775 and served as an ensign at Bunker Hill; in 1776 he received the commission of lieutenant in Col. Varnum's regiment. He was then employed as a recruiting officer and as such raised a company. He took his men to West Point when it was ascertained that the terms of the enlistment he had drawn up provided that he should be the captain of the company. Remonstrance against this unsoldierly stipulation was deemed inadvisable, as the army needed the men. Shays did not receive his commission until 1779, although he received a captain's pay from January, 1777. In 1780, when he was with Col. Putnam's regiment in Newark, he resigned his commission "for reasons quite problematical." After the close of the Massachusetts rebellion he lived in Vermont for about a year; while resident there he applied for and received a pardon, after which he removed to Sparta, New York. In 1820 he received a Federal pension for his services during the Revolutionary War, the schedule of his personal effects attached to application indicating that he was then worth \$40.62. He died in Scottsburgh, a small village in Livingston County, New York, September 29, 1825. The fact that only a small three-cornered piece of slate indicated his last resting place induced some persons in 1865 to apply to the Massachusetts Historical Society for a more pretentious memorial, but the society paid no attention to the request. A contemporary newspaper refers to him as "one Shays, a demented officer of the late war," and this is perhaps the most charitable view to take of his character. He lacked the essential qualities of leadership, although there can be no doubt as to his personal courage. Some readers may perceive a further light on his character from the fact that he sold for a few dollars a sword which had been presented to him by Lafayette.

Luke Day, born in West Springfield, July 25, 1743, was the son of well-to-do parents. He was a lieutenant in Captain Chapin's company of minute men who marched to Boston when the alarm sounded from Lexington. He was the orator of Shays's army but

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his speeches lacked sincerity. He spoke of "spilling the last drop of blood that ran in his veins," but when Lincoln's men approached his quarters at the attack on the arsenal, he did nothing either to attempt or encourage resistance. After the suppression of the rebellion he fled to New York, but subsequently returned to Massachusetts, when he was arrested and lodged in jail in Boston. His case was sent to Hampshire County for trial but before it could be reached he was included in the general pardon issued by Governor Hancock. He died in poverty in West Springfield in 1801.

*Sources*—George R. Minot, "The History of Insurrections in Massachusetts in 1786" (1788); J. G. Holland, "History of Western Massachusetts" (1855); Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1858; Orville J. Victor, "History of American Conspiracies" (1863); Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1865, 1869; Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1877; William L. Smith, Connecticut Valley Historical Society's Collections, 1877; Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1884; Robert C. Winthrop and Arthur E. Bostwick, Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1888; Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1891; Josephine Canning, "The American Historical Register" (1895); Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1902; Alfred M. Copeland, "A History of Hampden County, Massachusetts" (1902); Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1905, 1907, 1909; A. M. Davis, American Antiquarian Society Publications, 1911; D. M. Wilson, The Magazine of History, 1916.



# The Western Terminus of the Oregon Trail

BY FRANCIS E. SMITH, TACOMA, WASHINGTON



THOMAS JEFFERSON became interested in the Oregon Country while serving the United States as minister to the Court of France, 1784-1789. President Washington selected Jefferson for the office of Secretary of State in his Cabinet. Jefferson affixed his signature to the sea-letter issued to Captain Robert Gray, by President Washington, September 16, 1790, addressed to all emperors, kings, sovereign princes, states and regents, and to their respective officers, civil and military, and to all others who were concerned. The sending of an American ship to the Oregon Coast served to increase what interest Jefferson might have in the Oregon Country. The selection of Jefferson as Secretary of State gave the United States an able Foreign Secretary. The King of England soon discovered he had a man of unusual abilities to deal with and selected Lord Grenville, early in the year 1791, as his Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Thomas Jefferson and Lord Grenville were quite evenly matched in diplomatic skill.

The British Parliament labored under the fallacy that the United States could be driven back upon themselves and prevented from having commercial intercourse with other nations. One of the duties required of Lord Grenville was to put the British policy of repression toward the United States into operation. No doubt the duty was distasteful to His Lordship, but being a loyal subject of the British Crown he undertook the task by requesting the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send an expedition to the Northwest Coast of North America for the purpose of acquiring commercial advantages for Great Britain. The expedition sailed from England April 1, 1791, under the command of Captain George Vancouver. Vancouver carried secret instructions concerning these commercial advantages.

Jefferson accepted the challenge of the Vancouver expedition and laid plans for an overland expedition in the year 1792, the same year that Vancouver examined the continental shore line of the State of Washington. Jefferson had a vision of commercial ad-



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vantages for the United States, in the more remote West and conceived the idea of diverting to the American people the traffic of the Far-West from the Canadian and British monopolies. He communicated his desires to the American Philosophical Society, suggesting the services of a suitable person to visit the Missouri River, thence cross the Rocky Mountains and proceed as far as the Pacific Ocean. He expressed the hope that the philosophical society might raise a subscription to defray the expenses of the expedition, which was not undertaken from lack of means. Meriwether Lewis offered his services in undertaking the journey overland.

Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated the third President of the United States, March 4, 1801. Immediately upon entering upon his duties as President, Jefferson began laying plans for an overland expedition to the Oregon Country. January 18, 1803, he laid his plans before Congress and asked for an appropriation to defray the expenses of such an undertaking; Congress responded to the request of the President with a liberal appropriation. Meriwether Lewis was selected for the command of the expedition and instructions for its conduct were drafted June 20, 1803.

During this time negotiations were under way for the purchase of Louisiana. The inhabitants of the Northwest Territory demanded an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean by way of the Mississippi River. Spain controlled the mouth of the Great River of the middle west, but by special agreement Americans were permitted to land their produce at the wharves in New Orleans. The Spaniards withdrew the permit, causing great inconvenience to the American settlers in the Northwest Territory, and the Americans demanded the protection of the United States Government, adding the slogan: "No protection, no allegiance." President Jefferson endeavored to allay the growing discontent by transmitting to Congress a message, December 22, 1802, in which he said that he was "aware of the obligation to maintain in all cases the rights of the nation, and to employ for that purpose those just and honorable means which belong to the character of the United States." The House of Representatives responded to the message of the President by saying: "We express our unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries and the rights of navigation and commerce through the Mississippi as established by existing treaties." President Jefferson

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immediately began negotiations with the Court of Spain for the acquisition of all Spanish territory east of the Mississippi River.

The Spaniards refused to consider the offers of the United States for an adjustment of the difficulty. In the meantime Spain had retroceded Louisiana to France, without the knowledge of the United States government. The refusal was dated April 7, 1802, the treaty ceding Louisiana to France is dated October 1, 1800. President Jefferson supposed that Spain still owned Louisiana and New Orleans. The exact text of the treaty was unknown to Americans until the year 1820. The treaty caused deep anxiety in the United States.

At this time England and France were confronted with the certainty of war. Napoleon well knew that colonies in close proximity to the British West Indies were a doubtful possession and of but little value in the event of war with Great Britain. Napoleon soon arrived at a decision and summoned two of his councillors; disclosing his purpose, he said:

"The English shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet; . . . . I think of ceding it to the United States." The two councillors disagreed, one approved the course proposed by Napoleon, the other decidedly opposed it. Napoleon communicated his final decision to the councillor who approved of the plan, by saying:

"It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without reservation. . . . I direct you to negotiate this offer with the envoys of the United States."

The negotiations were closed by the United States purchasing all of the great basin of the Mississippi River, the purchase adding to the area of the United States 875,025 square miles of territory.

What to do with such a vast territory was a great problem for our Congressmen. No doubt it will be of interest to many readers of "Americana" to reproduce the exact language used by Congressmen in the year 1803, in relation to the purchase.

Senator Pickering, Massachusetts:

"It is declared in the third article (of the treaty) that 'the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States.' But neither the President and Senate, nor the President and Congress, are competent to such an act of incorporation." He believed the assent of each individual State to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union.

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Representative Griswold, Connecticut:

"It is not consistent with the spirit of a republican form of government that its territory should be exceedingly large; for, as you extend your limits you increase the difficulties arising from a want of the similarity of customs, habits and manners so essential for its support. . . . The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give the United States; the consequent dispersion of our population, and the destruction of that balance which is so important to maintain between the Eastern and Western States, threatens, at no very distant day, the subversion of our Union."

Representative Griffin, Virginia:

He feared "the effect of the vast extent of our empire;" he feared "the effect of the increased value of labor, the decrease in the value of lands, and the influence of climate upon our citizens who should migrate thither."

Senator Plumer of New Hampshire:

"Admit this western world into the Union and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the Eastern States and compel them to establish a separate empire."

Senator James White of Delaware:

"But as to Louisiana—this new, immense, unbounded world—if it ever should be incorporated into the Union, I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us."

Notwithstanding the fears and opposition of certain Congressmen and Senators, the Louisiana Purchase was incorporated in the Union of the United States of America. President Jefferson considered the purchase of great value to the United States; he considered it very desirable that the trade of the territory should be in the hands of United States citizens. The Lewis and Clark expedition arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River, November 15, 1805, and returned to civilization in 1806, the first overland expedition to cross the Rocky Mountains and descend the Columbia River or any of its branches. The Lewis and Clark expedition coupled with the discoveries made by Captain Robert Gray gave the United States a valid claim on the Oregon Country. The relinquishment of the Spanish claim to the United States strengthened the American title to the country. England disputed the American title and contested the American right to the country. The controversy over the



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American and British claims was of long duration, extending over a period of fifty years, being settled by the Oregon Treaty of 1846.

Following the adjustment of the Oregon question, the United States Congress passed the Donation Claim Land Law, the first free homestead land law in the history of the United States, or, perhaps, the history of the world. The law permitted an American citizen to stake out 320 acres of land for himself and 320 acres of land for his wife, if married; later the law was amended to read 320 only for man and wife. The prospect of acquiring a free homestead was a great inducement to many American citizens to migrate to the Oregon Country. Tens of thousands of Americans left their homes in the Eastern States and migrated to Oregon, over what became known as the Oregon Trail.

The Oregon Trail extended from Westport, Missouri to Fort Vancouver, Washington. The trail was over two thousand miles in length and an ox-team required seven months for the journey. Fort Vancouver was the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company on the north bank of the Columbia River. Navigation was very dangerous and tedious in those days. The Hudson's Bay Company located a trading station and fort near the southern extremity of the interior sea of the State of Washington, where navigation was safer. They purposed to hold all American settlers to the territory south of the Columbia River. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 gave recognition to the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, with a proviso giving the United States government the right to purchase the possessory rights of the Company, if it was deemed for the best interest of the United States to do so. Under the terms of the treaty the Company erected temporary parks for the folding of sheep and herding of cattle, with a view to holding the entire territory north of the Columbia River. American settlers who wished to locate their homes on the shores of the interior sea were obliged to stake out their Donation Claims on land claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company blazed a trail from Fort Vancouver to Olympia. American settlers entering the Puget Sound Country followed the trail. Arriving at their desired location they staked out their Donation Claims regardless of the Company's claims. The company warned the squatter off, but to no purpose; the American considered himself a *bona fide* settler with the rights



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of an American citizen and refused to vacate. The Company tried the expedient of having their servants take up land on the American plan. To do so the servant had to declare his intention of becoming an American citizen; the result, the Company lost a servant and the United States gained a citizen. Many former Hudson's Bay Company servants are honored citizens in the State of Washington today.







Hanna  
(Hannay of Sorbie Castle)

## Hanna—Hayden Families

By WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

*Arms*—Argent, three roebucks' heads, couped, azure, collared or, with a bell pendent.

*Crest*—Within the horns of a crescent a cross crosslet fitchée sable.

*Motto*—*Per ardua ad alta.*



THE Hanna family can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when Patrick Hannay built and occupied a castle, since known in history as Castle Sorby, which is still standing, but in a half ruinous state, and is located on the waters of the Mull of Galloway in Wigton, southern half of Ayrshire, Scotland. The Hannay family came into prominence about the time of the "War of the Roses," and some of the occupants of the Castle of Sorby wielded a commanding influence during that period. The Hannays continued to occupy and own Castle Sorby until the close of the seventeenth century, and when the male members of the family all emigrated to Ireland it passed, through intermarriage with the Lords of Galloway, into the possession of Sir Alexander Stewart, of Garlies, a grandson of Sir Alexander Stewart, who had married Margaret Hannay, a daughter and heir of Patrick Hannay, of Sorby.

This Sir Alexander Stewart, who now came into possession of the seat of the Hannays, was in great favor with James VI, who knighted him in 1590 at the coronation of his consort, Queen Anne of Denmark. Sir Alexander married (first) Christian Douglas, daughter of Sir William Douglas, and (second) the Lady Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of David, Earl Angus, and widow of John, seventh Lord Maxwell (Earl of Morton). He died October 9, 1596, leaving five children. His son and heir, Sir Alexander Stewart, a man of great talent, loyalty and integrity, was elevated to the peerage, July 19, 1607, by the title of Baron of Garlies, and on September 19, 1623, was advanced to the Earl of Galloway. He married, October 16, 1600, Grisel Gordon, daughter of Sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and, dying in 1649, left two sons and a daughter. He was succeeded by his son, James Stewart, second Lord of Galloway, who, in his father's lifetime, had been created a Baronet of



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Nova Scotia. He was a firm adherent of the Stuarts and was fined four hundred pounds by Oliver Cromwell for his attachment to the royal family. He lived to see the Restoration, and came into great favor with King Charles II. He married, in 1642, Nicolas Grier, daughter of Sir Robert Grier, of Grierson, M. P., and had two sons and four daughters. His oldest son, Alexander Stewart, third Lord of Galloway, married Mary, daughter of James, second Earl of Queensbury, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. The oldest son, Alexander, became fourth Earl of Galloway. The second son, James, became fifth Earl of Galloway. The third son, John, was a brigadier-general and died, unmarried, at Castle Sorby, in 1748. The fourth son, Andrew, had died or been killed in the Darien expedition in 1699. William and Robert died young, unmarried.

Castle Sorby, which appears to have fallen to the third son, John Stewart, brother of the fourth and fifth earls, about this time fell into disuse, or was not occupied by any of the Stewart family, and we find no further word of it in history since the death of its owner, in the year 1748. It still, however, is owned by the heirs of the Earls of Galloway, all of whom are descendants of Patrick Hannay, of Sorby Castle.

The Hannays occupied many useful public positions. They were members of Parliament during several generations, and in 1630 Sir Robert Hannay was made a Baron. This Baronetcy is now extinct.

(I) Thomas Hanna, the immigrant ancestor of the Hanna family of America, was born about 1720, in Lesarah Lock, County Monaghan, Ireland, a son of Robert and Elizabeth Hanna, and probably a grandson or great-grandson of the Hannays of Castle Sorby, in Galloway, Scotland. In 1763, with his wife, Elizabeth (Henderson) Hanna, and their six children, he came to America. Of the six children, John, the eldest, died at Newcastle, after the ship had cast anchor. The other children were: James, Robert, Hugh, Martha, and Thomas. With the Hanna family there came to America the congregation of the entire Presbyterian church of Ballybay, of which church the Hannas were members. They landed at Newcastle, Delaware, and the Hannas settled among the Quakers in Buckingham, Bucks county, Pennsylvania. In less than a year Thomas Hanna died, and is buried in the burying ground of the Friends Meeting House at Buckingham.

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Elizabeth (Henderson) Hanna remained in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, until her death, in 1766. Of her remaining family, the two oldest sons, James and Robert, who were twins, were bound out to farmers in the neighborhood and remained in Bucks county until they were of age, when James went to Kentucky and Robert married, in Chester county, Pennsylvania. The remaining three children followed the tide of emigration into Western Pennsylvania, where Hugh and Thomas married and settled in Washington county, and the only sister, Martha, settled in Bedford county, Virginia, where she married Edward Saunders, only son and heir of James Saunders, who had represented Orange county, North Carolina, in the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax, April 4, 1776; and also in the Congress held in the same place, November 12, 1776.

(II) James Hanna, one of the twin sons of Thomas and Elizabeth (Henderson) Hanna, was born in County Monaghan, Ireland, March 2, 1753. He emigrated to the Province of Pennsylvania, in 1763, with his parents and brothers and sister. After the death of his father, in 1764, James was reared in the family of a Presbyterian farmer in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. On April 4, 1782, at Havre de Grace, Maryland, James Hanna married (first) Hannah Bayless, who was born on a farm near Havre de Grace, Harford county, Maryland, August 13, 1761. She was of Huguenot descent. Her grandfather, Samuel Bayless, with his brother, William, came to America in the latter part of the seventeenth century and settled near Basking Ridge, New Jersey.

Shortly after their marriage, James Hanna and his wife emigrated to Kentucky, making the entire journey on horseback, she riding on a pillion behind her husband. Here their nine children were born, and here they continued to reside until 1804, when they removed to Dayton, Ohio. Shortly after, on August 14, 1804, Hannah (Bayless) Hanna died and buried in the old Dayton Cemetery. James Hanna married a second time, by which marriage he had four children, three of whom died in infancy. James Hanna was a weaver by trade, but a farmer by occupation. In his religious life he was an orthodox Presbyterian, serving his church for fifty years as an elder. In politics he was a Whig. He died at his home near Dayton, Ohio, October 31, 1827. The Bayles-Bayless coat-of-arms is as follows:

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*Arms*—Gules a fesse argent between three mullets in chief, and as many martlets in base of the second.

Children of James and Hannah (Bayless) Hanna: 1. Elizabeth, born January 9, 1783, died November 27, 1857; married (first) John Johnson, a soldier of the War of 1812, who died November 15, 1816; married (second) James McGorkle; one son, William McGorkle, who became a prominent Presbyterian minister, now deceased. 2. Thomas, born in 1785, date of death unknown. 3. Martha, born January 29, 1789, died August 23, 1850; married Andrew Telford, who died June 12, 1853. 4. James, born March 31, 1791, died February 18, 1855. 5. Sarah, born July 20, 1795, died January 22, 1872; married Harvey Ward, who died September 12, 1844, while on a visit in Troy, Ohio. 6. Samuel, of whom further. 7. Hugh, born July 26, 1799, died January 18, 1869. 8. Nancy, born in 1801, died in August, 1857; married a Mr. Barnett. 9. Joseph Smith, born December 7, 1803, died August 4, 1864.

Of Samuel Hanna it may be said without exaggeration that it is impossible to write an adequate account of his life without reciting the history of Fort Wayne, nor is it possible to give a complete history of the city without embodying an account of his career.

(III) Samuel Hanna, son of James and Hannah (Bayless) Hanna, was born in Scott county, Kentucky, October 18, 1797. His father, James Hanna, moved to Dayton, Ohio, in 1804, and cleared a farm near the site of that town. Here Samuel's early days were passed, and his educational privileges were no greater than those of most pioneer boys. His first occupation, away from home, was as a post driver, distributing newspapers to subscribers throughout the country, there then being no mail service for that purpose. In his nineteenth year he was a clerk in a Piqua store, and he and another ambitious young tradesman bought out the store, giving their note for three thousand dollars. Soon afterward these notes were transferred to an innocent purchaser, and a writ of attachment followed, taking the goods away from Hanna and his partner. The notes being pressed for collection, the partner pleaded infancy, a valid defense, but Hanna refused to do so, and though he had been swindled, he declared his purpose to pay his obligations in full. When he was able he did so, principal and interest. Such incidents as these explain the remarkable strength he afterward had in the financial world, and the almost unbounded credit which enabled







Yours affectionately  
Samuel McAnna



*Eliza Taylor Hanna.*



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him to assume the main burden of great enterprises. After teaching school for some time, he next became prominent as a purveyor at a treaty at St. Mary's in 1818 with his brother Thomas. They hauled provisions from Troy, Ohio, and by their enterprise secured a small sum of money, a little of which was potent in those days on the frontier. At St. Mary's he decided to come to Fort Wayne, and at this little settlement he arrived in 1819. He established a trading post in a log cabin, the work on which was mostly done by his own hands, on the northwest corner of Columbia and Barr streets, thoroughfares at that time, however, unknown. In the Indian trade Mr. Hanna was a notable exception to those men who unscrupulously enriched themselves, and his fair and honorable dealings endeared him to the red men, and afterward to the settlers who took the place of his dusky customers. Legitimate profits were the basis of his large fortune, upon which foundation he built with a rare business sagacity, and an economy which dissuaded him from spending one dollar for personal luxuries until he was worth five thousand dollars. During the period of his early trading here, manufactured goods were purchased in Boston or New York, and came by the lakes and down the Maumee in pirogues, or were brought from Detroit with pack-horses. Provisions of all kinds were brought from southwestern Ohio by way of St. Mary's river, in the care of sturdy boatmen, who were frequently delayed by fallen trees which barred the stream until they were cut away. These discomforts of commerce early turned the attention of Mr. Hanna to the improvement of routes of transportation. Before the time of canal agitation began, he had widely extended his possessions. He had acted several years as agent of the American Fur Company, and was rapidly acquiring land throughout Indiana. His influence was aided also by his service as the first associate judge of Allen county. The canal project had its inception in a conversation between Judge Hanna and David Burr, at the home of the former, and their efforts secured the land grant by Congress. There was opposition to the acceptance of the grant, and Judge Hanna was elected to the Legislature as a champion of the canal. He had previously served in the House in 1826, and his subsequent membership of that body was in 1831 and 1840. He had served in the Senate from 1832 to 1836. He went to New York to purchase the instruments, which he brought on horseback from Detroit to Fort Wayne, when the survey was begun on the St. Joseph River, Mr.



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Burr acting as rod man and Mr. Hanna as axe man, both at ten dollars per month. The climate vanquished the engineer on the second section, and the two invincible pioneers continued the work alone. They reported to the next Legislature, and Judge Hanna, being a member, secured the passage of an act authorizing the construction of the canal. No one contributed more to the success of the work in the early and trying years of its history than Samuel Hanna. From 1828 to 1836 he was successively canal commissioner and fund commissioner, negotiating the money with which the work was carried on, besides acting in the Legislature as chairman of the canal committee.

During the same period, he took a prominent part in the organization of the financial policy of the State, subsequent to the veto of the "United States Bank Act." The creation of state banks being recommended by the president, Judge Hanna was given an opportunity to consider the proper measures to take in that direction. He strenuously opposed and defeated a measure proposed, and in the next Legislature was given, as chairman of the committee having the measure in charge, the duty of drafting a charter. This he did so wisely that the state banking system of Indiana, which stood until the time of the Civil War, was always substantial and a credit to Indiana. A branch was at once established at Fort Wayne, of which Judge Hanna was president for a considerable period.

In 1836, Judge Hanna purchased the remaining land interests of Barr and McCorkle, now within the city limits, and until the opening of the canal brought a large increase in population he was much embarrassed by this absorption of his capital. But he never distressed those who had purchased his lands and failed in meeting their obligations, preferring to suffer inconvenience himself, and many landowners owe their prosperity today to his kindness. After the building of the canal, an era followed in improvement which may be termed the plank road epoch. Jesse Vermilyea visited some of these highways in the East and Canada, and his report incited Judge Hanna and others to the construction of such roads for the benefit of Fort Wayne. A route was provided by the canal from East to West, substantially that of the Wabash railroad of today, and now a route from North to South, a forerunner of the Grand Rapids & Indiana road, was a desideratum. The Fort Wayne &

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Lima (La Grange county) Plank Road Company was organized, and stock subscriptions solicited. But cash was very scarce, and subscriptions were mostly made in goods, land and labor. Nearly all the necessary capital was borrowed from the branch bank, and this was spent in erecting saw mills. Contractors being timid, Judge Hanna himself took the first ten miles north of Fort Wayne and personally supervised, axe in hand, and did much of the work. Like a born general he led, and as a necessary sequel, others followed. With the co-operation of William Mitchell, Drusus Nichols, and others, within two years there was a plank road from Fort Wayne to Ontario, a distance of fifty miles. This, the pioneer plank road of northern Indiana, was followed by the Pipua road, in which Mr. Hanna was also an indispensable factor.

Now the era opened in which the prosperity of cities depended upon the building of railroads, and again Judge Hanna led the army of progress. Peculiarly in this direction did he have the great influence upon the future of Fort Wayne, in the growth of which the railroad industries have had a predominant part. When that grand national line of railway which is now the pride and strength of Fort Wayne, and with which his name is forever identified, the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago railway, was first projected—beginning with the section from Pittsburgh to Massillon, thence from Massillon to Crestline, thence from Crestline to Fort Wayne, and finally developing in the grand idea of a consolidated continuous line of railway from Pittsburgh to Chicago—Judge Hanna was among the first to see, to appreciate, and to take hold of the golden enterprise that was, in ten years time, to bring Fort Wayne from the condition of an insignificant country town to rank and dignity among the first commercial and manufacturing cities of Indiana. When the construction reached Crestline, Judge Hanna and his friends induced the voting of a subscription of one hundred thousand dollars by Allen county, which was the turning point toward the completion of the enterprise. Judge Hanna, Pliny Hoagland and William Mitchell took the contract for the construction of the section from Crestline to Fort Wayne, one hundred and thirty-one miles, but in a short time funds gave out, the work stopped, and gloom overspread the hopes of the city. Dr. Merriman, the president of the company, resigned. In this emergency the great strength of character of Samuel Hanna was the unfailing resource.

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He was elected president, and in three days was in the East, pledging the individual credit of the contractors for the necessary funds. Being successful, he hastened to Montreal and Quebec, and redeemed the iron, which was held for transportation charges. The work was resumed, and in November, 1854, the trains from Philadelphia ran into Fort Wayne.

While not overwhelmed with the work just mentioned, the Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad Company was organized and Judge Hanna was elected president. Money was to be derived from the sale of stocks and bonds which, when paid, amounted in cash to less than three per cent. of the cost of construction and equipment. The main part of the subscription was paid in land and labor. The sale of bonds was slow and discouraging. Quoting the appreciative words of Hon. J. K. Edgertoun:

The powerful corporation, now so strong and prosperous, measuring its annual income by well nigh half a score of million dollars, from the fall of 1854 to the close of 1860, passed through a fearful struggle, not only for the completion of its work, but for its own corporate and financial life. The financial disasters of 1857 found the consolidated company with an incomplete road, with meager revenues, and a broken credit. Many of its best friends, even among its own managers, were inclined to grow weary and to faint by the way.

Through all this trying period no man worked more faithfully and hopefully, or was consulted more freely, or leaned upon with more confidence than Judge Hanna. He was a tower of strength to an almost ruined enterprise. He was at brief times gloomy and desponding, but he was a man of large hope and a robust physical organization, that eminently fitted him to stand up and toil on to a successful end. No man who has ever been connected with the management of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad has had a larger share of confidence of all interested in it than Judge Hanna possessed. In all phases of the company affairs, in the midst of negotiations involving the most vital interests in Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and New York, surrounded by the most sagacious financiers and railway men of the country, such men as J. F. D. Lanier, Richard H. Winslow, John Ferguson, Charles Moran, J. Edgar Thompson, William B. Ogden, George W. Cass and Amasa Stone. There was in Judge Hanna a weight of character, a native sagacity, and farseeing judgment, and a fidelity of purpose to the public trust he represented that commanded the respect of all and made him a peer of the ablest of them. Judge Hanna was especially the advocate and guardian of the local in-



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terests of the road. He was ever watchful for the home stockholders, the local trade, the rights and interests of the towns and counties on the railway and of the men who worked on the road. In those dark days, when the company did not, or could not, always pay its men, and suffering and strikes were impending, Judge Hanna sympathized with, and did all he could for, the men on the road who earned their daily bread by the work of their hands. He had always in his mind the welfare of Fort Wayne and worked unceasingly for the establishment of the immense shops of the company in this city. In this he had the aid of able men, but he had to encounter the opposition of others no less active. By direct demand, by strategy and invincible persistence in the meetings of the directors, he pursued his object to success.

Before the road reached Chicago, the consolidation and formation of the great Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad Company was accomplished, mainly through the efforts of Judge Hanna, who became vice-president. The road being completed to Plymouth, there was sentiment in using another line from that point to Chicago, but Mr. Hanna pressed for an independent, through line, and was soon successful.

About three months before the end of his career he was called to a meeting at Grand Rapids of the directors of the proposed Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad Company, another project which languished, and was chosen president of the company, though he feared to assume the responsibility. In addition to these greater projects, Judge Hanna was a partner in the establishment of a woolen factory, the Great Bass Foundry and Machine Shops, and the Olds' manufactories, to the founding of which he contributed capital.

His religious training was in the faith of the Presbyterian church, of which his father was an elder for some fifty years. He (Judge Hanna) joined that church in 1843, and was a ruling elder during the greater part of the remainder of his life.

His last illness was of short duration. Taken ill June 6, 1866, he died on the 11th. The city of Fort Wayne mourned as it never had before. The council, passing resolutions of sorrow, adjourned; houses were draped with sombre crepe; and the railroad shops and buildings were festooned with evergreen, through which ran the inscription, "Samuel Hanna, Workingman's Friend." The bells of the churches tolled in unison while a procession two miles in length followed his mortal remains to the grave.

Marked features of Judge Hanna's character were his untiring energy, hopefulness, and self-reliance. He was not a polished or highly educated man, nor enjoyed the benefits of a higher education than schools can give. He was eminently a leader, a general of civil life, and an administrator of affairs. Not a man of minutiae or



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notably systematic, his office was to call such intellects as lieutenants to his service, while he held in his broad and comprehensive mind the great plan with all its bearings and objects. He was a planer and a builder rather than a legislator. With high elements of statesmanship in his character, the work that lay before him was of the formative kind, and to him was given the opportunity to be higher than a statesman, in that he was one of those great characters of imperishable memory, who are known as the builders of cities and the founders of commonwealths. Like all such men his private life was irreproachable and his family life quaint and lovable. A monument to this noble man stands in the beautiful Lindenwood Cemetery, but Fort Wayne itself is his most worthy memorial, and right worthily might be copied for Samuel Hanna that famous epitaph to the architect of the great London Cathedral, "*Si monumentum quaeris circumspice.*"

The homestead of Samuel Hanna is still in its original form, situated on Lewis street. It was built in 1832, and his children were all born and reared in it. His only surviving child is Eliza Hanna Hayden, widow of the late Fred J. Hayden, who has occupied the homestead for a great many years. She is one of the charter members of the Fort Wayne Historical Society and is its present vice-president, served as president of the Fort Wayne Young Women's Christian Association for eight years, and is still active in various church, welfare, civic, social and charitable societies. She is a member of the First Presbyterian Church, and is connected with its various missionary activities, that church having been founded and built by her father.

Judge Samuel Hanna married, in Fort Wayne, Indiana, March 7, 1822, Eliza Taylor, who was born at Clinton, now a part of Buffalo, New York, February 13, 1803, daughter of Israel and Mary (Blair) Taylor, of Massachusetts. She came to Fort Wayne on a visit with her sister, Mrs. Laura Sittenfield. Mrs. Hanna possessed great nobility of character, great personal courage, and the ability to handle the affairs of home and society with ease. Although delicate in appearance, she possessed a strong constitution, and was to her husband an encouraging helpmate, an over ready friend to all those in need, and her long life was spent in well doing. Eliza (Taylor) Hanna's Grandfather Blair was an officer in the Revolutionary War, and lived to the age of over one hundred years. Eliza (Taylor) Hanna died in the Hanna homestead, Fort Wayne, In-



HISTORIC HANNA HOMESTEAD  
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA









*American Historical Society*

*Eng. by T. A. S. & Co.*

*Mr  
Fred J. Hayden*



*Mrs. Eliza Hanna Hayden*



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diana, February 12, 1888, having lived in this fine, old homestead for twenty-one years after the death of her husband. Judge and Mrs. Samuel Hanna became the parents of twelve sons and one daughter, eight of the sons growing to manhood, also the daughter, namely: 1. James Bayless. 2. Amos Thomas. 3. Henry Clay. 4. Charles. 5. Samuel Telford. 6. Horace Hovey. 7. William Willis. 8. Hugh Taylor. 9. Eliza, widow of Hon. Fred J. Hayden, resides at the Hanna homestead in Fort Wayne, Indiana. The Taylor coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Taylor Arms*—Ermine, on a chief dancettee sable a ducal coronet or, between two escallops argent.

*Crest*—A demi-lion rampant sable holding between the paws a ducal coronet or.

*Motto*—*Optissima quaeque Deus dabit.*

The Blair coat-of-arms is as follows:

*Blair Arms*—Argent on a saltire sable nine mascles of the first.

*Crest*—A stag lodged proper.

*Motto*—*Amo probos.*

(The Hayden Line).

Fred J. Hayden, whose name is worthy of a prominent place in the list of men whose true worth has made Fort Wayne and Indiana most clearly entitled to superior recognition, is a man devoted to the public interests, and he has contributed generously of his talents and abilities to further the interest of all the people. As a business man his influence tended to raise to a high plane the various enterprises with which he was connected.

Fred J. Hayden was born in Cobourg, in the province of Ontario, Canada, the son of Rev. William and Jane (Kirsop) Hayden, both natives of England. His parents, ever interested in his advancement, provided the means for excellent educational advantages in his home town, after which he entered Victoria College, where he was graduated as a member of the class of 1864. Two years afterward he was honored by his *alma mater* with the degree of Master of Arts. Following the period of his graduation, Mr. Hayden's abilities, while still a youth, were recognized in his connection with the Cobourg and Marmora Railway and Mining Company as its secretary, which position he held for a number of years. He resigned his connection with this concern in 1874, and came directly to Fort Wayne, which was his residence until the time of his death, thirty-two years later. He early identified himself with the best



## HANNA—HAYDEN FAMILIES

element in the city in its civic and social life, and lost no time in taking the steps to qualify as a citizen of the United States.

In 1884 Mr. Hayden was elected as the representative of the people of Allen county in the Indiana House of Representatives, and here, for two terms, he served with signal efficiency. In 1888 still higher appreciation and honor were accorded him in his election as State Senator to represent the counties of Allen and Witley. At the latter election he was given an unusually large and flattering majority, and his capabilities for the high office were manifested during the two sessions of his service in the Senate. As a member of this body he was active in securing the passage of the Australian election law in 1889, and of the new tax law in 1891. These two enactments were considered a splendid advance step in modern legislation. Soon after locating in Fort Wayne, Mr. Hayden became connected prominently with the management of the First National Bank as a member of its directorate, and he identified himself with the management of a number of large estates in Fort Wayne, a business which he conducted with much credit to himself and profit to his clients.

When the matter of holding the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 was agitated, and when the most dependable and intelligent men of the various states were called upon to take an active part in furthering the great enterprise, Mr. Hayden was among the first to receive recognition. In May, 1891, he was appointed by Governor Hovey as one of the World's Fair Commissioners, and in June of the same year, at the initial session of the commissioners, he was unanimously elected treasurer of the World's Fair Managers of Indiana, which responsible and exacting office he filled to the entire satisfaction of the commission and the people of his State. It has been very truthfully claimed that it was owing to the careful and conservative management of the funds appropriated for this magnificent enterprise by the State that Indiana was enabled to make such a typical and representative showing, and to keep its building open until the close of the exposition period. It is worthy of record in this connection that when all accounts were finally adjusted and all expenses met, Mr. Hayden was enabled to turn back into the State Treasury nearly two thousand dollars. The selection of Mr. Hayden, a Democrat, by Governor Hovey, a Republican, to serve in this connection, discloses Governor Hovey's ability to recognize dependability and public spirit regardless of



Blair

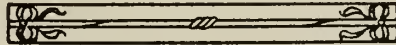


## HANNA—HAYDEN FAMILIES

party affiliations. As a university graduate, together with practical application of the principles learned in the home and in the school, Mr. Hayden was particularly well fitted, by reason of his many sterling qualities of heart and mind, to fittingly fill the varying positions to which he was called.

In 1873 was solemnized the marriage of Mr. Hayden to Eliza Hanna, the only daughter of the late Judge Samuel Hanna, for many years recognized as Fort Wayne's foremost citizen, and their home on East Lewis street was the scene of much social activity during the life of Mr. Hayden. The Hanna homestead, which was built by her honorable father in the year 1832, is still one of the interesting show places of Fort Wayne, being the only pioneer dwelling to be kept in its original form. Mrs. Eliza (Hanna) Hayden has been associated with many prominent women's organizations in her native city during her life, and has served for a period of eight years as the president of the Young Women's Christian Association. She has also been at the head of the Women's League and several of Fort Wayne's literary clubs and societies; is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and a member of the First Presbyterian Church, which was founded by her father, Judge Hanna. She is much interested in the activities of this church and its missionary societies. She was one of the founders and is vice-president of the Fort Wayne Historical Society.

The death of Fred J. Hayden occurred on December 30, 1906, and his passing was widely mourned throughout the State. He was a Mason of high degree, and in the matter of his church affiliation it should be stated that he was reared in the Congregational faith, became a member of the Church of England, and when he became a resident of Fort Wayne he became a member of the Presbyterian church, in the advancement of whose interests he gave much of his time and those more material benefits without which any institution prospers but indifferently.





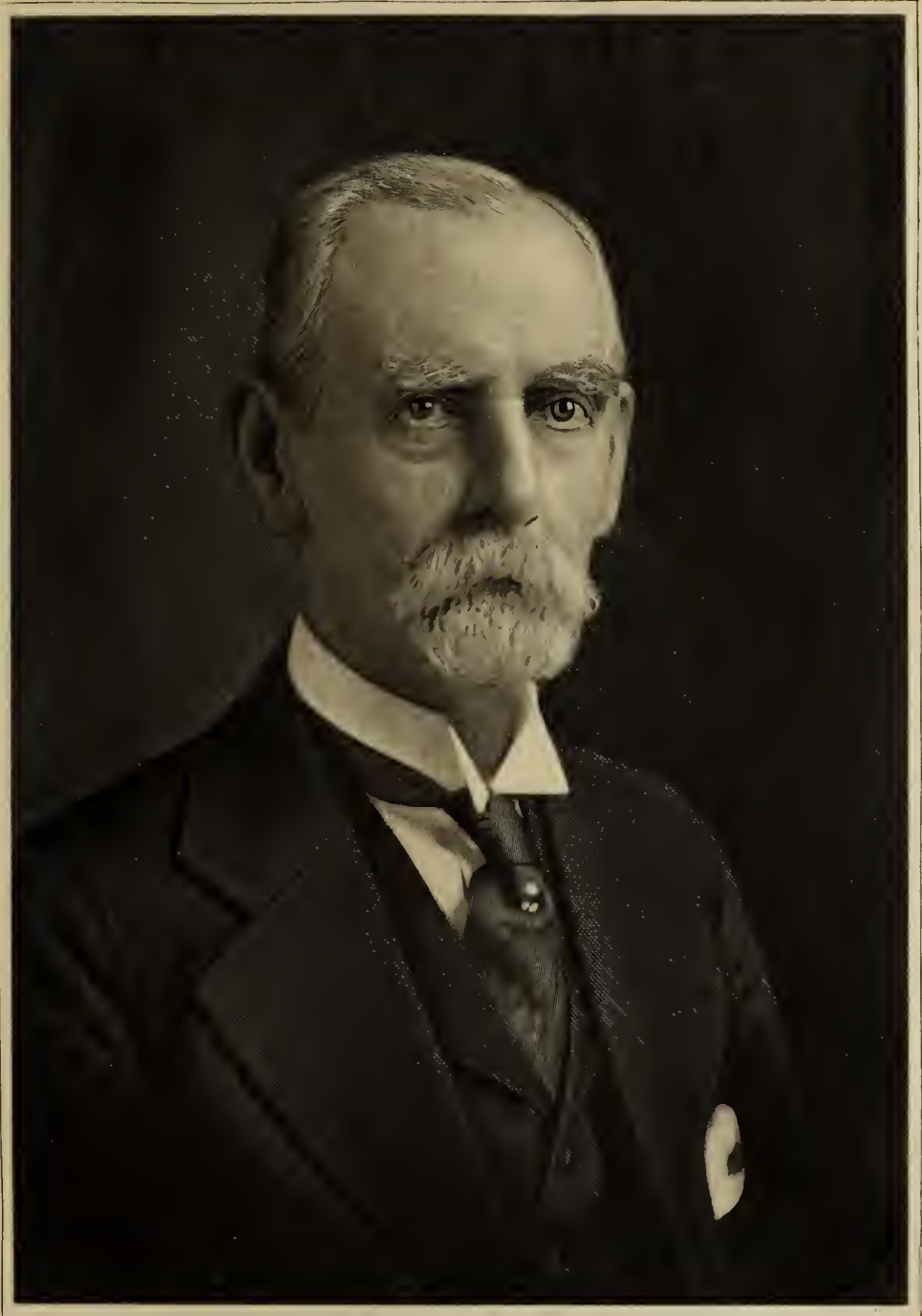
## J. Harvey Smedley

BY WALTER C. ROBERTS, WINDSOR, NEW YORK



HE late J. Harvey Smedley needs no introduction to the vast majority of sound-thinking men and women in the metropolitan area, for his name has been synonymous with thrift and saving for more than half a century, and at the same time has been antonymous to carelessness and thoughtlessness in monetary matters. During those five decades Mr. Smedley achieved an enviable reputation as a banker and financier, and this reputation was founded on those sound basic principles of thrift, sound judgment, honesty, integrity, probity, and a comprehensive knowledge of what specie and currency mean and stand for. In developing savings banks he gave a mighty forward impetus to community progress and prosperity; and as the protagonist in founding the first school savings bank he instituted an ever-growing movement which inculcates the habits of thrift, economy and frugality in the minds of thousands of American school children. His career, viewed only in the light as the "father of school savings," constitutes a record of which any man could well be proud. And his career as a whole, in all of its many ramifications, shows clearly that his life was not lived in vain, but that it was unusually constructive and beneficent, and that he served humanity wisely and well.

J. Harvey Smedley was descended from a line of sturdy New Englanders, men and women who braved the hardships and perils of the wilderness of America, who took leading parts in colonization, who labored mightily with their hands that fields of waving grain and neat farm buildings might take the place of unbroken and almost impenetrable forests, who fought against the tyranny of a thoughtless monarch that democracy might live in the New World, and who aided in countless ways the growth and advancement of these United States. The Smedleys of America were descended from the Smedleys of England, who are found mentioned in the ancient records of Yorkshire as far back as the year 1379. The coat-of-arms borne by the English Smedleys, and borne in this



*J. H. Meadley*









Arms of Smedley

## J. HARVEY SMEDLEY

country by their descendants through inheritance, lineage and custom, is as follows (authority of Burke's "General Armory" (page 935); Fairbairn's "Crests," (page 438), and S. L. Smedley's "Genealogy of the Smedley Family"):

*Arms*—Ermine, a chevron lozengy or and azure.

*Crest*—An eagle's head erased sable.

The first pioneers to bear this ancient and honorable English patronymic in America were two brothers, John and Baptist Smedley, who came from Odell, Bedfordshire, in Old England, and settled in Concord, Colony of Massachusetts, in New England, in the year 1636. From them and their sons, Samuel, James and John, are descended all of the New England and most of the New York State Smedleys. The Smedleys of Pennsylvania, on the other hand, are descended from George Smedley, who came from England and settled in Chester County, Colony of Pennsylvania, about the year 1682. The New England Smedleys removed from Massachusetts to Connecticut, where a very flourishing family was established. Some of the Connecticut Smedleys (*i. e.* Aaron, John, Moses, Elisha and others) removed to Vermont, where the family has since become widespread, numerous and prominent. It was from the Vermont branch of the Smedley family that J. Harvey Smedley was lineally descended, for on January 27, 1900, he wrote: "My father's parents died before he was seven years of age. I know that he was born in Vermont."

J. Harvey Smedley was born in Lockport, Niagara County, New York, November 24, 1840, and died at his home in Woodmere, Nassau County, New York, July 4, 1925, aged eighty-four years, seven months and eight days. His early education was acquired in the local public schools of his birthplace, following which he attended the Rochester Institute. Shortly after the completion of his schoolastic work he was appointed assistant postmaster of the town of Suspension Bridge, Niagara County, New York, by President Abraham Lincoln. It is interesting to note that Mr. Smedley later became a personal friend of the "Great Emancipator," and in 1861 acted as honorary vice-president of a mass meeting in Cooper Union where Abraham Lincoln delivered an important address. At the end of the meeting President Lincoln handed to Mr. Smedley the original manuscript of his speech and notes, and this priceless man-

## J. HARVEY SMEDLEY

uscript was cherished and preserved by Mr. Smedley as one of his greatest treasures until the end of his days.

In 1863 Mr. Smedley removed to Chicago, Illinois, where he became superintendent of the then little-known N. K. Fairbanks Company, and through his efficiency and ability he did much to start the company on the road to success and its present general high recognition. In 1865 he returned East, settling at Long Island City, where he established the Smedley Company, manufacturers of lubricating oils, with a factory at Tenth and Canal streets. One of the company's products was lard oil, which supplied a new illuminating substance to replace the tallow candle, and proved most lucrative until the development and perfection of Kerosene Oil. Large contracts with the United States Government were secured and filled, which proved very satisfactory to both contracting parties. Mr. Smedley continued as the executive head of this company for a period of twelve years, and at the end of that time determined to retire on the sufficient wealth he had amassed.

The second important phase of his career began when Mr. Smedley found that a retired life grew irksome and unbearable. He was far too vital and energetic by nature to be content unless he was in some constructive work. He therefore allied himself with about twelve of Long Island City's most prominent business men for the organization of the Long Island City Savings Bank in 1876, one of the pioneer institutions of its kind. He accepted the dual position of secretary and manager, planning to conduct just enough business for the bank to keep him interested in life. The venture, however, was a complete success from the very start, and Mr. Smedley soon found that he had thrown himself into the work heart and soul. The institution continued to grow, and in direct proportion to its growth Mr. Smedley gave freely of his energy and great financial abilities, impelled by his own ideals to give of his very best to whatever task presented itself to him.

Still another phase of his remarkably varied career began when he instituted the custom of financing home building and industrial development. Long Island City of today is greatly indebted to Mr. Smedley for his foresight and business prescience in this matter, since that city's busy industrial centre today is very largely the result of his efforts. The two homes built by the bank clearly indicate its steady growth. The first, a three-story building at Jackson Ave-

## J. HARVEY SMEDLEY

nue, near Third Street, which in 1894 was the most important structure of that section, and the present fine and imposing building at Queensborough Bridge Plaza, an enduring and fitting monument to Mr. Smedley's indefatigable work for thrift amongst old and young alike. About six years before his death he resigned from the office of secretary and manager, and accepted the position of chairman of the finance committee of the Long Island City Savings Bank, a responsible and important office which he was filling with his usual ability at the time of his death. One of his associates in the initial organization of the bank was Walter Frew, now president of the Corn Exchange Bank.

To Mr. Smedley goes the honor of being the originator, with the expert assistance of John H. Thiery, of the school savings bank system, now in general use throughout the country. It is said that his idea germinated from his own son's penny extravagance on candy as a small boy, and his success in convincing him to substitute a savings account as a better investment. Mr. Smedley perfected the idea and inaugurated the first school savings bank in Public School No. 4, Long Island City, and the success which almost immediately attended the unique departure fully vindicated his provision and good business sense. This was more than thirty years ago, and today Mr. Smedley's plan is being carried on in practically every public school in the United States. Thus, when the term "Father of School Savings" was applied to him, it was an especially apt and fitting tribute to his genius in monetary and public welfare matters. Further proof of his financial genius is the remarkable growth of the bank in whose formation he was an important factor; for the bank has grown with the community until at the present time (1925) it has assets well in excess of \$200,000,000. Mr. Smedley had the reputation of being an infallible judge of real estate values, and his associates claim that the bank never lost money on a real estate transaction approved by him. He was a firm believer in the future growth and prosperity of Long Island City, and that his belief was well founded is evidenced by the present flourishing condition of that city.

A life as busy as Mr. Smedley's left but little time or opportunity for non-professional activities. He was, however, an active member of the New York State Bankers' Association, the National Bankers' Association, the Long Island City Business Men's Asso-



## J. HARVEY SMEDLEY

ciation, and an organizer of the Queensboro Chamber of Commerce. His fraternal affiliations were given entirely to the great Masonic fraternity, being a member of Island City Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; Banner Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; New York Consistory, Thirty-second Degree Masons; and Mecca Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

J. Harvey Smedley married (first), in the year 1861, Frances Pierce, of Niagara Falls, New York, whose death occurred in 1885. He married (second), in 1888, Henrietta M. Whidden, of New York City, who survives him and continues to live at the family home on Central Avenue, Woodmere, Long Island.

The death of Mr. Smedley, which occurred at his home in Woodmere, Long Island, on July 4, 1925, lost to Long Island City in particular and the metropolitan area in general an astute financier and able banker, a man whose business and financial activities had always been governed by the strictest of ethical codes, and a man who as a good citizen and loyal American will be greatly missed. A fitting tribute to the exemplary life of this noble man was paid by George F. Ryan, president of the Board of Education of New York City, at a meeting of the trustees of the Long Island City Savings Bank. Mr. Ryan said, in part:

J. Harvey Smedley exemplified the true citizen; the upright and the conscientious savings bank trustee. He was all that is noble in mankind.

He was the guide and counsellor to thousands of our citizens who knew and respected him. The depositors of this bank felt a double security in having a man of his fine character responsible for the funds of the bank. Nothing pertaining to the interest of depositors was left undone.

Kindly in nature, sympathetic to all, possessing a fine and well-balanced disposition, he met those who had business with this institution in a gentle, friendly and businesslike way.

His life was devoted to the welfare of the community and to the inculcation of the highest ideals of citizenship, which he emulated and exemplified.

References: Burke's: "General Armory." (2 Editions.) Matthews': "American Armoury." (2 Editions.) Fairbairn's: "Crests." Bardsley's: "English and Welsh Surnames." (2 Editions.) Lower's: "Patronymica Britannica." Savage's: "New England Genealogical Dictionary." (4 volumes.) Smedley's: "Genealogy of the Smedley Family." (1901.) Savings Bank Journal. (August, 1925.) Newspaper clippings. Family data.





Engraved.

*Albert James Francis*

## Albert James Francis

BY HEROLD R. FINLEY, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



THE patronymic Francis is a corruption of "le Fraunceys," which, when first applied in the surname epoch, connoted "a Frenchman." The terminal *eys* is the same as *ish*, as in Cornish, Kentish, Welsh, etc. The name in its original form of le Fraunceys soon became le Franceys, le Franceis, Franceis, Frances, and finally, Francis. Unlike many family names the older forms have been continued by various branches, and many families of Fraunceys, Franceys, Franceis and Frances are extant today. The family has ramified in an extraordinary way, both in the British Isles and America. That the patronymic is an ancient one in England is proved by the thirteenth and fourteenth century records, which contain many instances of the name. The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) mentions Richard le Fraunceys; the *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem* has the name of Gilbert le Franceys; the *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Londinensi* gives Henry le Franceis; while the Poll Tax of Yorkshire for the year 1379 mentions Adam Fraunceys and Johannes Frawnses. As time went on the straightforward English speech dropped the typically French *le*, as well as some of the superfluous vowels of the name proper. This was due to three reasons: (1) colloquialism, (2) the inability of the Anglo-Saxon tongue to master the nuances and phonic intricacies of the French surnames, and (3) the varying amounts of education—especially in spelling—on the part of the early clerks and keepers of vital statistics. Had it not been for the above causes the present-day patronymic Francis would still appear in its original and rightful form of "le Fraunceys." As was heretofore stated, many branches of the English family have clung to the early forms of the name, minus the *le*. Burke's "General Armory" lists thirty-six coats-of-arms for the various branches of the Fraunceys, Franceys, Franceis, Frances and Francis families—indubious proof that the family was one of great distinction and prominence in the British Isles.



## ALBERT JAMES FRANCIS

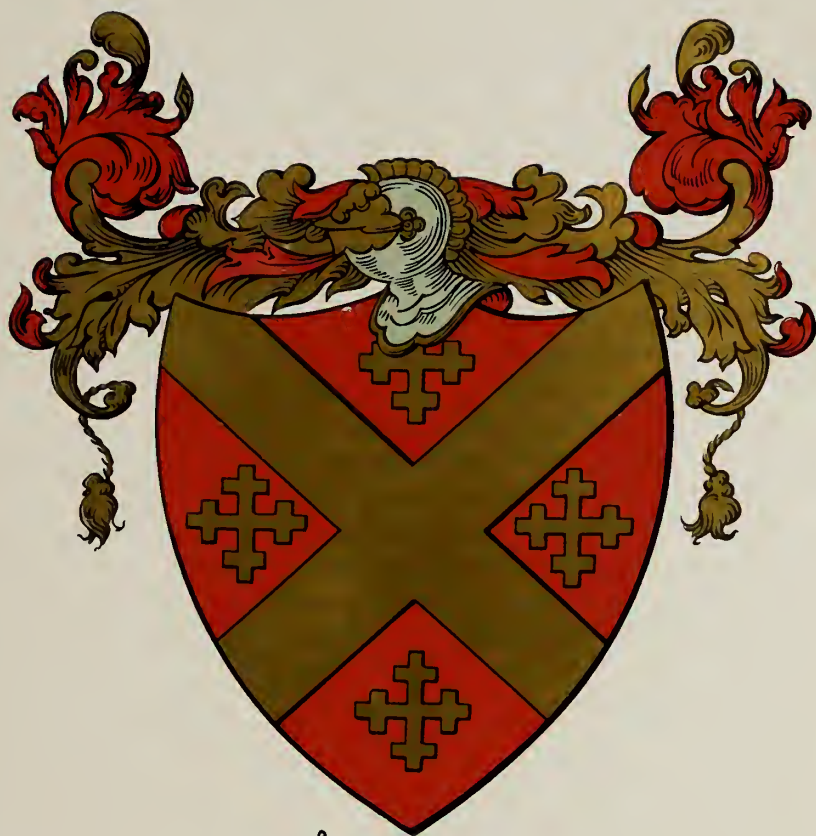
The preceding armorial device is one of the most ancient, having been borne prior to 1342, and having been granted to Fraunceys.

*Fraunceys-Francis Arms*—Gules, a saltire between four crosses crosslet or.

Albert James Francis, son of Charles T. and Sarah (Ware) Francis, was born in Alexandria, Campbell County, Kentucky, January 4, 1871. His early education was received in the public schools of his birthplace, following which he attended an academy in Scottsville, Kentucky. He then took a course in contracting and building at the Cincinnati Technical School, Cincinnati, Ohio, which specialized knowledge he amplified under the expert tutelage of his father, Charles T. Francis, who was also a carpenter and builder. Mr. Francis remained in the employ of his father until he had attained sufficient experience in the various lines of building work and had become an efficient journeyman. At the age of twenty-three Mr. Francis embarked on his chosen career by removing to Covington, Kentucky, where he erected a number of fine residences. He then obtained government contracts and erected barracks at the Soldiers' Homes of Danville, Illinois, and Dayton, Ohio, where his unusual ability brought his work into prominence.

The year 1903 marked Mr. Francis' coming to St. Louis, Missouri, where his life-work was to be carried on successfully. At first he was engaged in general building work, but he paved his way to success by accumulating real estate on which he put up his own buildings. Most of his activities were confined to the west side residential and apartment house section. Some of the finest apartment houses in St. Louis today were the result of his prevision and great talent in building. He built a large majority of the houses and flats on Parkland Place, and in the year 1907 alone he completed eighty buildings—a record which has never been surpassed by one contractor in a year's time. At the time of his death he was one of the largest individual real estate owners in the city. Mr. Francis was also a director of the Maryville Hotel Company, and was president of the Francis Construction Company, which was devoted to the improvement of property.

Politically, Mr. Francis was a staunch Democrat, and fraternally he held membership in Tuscan Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; Moolah Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; and Red Cross Lodge, No. 54, Knights of Pythias.



Francis  
Francis



## ALBERT JAMES FRANCIS

He was also an active member of the North Hills Country Club, the Missouri Athletic Association, and the Mercantile Club, and was very fond of golf and travel. His religious affiliation was given to the Baptist Church.

Albert James Francis was married at Covington, Kentucky, in 1895, to Nettie R. Brussman, a daughter of Augustus Francis and Lydale (Linnville) Brussman, residents of Covington. Mr. and Mrs. Francis were the parents of one son, Albert James Francis, Jr., born April 2, 1906.

Albert James Francis died at his home, No. 5374 Delmar Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri, on July 30, 1924, during his fifty-fourth year. His death, at this comparatively young age, came as a great shock to his wife and son and his many friends, and robbed the Fourth City of one of its most progressive and influential citizens. Mr. Francis was a genial man, with a dominant yet engaging personality, and he numbered his friends and acquaintances by the score. He was distinctly a self-made man, and that he rose to success and wealth through his own determination and indefatigable energy, is but added proof to the truism that "blood will tell." His achievements in the world of business reflected great credit not only upon himself but upon the ancient Anglo-Saxon stock of the British Isles from which he sprung. He was fundamentally and essentially a sincere patriot and citizen of these United States, for real patriotism and true citizenship are predicated solely upon the constructive efforts put forth for the upbuilding and advancement of one's country. That Albert James Francis contributed in no small degree to giving an impetus to the growth of St. Louis is an established and very evident fact. Through his own activities he left this world a little better than he found it—which is the highest and noblest ideal of man.

References: Burke's "General Armory"; Matthews' "American Armoury" (2 Vols.); Fairbairn's "Crests"; Bardsley's "English and Welsh Surnames"; Stevens' "St. Louis: History of the Fourth City," (pp. 426-427); Family data.



# Thomas Leyland

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



HOMAS LEYLAND, to whose life history these following pages are devoted, was for many years a prominent business man and representative citizen of the cities of Boston and Dorchester, Massachusetts; and his death in the early part of the year 1905 lost to those great communities a man whose life and deeds in all their many ramifications were distinct assets. He was a native of England, a representative of one of the oldest Norman-Saxon families in the British Isles. The name first came into existence during the Hereditary Surname Epoch (1250-1450), and was assumed as a surname by persons living in Layland Parish, of which there are two, both found in Lancashire. The name was originally spelled Layland, from which we have the present-day forms of Leyland, Leeland, and Leland. A valuable note by Albert Way in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Society, 1865), page 285, on the word "lay, londe not Telyd," explains the meaning. Amongst other authorities he quotes "laylande, *terre nouvellement labouree*," (Palsgrave); "A leylande, *frisca terra*," (Catholicon Anglicum); and "selio, a lee lande," (Ortus). Thus, Layland and Leyland are found to mean, simply, fallow or unploughed ground. Lay, lea, and lee are interchangeable, as well as alike in meaning.

The name is often found in the ancient English church and civic records and archives. The Poll Tax of the West Riding of Yorkshire for the year 1379 gives the name of Johannes (*i. e.* John) Leyden on page 161; while the Lancashire Wills at Richmond (1457-1680) mention Ellis Leyland, of Nether Wyersdale, in 1679, and Thomas Lealand, of Nether Wyersdaile, in 1670. In 1688, William Layland, son of Richard Layland, was baptized at St. James Clerkenwell. The name in all its forms (Layland, Leyland, Leeland, Lealand, and Leland) spread rapidly throughout the British Isles, and is today (1925), several centuries after its inception, also to be found in large numbers in the United States. The above derivation of the patronymic is by authority of Mark Antony Lower's "Patronymica Britannica" (1860); and Charles Wareing Bardsley's (late Honor-



Thomas Heyland









KEYLAND

## THOMAS LEYLAND

ary Canon of Carlisle Cathedral) "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames."

From this ancient family of Layland was the late Thomas Leyland lineally descended.

It is an occupation alike of pleasure and profit to trace the life histories of those successful men whose achievements have been the result of their own unaided efforts, who, without even the average advantages surrounding the typical youth, have worked themselves up the ladder of accomplishment until they have found secure places in the regard and admiration of their fellows. An occupation of pleasure because the human mind is so constituted that it cannot fail to respond to the story of strong deeds worthily performed, of profit because the inevitable fruit of such pleasure is imitation of the thing admired, even though it be unconscious imitation. Of such histories we in this country are fortunate in having an unusual number to stand for us as types of wholesome conduct leading to well merited success, such as cannot fail to have a happy influence upon the ideals and ambitions of the young. Such a record, so fraught with beneficent possibilities for others, is to be found in the story of Thomas Leyland, for many years one of the substantial business men and representative citizens of the city of Boston and of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and whose death on February 18, 1905, was felt as a real loss by that community. It is our misfortune that the limits of space will not permit a more detailed account of a career so full of matter, but even a recitation of merely the salient points thereof cannot fail to illustrate the point of our contention and prove of service to read.

Born at Swinton, England, in the year 1829, Thomas Leyland was a fine example of the fundamental virtues and sterling qualities which have made his race a dominant one in the history of the modern world. The family is an old and honored one, the coat-of-arms being as follows:

*Arms*—Argent, on a fess sable a lion passant between two escallops of the field, in chief nine ears of barley gules, three, three and three, each placed one in pale and two in saltire and banded with a string or.

*Crest*—A demi-dove argent, wings endorsed azure, in the beak three ears of wheat or.

Thomas Leyland did not remain in his native land for more than twelve years, however, but at that age came to the United States by himself, and in spite of his youth at once set about mak-

## THOMAS LEYLAND

ing a living for himself. He had attended school in England during his early childhood and this was all the education of a formal nature which he received, but his tastes were always scholarly and he supplemented his rather meagre advantages in this direction by continual reading and studying on his own account. After reaching this country, he went to live in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and spent most of his early youth in that city and in the State of New Jersey, where he lived in several different places, and it was there that he eventually married. From New Jersey he came to New England and made his home for a time at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where he secured a position as overseer in the Pacific Mills. He had already considerable experience in the making of cotton goods, having worked in cotton factories consistently during his youth. He did not remain in Lawrence a great time, however, but went from there to the town of Cannelton, West Virginia, where he became superintendent of the Union Coal & Oil Company. Returning to Lawrence after a few years spent in West Virginia, he became connected with an English firm concerned in the manufacture of dye stuffs abroad and was active as its agent here. In this business of importing and distributing foreign dye stuffs, Mr. Leyland met with great success and found a market in all the mills of that vicinity. In 1880 he came to Dorchester and there made his home, continuing in the meantime the same importing business with an office at Nos. 18 and 20 India Street. Later, finding these quarters inadequate, he moved to No. 53 India Street and there maintained his office during the remainder of his life. His importing business grew to very large proportions and he became a very prominent figure in the business world of the community and an influence there. Upon reaching the age of sixty years, Mr. Leyland retired from the active management of the large business he had developed and contented himself with looking after his valuable estate. He was the owner of a large amount of property in Dorchester and was so active in developing the real estate interests of that city that his fellow-citizens asked permission to name a street after him and to this he consented provided they would spell it as he spelled his name, Leyland, and thus it came about that the present Leyland Street received its name.

Mr. Leyland was a man of independent mind and action and that to such an extent that he refused to identify himself with any particular political party, but voted for cause or candidate that



## THOMAS LEYLAND

appealed to his judgment as best for the community. He was a prominent member of the Masonic order and of the local lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. In religious belief Mr. Leyland was an Episcopalian and attended the Episcopal Church on Cushing Avenue, Dorchester. He was one of a family of five children born to his parents, William and Mary (Hirstwood) Leyland, both of whom lived and died in England. The five children, however, without exception, came to this country and identified themselves with its life.

Mr. Leyland was united in marriage with Jane Emblen Walsh, who like himself was a native of England. Mrs. Leyland came with her parents when only twelve months of age and grew up at her parent's home in the town of Bloomfield, New Jersey. Her parents were John and Ann (Emblen) Walsh, who were the parents of nine children. Mr. Walsh was a tin and coppersmith and followed that trade both in England and after coming to this country. Mr. and Mrs. Leyland were the parents of the following children: 1. Mary, now makes her home at No. 14 East Cottage Street, Uphams Corner, Roxbury, Massachusetts. She is an Episcopalian and active in the work of that church. 2. Samuel Henry, deceased; married Ida Wiswell, by whom he had one son, Thomas W. 3. Jane, who became the wife of Fred W. Gifford, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, who is a successful real estate man there. 4. Annie, deceased; was the wife of Albert I. Bradburg.

It is not always easy to determine definitely the intimate motives which form, as it were, the mainspring of any man's ambition, and the energies with which he forged his way over and through obstacles to success. Nor is it necessary that we do so in order to learn the lesson of his life. Provided that the methods he uses are such that under the test of the keenest scrutiny can only be judged worthy, it makes comparatively little difference what was the motive behind them. For of this we may rest assured that if the means be worthy and the end aimed at good the motives must partake of the same character for that rule is invariable which states that "by their fruits ye shall know them." Such was certainly true in Mr. Leyland's case, and insomuch as it is true are we benefitted by the making permanent of his record. He left behind him many who sincerely mourned his loss, for even those whose contact with him was the most casual quickly developed a real affection for him, and this is perhaps the final test of any man's worth.



## John Bernard Woestman

BY H. A. HULL, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



THE patronymic Woestman comes under the general heading of local surnames, and as is evidenced by Bardley's "English and Welsh Surnames," the penchant during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for adding a place-name to a font-name was almost universal, instances of this vogue occurring simultaneously in England, France, and Germany. In England we find recorded many forms and spellings of patronyms derived from North, East, West, and South, among the more common being "Geoffrey atte Westende," "Richard le Southern" (Sothern or Sotheran), "Thomas le Westrys," "Richard le Estrys," and many others. In Germany the teutonic counterpart of "atte Westende," "le Westman," and "le Westrys" was man-of-the-West, or "Wustemann," which in turn gave way to a colloquial corruption "Woestman." The family was long prominent in Germany and bore the preceding general arms. Down through the centuries the family came, gaining in influence and prestige, until in the person of John Bernard Woestman was born the desire to immigrate to a new land.

*Wüstemann-Woestman Arms*—Azure, on a mount of three hillocks vert three fir trees of the same, each surmounted by a mullet argent.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet or, a fir tree vert between two buffalo horns, one azure, the other argent.

John Bernard Woestman was born in Hanover, Germany, September 13, 1833, the son of Henry and Annie (Elbrecht) Woestman, and he was destined to be the progenitor of the American branch of the ancient German family of Woestman. He spent his boyhood in the place of his nativity, acquiring an education in the local public schools. At the age of eighteen years Mr. Woestman emigrated from Germany to America, settling in St. Louis, Missouri. He secured employment in a grocery store as a clerk, and in this humble capacity he laid the foundation upon which he later erected an imposing structure of business success. He evinced all those prerequisites which made for success: ability, efficiency, probity, and

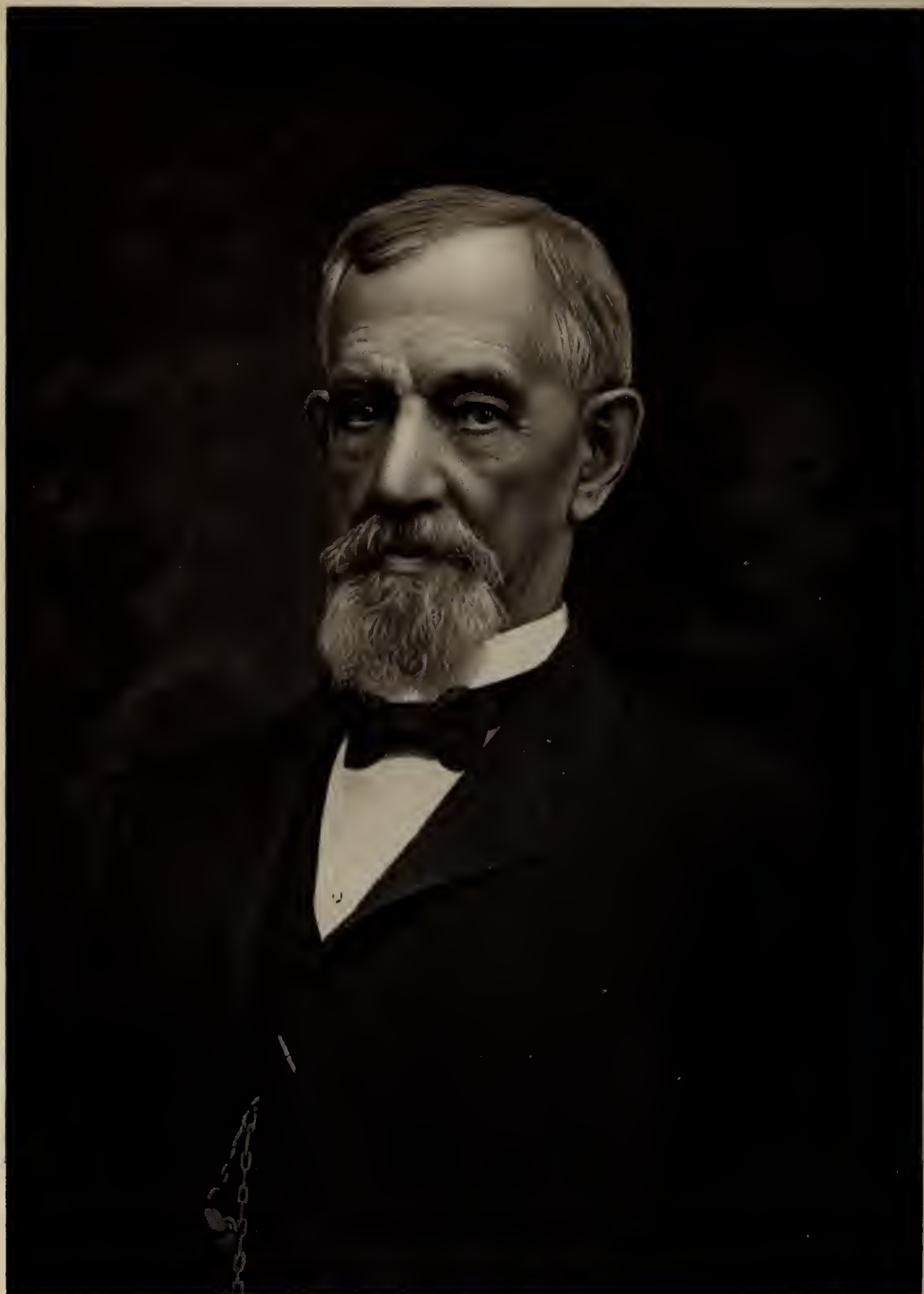


Wustemann  
(WOESTMAN)









The American Historical Society

Eng. by E. C. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

*John B. Woestman*



The American Historical Society

Eng. by E. W. Williams & Co. N. Y.

*Malinda Woestman*



## JOHN BERNARD WOESTMAN

energy, and so well did he apply himself, so indefatigable was his energy, and so constant his determination to succeed, that in a few years he had accumulated from his savings a sufficient amount of capital to embark on his own business venture. He turned his attention to the wholesale grocery business, becoming a member of the firm of Bushman Brothers & Company in 1860. In seven years' time Mr. Woestman had become senior member and controlled the greater part of the stock, and at this time (1867) the firm name became J. B. Woestman & Company. The firm was successful in business until 1870, at which time Mr. Woestman sold out in order to become a manufacturer of flour. He identified himself with the Camp Spring Milling Company, merchant millers, the enterprise enjoying prosperous continuance for almost a quarter of a century, at the end of which time the Terminal Railroad Association purchased the plant and removed the buildings from the right-of-way. Mr. Woestman at this time retired from active industrial and commercial pursuits, and confined his interests to financial matters. In 1895 he was elected to the vice-presidency of the Franklin Bank, of which he was a founder, and for more than forty years a director. During this same year he was elected president of the Franklin Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of which he had been a director since the year 1890, and he continued in this high executive office until the company's affairs were liquidated.

From 1874 to 1876 Mr. Woestman served as a member of the St. Louis City Council, and although the honors of political preferment attracted him but little, he was ever a protagonist in public welfare and civic progress. He was, essentially, an humanitarian, and any movement in the name of religion and charity never sought his support in vain. He was one of the founders of the German General Protestant Orphans' Home, Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis. He was also a charter member of the well-known Altenheim. His religious affiliation was given to the Holy Ghost Evangelical Church, of which body he was a sincere member and ardent worker.

John Bernard Woestman married, in Alton, Illinois, in December, 1859, Malinda Deterding, a daughter of Christian Deterding, resident of Alton, Illinois. To John Bernard and Malinda (Deterding) Woestman were born four children, three of whom grew to maturity, as follows: 1. Louise, resident of St. Louis. 2. Edward F., resident of Colorado Springs, Colorado. 3. Oscar D., deceased.



## JOHN BERNARD WOESTMAN

The death of John Bernard Woestman occurred at his home in St. Louis, Missouri, May 1, 1907, and lost to his adopted city a business man of great ability, and a sincere and loyal citizen. In regard to Mr. Woestman's life and labors, one annalist has written as follows:

Because it is difficult to detach the personality and character of a man from the many diverse influences with which he comes into touch and association there is found today a tendency to bemoan the absence from places of leadership of men of strong purpose, high aims, and upright life, men of the type of John Bernard Woestman,—St. Louisan of a decade and a half past. Such there are, to be sure, but rarely are their excellencies so blended with moderation, kindliness, and good will that they are recognized by their associates as of surpassing worth. It was Mr. Woestman's lot to bind many of his fellows to him in indissoluble bonds of friendship, and then, as now in memory, he held their devoted respect and allegiance.

The annalist of the present reaches back over the years that have intervened since his passing to record in an enduring memorial the story of his useful career, spent in work fostering the progress of his city and the best good of his fellow travelers along earth's highway.

References—Siebmacher's: "Wappenbuch." "Rietstap," Vol. 2. "Genealogische Studien." (Hanover.) Clarke's: "St. Louis, the Fourth City." American Biography (A. H. S.) Family data.



## Editorial

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### NEW LIGHT ON A FAMILIAR CHARACTER

Ever since the time, one generation removed from the Revolutionary period, when American boys began to find their heroes in the military and naval leaders of the United States, the name of John Paul Jones has represented patriotism at its highest and valor that compelled victory. "I have not yet begun to fight" is a phrase that for a century and a half has nerved youths to keep up the good fight against adversity, to make, as did Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard* against the *Serapis*, even a sinking ship the instrument of victory.

Historic research has completed the story of the life of John Paul Jones, during his service of 1788 with the Russian Navy in the Black Sea against the Turks, although there is little therein to add to the reputation that is a national heritage. Credit for bringing the facts of this period to light belongs to Professor Frank A. Golder, Associate Professor of Modern History at Stanford University, who was permitted by the Soviet Government to search the archives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the General Staff and Marine Department for correspondence relating to Jones. The documents that rewarded his search give full particulars of the unfortunate experiences of the famous American commander in Russia, and Professor Golder's masterly paper traces his Russian career from his engagement by the Catherine the Great to his ignominious dismissal, the victim of the jealousy of titled rivals. The story is not inspiring in any sense, but it was needed to complete the knowledge of this illustrious sailor, whose fame as an American is undimmed by his disastrous Russian service.

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### BOOK REVIEWS

*Hearts of Hickory*, by John Trotwood Moore. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee (1926).

Out of Nashville, Tennessee, has come a finely American story of that district, a regional story of local incident that is neverthe-

## EDITORIAL

less national in the sense that Plymouth Rock, Mount Vernon, and the Liberty Bell are national. John Trotwood Moore has "historionized fiction" and the result is a novel of pure worth. The circumstances of its writing are interesting, but must wait for later mention. Into a story richly romantic come the leading figures of the day and place, that of Andrew Jackson dominating the scene, with his gentle wife Rachel, Crockett, Houston, and the rest. A convincing picture of Jackson is painted, resolute and inspired, not so illuminating as that of Mr. Moore's article in the "Saturday Evening Post" of a few weeks ago, but with broader emphasis upon the results of his military prowess.

Only the close student of the time will know where history ends and romance begins. Now and again one follows confidently the clear light of fact, only to realize with a start that the lambent flame has become the will-o'-the-wisp of fancy. The courtly graces of noble personages and the calm dignity of Indian chiefs clash with the rough speech of frontier ruffians, while courage and fidelity vie again with treachery and falsehood.

Everywhere throughout the story are touches reminiscent of Moore's other works, which have made familiar the "Bishop," Uncle Wash, Uncle Jack, and the life and atmosphere of Tennessee of an earlier, more stirring day. Thrilling movement, tender sentiment in delicately handled love scenes, passages interpretative of historical incident unknown or wrongly chronicled, and lines of emotional description (we have in mind especially Philippe's taking of the Ghost Flower) that for sheer beauty have few equals in modern literature,—these are the materials that are woven into an exceptional story. With deft touch he plays upon the sensibilities of the reader, winning him to admiration of his heroine, Pamela Crockett, little Tripping Toe, taking him from this allegiance by the warmer, more colorful appeal of the Sehoy, Indian princess of the Creek nation, and finally, after the sacrificial death of the princess, leaving him with Tripping Toe reunited with Philippe, the White Eagle.

Mr. Moore has written a book that, according to our opinion, should rank where others of his have been placed, among the best sellers of the year. Evidence would tend to show public preference for subjects rather more "triangular," but there will be many thou-

## EDITORIAL

sands profoundly grateful for the skilfully compounded elements of the romantic historical novel free from the baldness and crudeness, to cite the least faults, of much recent work.

Even with the warm glow of the book's spell still upon us, we are yet sufficiently critical to suggest an improvement in the form of the book by the omission of historical footnote references. Mr. Moore is too well known as a historian for such a work as this to require this buttressing. Were we to attempt to improve upon the effectiveness of the characterization we would do it in one instance by refusing to permit Tripping Toe to lapse into the rough dialect of the frontier.

The historical novel, in various modes of treatment, has long been a favorite piece of novelistic machinery (witness Scott, Dickens, Hawthorne, of present day Hough, Churchill, and Cabell, and many more) but seldom has a novel been written more nearly as part of a patriotic plan than "Hearts of Hickory." Mr. Moore's foreword tells of this, explaining that Emerson Hough and he visited the grave of Meriwether Lewis in the spring of 1914, and agreed to start a movement to induce the great Republic, to whose territory Lewis' epoch-making exploration added a third, to make this wild spot in the woods a national monument. "Later the aid of Theodore Roosevelt was sought and by his own enthusiastic request he was added to the committee of three. It was agreed among us that Mr. Hough should write a historical novel of the Lewis and Clark exploration, which he did in his splendid book, 'The Magnificent Adventure,' and that the writer should follow with a story on Andrew Jackson covering the period immediately following, and showing how, while Jefferson with far-sighted vision purchased this uncertainly defined, immense, and inexhaustibly rich empire which is now the seat of fourteen great and sovereign States, it was Lewis and Clark who made it American from the Missouri to the Columbia and Pacific Ocean by the divine right of that daring courage and scientific skill that carried the flag there, but it was Andrew Jackson who saved it at New Orleans." In the fulfillment of his part in this plan Mr. Moore, who is president of the Meriwether Lewis Memorial Association and director of Library, Archives, and History of the State of Tennessee, has written a book that will be widely acclaimed.



## EDITORIAL

*Elmer E. Ellsworth and the Zouaves of '61.* By Charles A. Ingraham. Published for Chicago Historical Society by The University of Chicago Press.

On numerous occasions in the past readers of "Americana" have enjoyed the writings of the author of this book, Charles A. Ingraham, known to these pages as a historian of penetrating vision and judicious mind, whose habitual emphasis upon biography proves that to him history is a living thing and invests his studies with an interest similar works too frequently lack.

In 163 octavo pages much can be told, and one unfamiliar with the career of Elmer E. Ellsworth would wonder, upon hearing that his life covered but twenty-four years, what manner of man this could have been who compressed within such a brief span of manhood experiences whose treatment could fill such a volume. The answer to this is in perusal of the volume, which is found to be not only the life story of gallant young Ellsworth but largely a story of the volunteer military companies which, in Mr. Ingraham's words, "flourished throughout the nation in pre-war days and afterward, attracting the youths from the 'best families,' and binding up in themselves much of the social and recreational interest of the day." That this is so is evidenced by the fact that about one-third of the book is concerned with "The Zouave Tour," into which enter most of the prominent volunteer military companies of the day.

The book is an intimate character study, supported by much documentary evidence, chiefly epistolary, of the New York State boy who came to Chicago to win fame and fortune; whose heart and soul were in things military; whose stern conscience led him to attempt to renounce the drill hall and parade ground for more conventional fields; who compromised with circumstances and divided his allegiance (or the form of allegiance) between the study of law and his company of Zouaves; who built up and for several years led a body of young men nationally famous for their skill, precision, verve and *esprit de corps*, a group notable for moral excellence and social virtues as well as for physical and military perfection; who bore with dauntless courage adversity and suffering, secure in his fervent faith of a better day and the victory of right living; whose tender affection for the young woman of his choice had no rival except his deep devotion to his parents. This is the nature of the book that ends with his death in the occupation of Alexandria in

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the opening days of the Civil War, an event that so touched the great heart of his friend Lincoln that he could not conceal his grief.

What another writer would have done with the same materials can only be guessed. What Mr. Ingraham has done is plain,—he has written a book that has a wholesome message, that has preserved the facts and the flavor of a rarely beautiful character, and he has depicted a most interesting phase of the life of the time.

*A Pioneer College and Its Background (The Ohio University)*, by Charles William Super, (Newcomb & Gauss, Salem, Massachusetts).

Once more to our desk comes a welcome book by Charles W. Super; a slender volume of 133 pages, attractively bound and well printed, and containing between its dignified covers a valuable cargo of historical matter pertaining to the launching and successful voyaging (after weathering severe storms) of that Middle Western institution of higher education well and widely known as Ohio University. That the book has been cordially received generally goes without saying. And that it is widely read and enjoyed is assured by the fact that Dr. Super employs a pleasing style that endears both him and his efforts to the reader—a style in and by which narrative tendencies and strong elements of humor effectually and most happily deprive history of much of its dry, statistical turgidity. Dr. Super is well-known in the historical fields of the literary estate, for, in addition to his dozen or more of published books, his contributions have been eagerly welcomed by the *International Journal of Ethics*, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Popular Science Monthly*, *Americana*, *Science*, the *American Antiquarian*, *Westminster Review* (British), etc., etc.

*A Pioneer College and Its Background* is a happy effort, done with sure, deft strokes, and proving the author to have been closely familiar with his material. Dr. Super was twice president of Ohio University, to which fact we are indebted for the many intimate touches. We especially commend to the reader's attention Chapter VIIc, over which we laughed heartily.

W. C. R.









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THE ORIGINAL ST. ANN'S CHURCH, AT ST. ANN'S AVENUE AND 140TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY  
Gouverneur Morris, 2nd, built the Church on land owned by him and presented it to the Parish

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# AMERICANA

July, 1926

## Ontario Under The French Regime\*

BY JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON, TORONTO, ONTARIO



IRGIN forest of pine or of hardwood covered this whole Province of Ontario when Samuel de Champlain and his French companions first set foot on the hither side of the Ottawa River. The Indian inhabitants were of two stocks; the Algonquin (which included Chippawas, Mississaugas, Salteaux and a dozen other tribes) and the Iroquois, to which family the Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals and the Five Nations belonged. The Algonquins were nomadic hunters living in *tépées*. The Iroquois had settled villages of bark houses, were well organized for peace or war, and practised agriculture after a fashion. That is to say, they raised maize, or Indian corn, in natural clearings, and pounded the kernels to meal for emergency rations. With a bag of such corn they could make long canoe-journeys without halting to hunt.

When white men first came to this Continent civil war existed between the tribes of Iroquois stock. The Five Nations—Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Mohawks—had effected a Federal alliance against the Hurons and Petuns and were seeking to extend their hunting ground by exterminating their enemies. The Huron country was on the eastern shore of the Georgian Bay and extended southward to the northern coast of Lake Simcoe. Here were at least twenty villages, fortified by heavy stockades, and placed in positions easy of defence. The Petuns or Tobacco Nation occupied the Bruce Peninsula. Farther south from the Niagara River to Detroit were the Neutrals who controlled the extensive flint deposits at Point Abino on the north shore of Lake Erie, and probably provided material for arrow-heads and hunting-

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\*Reprinted from advance sheets from "The Province of Ontario, A History," by Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, M. A., listed for early publication by The Dominion Publishing Company, Ltd., of Toronto.



## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

knives to their warring neighbors. Arrow-heads and other weapons of chipped flint were in universal use by the American Indians and may be seen in any museum. For many years students were at a loss to understand the means of fashioning these articles, since the knowledge died out among the Indians as soon as iron was available. Mr. H. L. Skavlem, a naturalist of Wisconsin, has re-discovered the method and is able to make arrow-heads not only of flint but of ordinary green glass. The only tool used is a pointed piece of bone. The flint or glass is inserted in a slot in an oak block slightly larger than the material so that it may be held at an angle of forty-five degrees. Then, by pressing the bone point against the edge of the flint, crescent chips may be removed with comparative ease.

Quebec had been founded in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain who had established friendly relations with such Indians as he met upon the St. Lawrence and bought their furs. Algonquins from the Upper Ottawa under a chief named Iroquet were impressed by the efficiency of firearms and persuaded Champlain to join them in an attack upon the Mohawks. In a battle near Crown Point on July 29th, 1609, Champlain and his allies were victorious, but from that day the Five Nations were the implacable foes of the French and hampered the establishment of a French colony. Iroquet's sense of obligation to Champlain was so strong that he readily agreed to receive a young Frenchman into his lodges for the winter, that he might learn the language and serve as an interpreter, but other members of the tribe were doubtful. They feared that if any harm should come to the white man, Champlain might take revenge for his death. Accordingly an exchange of hostages was arranged. The Chief permitted a young brave named Savignon to go to France with Champlain and the Frenchman, Etienne Brulé, went with the Indians, lived their life and learned their tongue. He was one of six young adventurers who plunged into the woods at the command of their leader—Brulé, Nicolet, Marsolet, Hertel, Marguerie and Vignau. Brulé was the first white man to see the Great Lakes and for five years he ranged with his copper-colored friends through Northern Ontario, probably returning every summer with the Indians to the St. Lawrence, where he reported to his master the wonders of lake and river and forest which he had beheld.

The Hurons were anxious to gain the aid of Champlain against

## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

their enemies, and invited him to visit their country, but he declined until they consented to receive a missionary as well. Agreement came in the summer of 1615. On July 6th or 7th, Father Joseph Le Caron, a Récollet priest, set out in an Indian canoe from Lachine. Two days later Champlain with Brulé, another French companion, and seven Indians followed. Twelve armed Frenchmen had gone with Le Caron; fifteen white men in all were on the way to Huronia, four hundred miles distant. The way was not easy, with its thirty-five portages, beginning with the Long Sault, nine miles long; most of them being in rocky and precipitous country. So they came to the site of the present Mattawa, to Lake Nipissing, to the French River and to Georgian Bay, then southward through that maze of islands to Machedash Bay and to Otou-acha, a Huron village about four miles below the present town of Penetanguishene on the Bay of the same name—"the place of the white sands." Le Caron was taken to the village of Carhagouha, westward across the headland, where a separate cabin was built for his use. Champlain landed on August 1st, was taken to all the principal villages for a series of war-councils, and on August 12th met Father Le Caron at Carhagouha and heard the first mass celebrated in Ontario. Also the *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung, the explorer devoutly participating, to the wonder of a non-musical people.

Preparations for the war-expedition went on apace, the point of concentration being Cahaigué on the north shore of Lake Simcoe close to the present village of Hawkestone. The Hurons were anxious to secure the co-operation of a tribe called the Carantouanais (or Andastes), settled on the Susquehanna River, so it was determined to send a small advance mission to Carantouan, prepare for a junction of forces, and catch the enemy between the jaws of a pair of military pincers. Twelve of the sturdiest braves were selected for this mission and were instructed to make all haste. Etienne Brulé was permitted to accompany them, a fact which proves that this man, the first of the *coureurs de bois*, the "pioneer of pioneers" was no weakling. The advance party came down Lake Simcoe to the Holland River. From the head waters of that stream they crossed a short portage to the source of the Humber and paddled down to Lake Ontario. It is believed that Brulé was the first white man to see the noble shore-curve of Humber Bay.

## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

The date was probably September 10th, 1615. The two canoes coasted around the western end of Lake Ontario and came to the Niagara River. It is unlikely that Brulé saw the Falls of Niagara at this time. There was need of haste and the route probably lay south-east of the present town of Lewiston. Through the forests and marshes of the Seneca country the scouts took their way meeting only one hostile party which they surprised and defeated, killing four men and capturing two. Having arrived at Carantouan and delivered their message the scouts stood ready to join the war-party and proceeded to the rendezvous, but the Carantouanais dawdled in preparation. They were late in setting out and did not reach the point of junction until two days after the battle was fought.

Champlain with the main party left Cahaigué on the same day as Brulé but paddled eastward past the Narrows and down the east shore of Lake Simcoe. A portage of about ten leagues brought them by way of Balsam Lake, Sturgeon Lake, the Otonabee River, Rice Lake and the Trent River to its outlet in the Bay of Quinté. Along the coast of the bay and lake they went until they reached the embouchure of the St. Lawrence River, and there crossed to the south shore and hid their canoes in readiness for the return journey. Of the Trent district Champlain said: "It is certain that all this region is very fine and pleasant. Along the banks it seems as if the trees had been set out for ornament. All these tracts were in former times inhabited by savages who were subsequently compelled to abandon them for fear of their enemies. Vines and nut trees are here very numerous. Grapes mature yet there is always a very pungent tartness which is felt remaining in the throat when one eats them in large quantities, arising from lack of cultivation. The localities are very pleasant when cleared up. Stags and bears are here very abundant. As to smaller game it is abundant in its season. There are also many cranes, white as swans. We made the crossing of the Lake of the Entouhonorons at its eastern extremity in latitude 43 degrees where in the passage there are very large and beautiful islands."\* The war party marched by forest trails southwest to the neighborhood of the present city of Syracuse and attacked a fort supposedly within the Township of Fenner, Madison

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\*An error in calculation. The latitude is 44 degrees.



## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

County, New York. Despite the Frenchmen's firearms the siege did not prosper, owing to the lack of discipline on the part of the Hurons, and the failure of the Andastes to put in an appearance. On October 16th a retreat was begun and two days later in a snow-storm the party reached the hidden canoes and crossed the Lake. Champlain himself had been wounded by arrows and was in no condition for immediate travel. He and his party hunted for a time in Cataragui Creek and Loughborough Lake and when the winter had bound the canoe routes with ice made their way overland to the Huron country where Father Le Caron was found in his lonely hut.

Brulé and his Huron associates spent the winter with the Carantouan tribe and in the Spring of 1617 attempted to return through the Seneca country to Lake Ontario. They were attacked and were compelled to scatter for safety. During two days Brulé was lost in the forest. Finally discovering a trail he followed it and walked into a Seneca village. At first he was kindly received, since he denied that he was a Frenchman, but the warriors were suspicious. They finally seized him, pegged him out on the ground and applied the forms of torture which Indians rejoiced to administer. They tore out his finger-nails with their teeth, applied glowing coals to his body and plucked out his beard by handfuls. They would have killed him had not the torture been interrupted by a furious thunderstorm. The Indians may have imagined that this storm was a Heavenly rebuke. In any case the Chief released the prisoner, bound up his wounds and treated him kindly. When he had recovered sufficiently to march he was conducted to Lake Ontario and found his solitary way back to the Huron country. Thence in 1618 he returned to the site of Three Rivers, meeting Champlain on July 7th. What a story he had to tell of the Empire he had seen! How he could have thrilled the Courts of Europe if he had chosen to cross the sea! But he was still Champlain's servant; he had a love for savage life and his friends were in Huronia. So he rejoined the Indians; coming down again with the trading flotillas in 1620 and 1621 but spending the time generally in hunting and exploration. Sagard says: "At about 80 or 100 French leagues from the Hurons there is a mine of red copper from which the interpreter Brulé showed me a large ingot when he came back from a journey he made to a neighboring nation with a man named Grénolle." Year by year



## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

Brulé reported to Champlain the result of his inquiries and his observations and undoubtedly the uncanny accuracy of Champlain's map published in 1632 but probably drawn in 1629 is due to the information which he brought. But the servant forfeited the confidence of Champlain when he acted as pilot for one of the ships of Kirke, the Englishman who captured Quebec in 1629. He returned to the Hurons while the French were being sent back to their own country, but three years later he became involved in a quarrel. The Indians clubbed him to death and his body was cooked and eaten. De Brébeuf, the Jesuit missionary, testified in 1635 that he had seen the place where "poor Etienne Brulé had been barbarously and treacherously murdered." The place was Toanché, a Huron village on Lot 3, concession 19 of the Township of Tiny. For twenty-three years he had roved the forest, being the first white man on the Niagara River, on Lake Ontario, on Lake Huron, at Sault Ste. Marie, and probably on Lake Superior.

Champlain's appetite for adventure was not yet sated. Although he had reached the Huron country from the south on December 23rd, 1615, he was ready on January 15th, 1616, to undertake a journey to the Petun villages in company with Father Le Caron. This tour lasted a month and while the Indians of the present Grey and Bruce counties were cordial towards Champlain they were not interested in the missionary. Says Sagard: "They offered him no hearty welcome nor gave sign that his visit was at all pleasing, acting, it may be, at the instigation of their medicine men." As soon as the rivers were free of ice Champlain left for the St. Lawrence; Le Caron set out on May 20th, 1616, reaching Three Rivers on July 1st. Shortly afterwards he sailed for France and did not return until 1623. By the middle of August of that year, Father Le Caron, in company with Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, were with the Hurons and remained until the following Spring. Then it was determined that Le Caron and Sagard should return to Quebec. Father Viel remained at the mission for another year. On the way to Quebec after having passed all the dangers of the long trade-route, he came to the swift water of the Rivière des Prairies to the north of the Island of Montreal. Here, whether by accident, or by the design of two or three Indian ruffians, his canoe was upset and he was drowned in company with a young Indian convert named Auhaitsic or

## ONTARIO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

“Little Fish.” A suburban village erroneously called Ahuntsic was established in our day on the shore of the “Back River” in plain sight of the Sault au Récollet.

In 1625 the Jesuits first came to Quebec, having been invited by the Récollets. The first missionaries were Father Charles Lalemant, Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Ennemond Massé who came over from France with two Jesuit lay brothers and a Récollet friar named Joseph de la Roche d’Aillon. It was found impossible to proceed to the Huron country until the following year and by that time three more Jesuits had arrived from oversea. When the Hurons came to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1626 they agreed, though reluctantly, to convey three missionaries to their country. Accordingly on August 1st or thereabouts Father de Brébeuf, Father Anne de Nouë and the Récollet Father d’Aillon stepped into their canoes and by the end of the month were living at the village of Toanché, a little west of the shore of Penetanguishene Bay.

Father de la Roche d’Aillon had instructions from his superior, Father Le Caron, to visit parts of the Neutral country where no priest had ever been. Accordingly he set out on October 18th, 1626, in company with two Frenchmen named La Vallée and Grénolle; the latter had been Brulé’s companion on the voyage to the Sault. It is believed that the route was through Grey and Wellington counties and then by way of the Grand River. D’Aillon was on this journey for about five months, returning to the Jesuit mission about the middle of March, 1627. In that year Father de Nouë returned to Quebec, having found it impossible to learn the vowel-ridden Huron language. D’Aillon left in 1628 and for a year Father Jean de Brébeuf was in Huronia alone. The sudden appearance in the St. Lawrence of the Kirke brothers, English sea-raiders, and the prevalence of famine in the colony made it necessary for De Brébeuf to return to Quebec. He was there on July 19th, 1629, when the Kirkes demanded the surrender of the city. On the following day the English entered Quebec and for three years Canada remained in their possession. The country was ceded back to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on March 29th, 1632. Meanwhile the missionaries were in France.

In the Spring of 1634 the Jesuits had returned; Father Paul Le Jeune being established as Superior at Quebec, and Fathers de

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Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost proceeding to Huronia. From that time onward for ten years the Huron Mission became more and more important. The Fathers built a Fort named Ste. Marie on the River Wye and by 1640 this Residence was the home of fifteen Jesuit priests and as many Brothers and domestics. Its ruins may be traced to-day. Missions were established in all the principal villages and also in the Petun and Neutral country. The Hurons were nominally Christian, although they were slow to change their traditional cruelty towards prisoners. Meanwhile the Iroquois were growing more and more troublesome. They way-laid French and Huron hunting parties, prepared ambushes at the portages, becoming bolder and more relentless with every success. Father Isaac Jogues was captured on August 3rd, 1642, carried into the Iroquois country and tortured. He was ransomed by the Dutch Governor of Albany, Van Corlaer, and returned to France. A year later he was again in Canada, swinging his paddle, intoning the mass, acting as special envoy of the French Governor to his former captors and finally going to the Mohawks as a missionary. He was slain by a tomahawk in the hands of an infuriated Indian on October 16th, 1646, near the present village of Auriesville, New York.

In 1648 eighteen missionaries were in Huronia. Then came the first fierce gust presaging the coming storm. St. Joseph, or Teanaustiae, was a fortified village beautifully situated on a height overlooking the Coldwater River. At sunrise on July 4th, 1648, Father Antoine Daniel went to his chapel to say mass. While the service was in progress the war-cry of the Iroquois was heard. During the night the enemy had labored silently at the stockade undermining the heavy posts with hatchets. At last a practicable breach was made and into the village they came, an army of red demons straight from the Pit. Some attempt at a stand was made by the surprised Hurons but it was of short duration. Soon the village was a shambles. Those who escaped the first onset ran in a frenzy of terror to the church. Amid the lamentations of women, children and old men, so many called aloud for baptism that the priest dipped his handkerchief in the font and baptised the people by aspersion. Meanwhile he comforted them with heroic words: "Brothers, to-day we shall be in Paradise." At last the invaders come even to the church. Calmly the priest opens the door and stands unarmed before them. He questions them. They pause,



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abashed, but only for a moment. A musket ball stretches Father Daniel upon the ground. He is riddled with arrows, his cassock is stripped from him and his brave body mutilated. Then, the torch! The church filled with dead and dying flames up, a red terror in the midst of the forest. The bloodstained body of the Jesuit is cast into the fire and the Iroquois withdraw before the Huron war-parties of revenge can be assembled. For fourteen years Father Antoine Daniel had laboured in Huronia. He walked with savages on earth. He walks with better company to-day "with Barak and Samson, with David also and Samuel, and with the prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, out of weakness were made strong."

During the rest of the summer of 1648 no further incursions in force were made by the enemy, and by winter the Hurons believed that they were safe until the canoe routes were open. But 1,200 Iroquois braved the dangers and discomforts of a winter march in order to make a surprise attack. They took care to arrive at night outside the stockaded village of St. Ignace some three miles from St. Louis in a southeasterly direction. Placing warriors in ambush along the line of retreat, the main body broke through the palisade and began the massacre. Of the startled fugitives who streamed along the forest path only three escaped. These came breathless to St. Louis. Scarcely had they told their story when the van of the enemy's forces appeared and the Huron warriors gave battle. Many of the women and children had time to escape in the direction of the fort at Ste. Marie and the Indians urged the two priests at St. Louis to follow their example. They refused. Soon the Iroquois had beaten down all resistance and had fired all the cabins. Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant were captured.

Back to St. Ignace the yelling victors took their way contemptuous of possible danger from the other Huron communities. The priests were stripped and bound to posts to make a holiday for demons. Their finger-nails were torn off; they were beaten with great fury. A renegade Huron mocked de Brébeuf and the rites of the Church by baptising him with boiling water. He did not quail but preached, telling again and again the story of the Cross until an Iroquois cut off his lips and his tongue. A collar of red-hot hatchets was flung about his neck, a belt of bark full of pitch was



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girt about him and then set on fire. So on and on through the long March day he endured "as seeing Him who is invisible." He was captured in the early morning. He died at four in the afternoon. Father Lalemant, whose tortures were not less bitter, lived until the morning of March 17th, 1649.

Huronian was ended as a mission field, as the nucleus of civilization, and as the home of the Huron Indians. Some fled to the St. Mary River. A remnant accompanied by the Jesuits made their way to the Island of St. Joseph (Christian Island) where another fort was established and occupied on June 15th, 1649. But the enemy held the island so closely invested that any hunting party which crossed to the mainland was sure to encounter enemies in ambush. The colony on the island was reduced to a state of famine, and on June 10th, 1650, priests and people took canoes for Quebec to live under the shelter of the guns. The descendants of the broken nation are found to-day in the village of Lorette and in the Wyandotte tribe which settled in the neighborhood of Detroit. In the years 1650 and 1651 the Petuns and the Neutrals ceased to exist as separate clans. Such warriors as were not slain in battle with the invading Iroquois or given to the torture were adopted into one or other of the Five Nations, as were practically all the women, and the western peninsula of Ontario became a wilderness indeed, visited only by wandering Algonquin hunters and by Iroquois hunters of war-parties marching westward.

Under the direction of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada three cairns and tablets, marking places of note in the Huron country, were unveiled on September 15th, 1923, in the presence of a distinguished company. On the supposed site of the village of St. Louis, protected on three sides by the Hogg River, and on the fourth side by a stockade which has been traced by Mr. A. F. Hunter, secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, there is a cairn 12 feet high bearing the following inscription, "Site of a palisaded Huron village and Jesuit mission (either St. Louis or St. Ignace II.) The destruction of both villages by the Iroquois foe, 16th and 17th March, 1649, sealed the fate of the Huron nation. Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, missionaries, captured at St. Louis were, after frightful tortures, killed at St. Ignace II.—This site donated by Charles E. Newton." Dr. Herriman of the Orillia Historical Society, who presided, read a letter from Mr. New-

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ton which in part was as follows: "In view of this being the spot where two of the first pioneers of Christianity in these parts lost their lives in such a terrible way, it was a place that should neither be bought or sold but should become the property of all 'who profess and call themselves Christians.' " After a public reading of extracts from the Jesuit Relation of 1649, and the reciting of the Lord's Prayer, the tablet was unveiled by Brigadier General W. A. Cruikshank, chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. In his address he quoted the words of Joseph Howe: "A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great structures, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past." General Cruikshank was followed by Rev. E. J. Devine, S. J., historiographer of the Jesuit Order.

The company then proceeded to the Old Fort of Ste. Marie on the River Wye, situated on the property of Mr. James Playfair. Here Dr. Raikes, president of the Midland Historical Society, directed the brief ceremony. Then from Midland the party went to Christian Island where the second Fort Ste. Marie was built in 1649 and abandoned in the following year. The stone walls can still be traced, and up to twenty-five years ago they were standing in some places to the full height of twelve feet. The bronze tablet at this site is on a huge granite boulder, just outside the entrance to the fort. The ceremony of unveiling was directed by Mr. C. E. Wright of the Penetanguishene Historical Society, and the address of welcome was delivered by Chief Henry Jackson of the Ojibwa Indians who inhabit the Island. Here Dr. James H. Coyne spoke on The Last Stand of the Huron Nation. His peroration was as follows:

That wonderful and beautiful invention of the Algonquins, the birchbark canoe, was at the disposal of the French. Without it, their exploration of the great basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi within little more than half a century would have been impossible. With it, the French were pioneers in discovery and exploration, and in revealing to the Old World the Northern half of the New. They were the pioneer traders. Their missionaries, Recollet, Jesuit and Sulpician, were the first to plant the cross, and to proclaim the teachings of Christianity on the great lakes and in the great continental basins. The British entered by conquest upon their labours, and Indian, French Canadian, Canadian of British

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origin, have since contributed, each in his own way, according to the varying genius and opportunity of his race, to the upbuilding of the Canadian nation. Their traditions, their history and achievements, are the joint heritage of the Canadian people.

O Canada, terre de nos aïeux,  
Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux,  
Car ton bras sait porter l'épée,  
Il sait porter la croix,  
Ton histoire est une épopée  
Des plus brillants exploits.  
Et ta valeur, de foi trempée,  
Protégera nos foyers et nos droits,  
Protégera nos foyers et nos droits.

But the character of a nation, like that of the individual, is made up of its failures, as well as triumphs, and history records both with impartial pen. And so, on behalf of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, now unveil and dedicate to the Glory to God, and the care of the Canadian people, this memorial of a forsaken fortress, a vanished race, and a mission that failed—but memorial also of a great ideal nobly upheld, of patient endurance and heroic self-sacrifice, of Christian faith, undaunted by disaster, triumphant over defeat, famine, disease and death.

Among those who took part in the pilgrimage were Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Thomson, Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Ardagh, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Evans, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Hale, Mrs. J. C. Miller, Messrs. J. P. Downey, M. T. Mulcahy, N. McAuley and Dr. H. S. Martin, of Orillia, Mr. W. Finlayson, M. P. P., the Rev. J. R. H. Warren, of Midland, Mr. J. H. N. McGuire, Secretary of the Penetanguishene Historical Society, and Messrs. David Williams and J. M. Begg, of Collingwood.

For fifteen years following the destruction of the Huron mission the Iroquois were virtually the masters of Canada. They harried the colony of Frenchmen, by sudden appearances in unexpected places, by murders, by captures and by burnings; they kept Governors and people in misery and made settlement impossible. There were intervals of an uneasy peace, during which time Father Le Moine and others served as missionaries, but for the most part the Iroquois were on the war-path. In 1656 a party of them plundered some of the houses in Quebec itself. Ten years later in answer to the pleadings of the colonists a considerable body of soldiers arrived from France and were led by M. de Tracy in a successful ex-



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pedition against the Mohawks. The ardor of the enemy was dampened and Lake Ontario was at last open to French missionaries and explorers.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, a native of Rouen, came to Canada in 1666, an elder brother being a Sulpician priest in Montreal. The Superior of the Order of St. Sulpice, Abbé Quéylus, was attracted by the energy of the young man and gave him a grant of land near the Rapids afterwards called Lachine. Some Seneca Indians told him of a pleasant river, to the south of the lake region, which flowed onward to tidewater. Naturally de la Salle assumed that its course was continually westward to the "Vermilion Sea," known to-day as the Gulf of California. Was this the western road to China? De la Salle's imagination kindled at the thought and immediately he sought permission from Governor de Courcelles and Intendant Talon to go exploring. The permission was given, provided that he should pay his own expenses and take with him two Sulpicians, Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant Galinée. Accordingly he sold his seigneurie, outfitted fourteen men and procured four canoes. De la Salle's expedition started from the head of the Rapids on July 6th, 1669, and reached Lake Ontario on August 2nd. Coasting up the south shore the explorers came to the present site of Charlotte where Dollier remained in charge of the canoes while de la Salle and Galinée visited the chief Iroquois village in an attempt to secure guides. They were not successful, but a visitor from an Indian outpost near Burlington offered to guide them to his village and show them a better way to the great river. The party reached the outpost, called Otinawatawa on September 24th and the Chief gave to de la Salle a Shawanoe prisoner who declared that the river he sought could be reached in six weeks.

Before a start could be made Louis Jolliet appeared in the village on his way to Montreal. He had been sent to the Upper Lakes by the Governor who wanted a reliable report on the copper mines from which samples had been brought from time to time. He was also anxious to learn whether or not a water-route less broken by portages than that of the Ottawa could be found in order to transport the ore to Quebec. The young explorer rescued from torture at the Sault an Iroquois prisoner who was willing to show the way down the Great Lakes, so long as he was not required to go to Niagara—a place uncomfortably near prowling Andastes scouts. Ac-



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cordingly they left Lake Erie at Port Stanley, concealing their canoe, and marched to the Grand River, then to Burlington Bay. The Village where Jolliet met de la Salle and the Sulpicians was near the site of the present Wabasso Park. The returning explorer reported that the Pottawattamies of the Green Bay region were in dire need of the Gospel. Accordingly the priests determined to go in that direction. De la Salle had no intention of seeing his own plans balked in this manner, so pleading illness as an excuse he embarked, ostensibly for Montreal. Dollier and Cailnée descended the Grand River, and finding Lake Erie in the grip of an autumn tempest camped first near Port Dover and then, after securing Jolliet's canoe, landed at Point Pelée. In the spring of 1670 they were at Detroit. Thence they paddled to Sault Ste. Marie, found the territory occupied by Jesuits and so returned to Montreal by French River and the Ottawa. De la Salle in the meantime had gone to the Onondaga country south of Lake Ontario, found a guide and started for the Ohio. Some of his men deserted, returned to Montreal and named the Rapids "La Chine" in derision of the project to reach China by Westward travel. But de la Salle discovered the river he sought and sailed down it as far as the rapids below Louisville, Kentucky. On his return to Montreal he showed himself hostile towards the Sulpicians and thus gained the confidence of Governor Frontenac, who granted him the trade monopoly of Fort Frontenac, the fortified post established in 1673 at the present site of Kingston—as a French sentinel in the Iroquois front-yard.

In the year 1671 Jolliet was again at Sault Ste. Marie, having travelled by way of the Humber route, and was present at the famous Council of Indians called by M. de St. Lussou and Nicholas Perrot for June 14th. On this occasion all the lands west and south were formally claimed for the French Crown. The proclamation contained the following sentence: "In the name of the most high, most powerful and most redoubtable monarch, Louis XIV., Most Christian King of France and Navarre, we take possession of the said Ste. Marie du Sault, as also of Lakes Huron and Superior, Isle of Carentoton and of all the countries, streams, lakes and rivers contiguous and adjacent, discovered or undiscovered." After the Proclamation there was a speech by Father Allouez, the Jesuit, and the official party of proclaimers and listeners sang the *Vexilla Regis*, the *Exaudiat* and the *Te Deum*.

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Why Galinée, on the way to Burlington, did not pause to see the Falls is not easily understood. In his diary he said: "We discovered a river one-eighth of a league wide and extremely rapid which is the outlet or communication from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The depth of this stream (for it is properly the River St. Lawrence) is prodigious at this spot; for at the very shore there are 15 or 16 fathoms of water which fact we proved by dropping our line. This outlet (maybe 40 leagues in length) contains at a distance of ten or twelve leagues from its mouth in Lake Ontario one of the finest cataracts or waterfalls in the world, for all the Indians to whom I have spoken about it said the river fell in that place from a rock higher than the tallest pine trees; that is about 200 feet. In fact we heard it from where we were." He added that on the testimony of Abbé Trouvé of the Kenté (or Quinté) mission\* it could be heard from Toronto on the north shore.

Kente, the first Sulpician mission on the north shore, was not within the Bay of Quinté but was situated on the Lake Ontario side, probably at Weller's Bay. It was established in 1668 in answer to a request of a group of Cayugas settled there, the first missionaries being the Abbés Trouvé and Fénelon, who were followed as superior by the Abbé Dollier de Casson, a cavalryman turned priest. The mission did not continue long. The name is supposedly from an Iroquois word meaning "meadows" or "prairies."

De la Salle, in the hope of prosecuting his discoveries still further, returned to France and interested a merchant named La Motte de Lussière who came to Canada with him in 1678. On November 18th La Motte and Father Hénnepin, a Recollet friar of adventurous disposition and imaginative temperament set sail from Fort Frontenac in a tenton vessel for Niagara. The day was stormy and in order to get partial shelter from a furious northwest wind they came tacking up the north shore. On November 26th they reached the Iroquois village of Teiaiaagon not far from Toronto Bay and ran into the mouth of a river, supposedly the Humber. While the little vessel was in shelter the frost came and the sailors had to cut the ice with axes to free the ship. On December 5th she was again in clear water and headed for Niagara. La Motte built the first fortified post on the Niagara River not far from Lewiston—greatly to the disgust of the Senecas, and Father Hénnepin wrote the first detailed description of the Falls of Niagara.

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Hénnepin's book on his journeys was published in English translation as early as 1699, being specially dedicated to William III. The extracts following are from that edition: "Betwixt the Lake Ontario and Erie there is a vast and prodigious Cadence of water which falls down after a surprising and astonishing manner, insomuch that the Universe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true Italy and Suedeland boast of some such things, but we may well say they are but sorry patterns when compared to this of which we now speak. At the foot of the horrible Precipice we meet with the River Niagara which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above this Descent that it violently hurries down the Wild Beasts while endeavouring to pass it to feed on the other side; they not being able to withstand the force of its Current which inevitably casts them down headlong above six hundred foot. This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great cross sections of water and two Falls with an Isle sloping along the middle of it. The waters which fall from this vast height do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous Noise, more terrible than Thunder; for when the wind blows from off the South their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen leagues off. The River Niagara having thrown itself down this incredible Precipice continues its impetuous course for two leagues together with an inexpressible Rapidity. But having passed that, its Impetuosity relents, gliding along more gently for two Leagues till it arrives at the Lake Ontario or Frontenac."

Hénnepin while generally accurate in his distances had the temperament of the story-teller and evidently could not resist adding a little varnish to his plain tale. He was not the first—nor the last—to "Edit" his facts in order to make some one's flesh creep. The Récollet remained at Niagara from December 6th to January 20th, 1679, when de la Salle arrived, big with the idea of building a ship and going exploring upon Lake Erie. Work was begun on January 26th and by spring the "Griffon" was launched, a vessel of sixty tons, bark-rigged. The name was found in the arms of Count Frontenac, which bore a griffin in the field. The voyage from end to end of Lake Erie was accomplished without incident. Concerning the region of Detroit the Reverend journalist wrote: "This streight is finer than that of Niagara being 30 leagues long, and



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everywhere one league broad, except in the middle which is wider, forming the Lake we have named St. Claire. The navigation is easy on both sides, the coast being low and even. It runs directly from North to South. The country between these two lakes is very well situated and the soil very fertile. The banks of the Streight are vast meadows and the Prospect is terminated with some hills covered with vineyards, trees bearing good fruit, groves and forests so well disposed that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the help of Art so charming a prospect. The country is stocked with stags, wild goats, and bears which are good for food, and not fierce as in other countries. . . . Those who shall be so happy as to inhabit that noble Country cannot but remember with gratitude those who have discovered the way, by venturing to sail upon an unknown Lake for above 100 leagues." Yet is it certain that Jolliet passed down the St. Clair and Detroit rivers in 1669 and that Dollier and Galinée were there in 1670. Moreover the early voyagers by canoe were surely as bold as Hénnepin who had the comparative comfort of a sailing ship of sixty tons.

By 1685 the north shore of Lake Ontario and the entire lake and river coast-line of the present Province of Ontario were thoroughly known. There was a fort at the site of Kingston; two or three missions had been established under Sulpician direction, a fort on the east side of the Niagara River had been built, and there were missions at Michilimackinac and at the Sault under Jesuit control. The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670 and claimed the whole northland. The discovery of the Mississippi in 1673 by Jolliet and Father Marquette and the subsequent explorations by de la Salle along this great waterway confirmed the ownership of France, as proclaimed in 1671, to the mid-Continent. The New England region was British. The fur trade was being organized and was conducted under conditions of rivalry. It was found that the Indians were generally willing to sell their furs to the first bidders. Therefore English and French sought to place trading posts at points convenient to the junction of main trails and waterways. De la Salle wrote in his Memoir of 1684 that almost all the peltries purchased by the English came by Lake Ontario, except such as were brought from the Illinois country by way of the Ohio River. He continued: "The English have at-



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tempted by means of the Iroquois to attract the Ottaouacs to themselves. They were to go to them by the route leading from Lake Huron to the village called Teiaiaagon (on the Humber) and would have effected it had not M. de Frontenac interposed his fort." De Nouville wrote to the Ministry on October 9th, 1686: "M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to fortify himself at Michilimackinac, and to occupy the other passage at Toronto which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. In this way our Englishmen will find somebody to speak to." The population of the whole of Canada according to the French census of 1685, was 10,725 French, and 1,438 Indians. There were 1,877 houses and 41 mills. This was in the territory from Tadounac to the Gulf of Mexico.

Theoretically the Governor at Quebec held a monopoly of the fur-trade for the French Crown. He issued licenses to various traders but found it next to impossible to guarantee them against competition. Independent, unlicensed traders plunged into the woods and bought peltries in defiance of the Government. On more than one occasion the Governor granted permission to the Iroquois to plunder the Independents, but the illicit trade continued. The English market was always open. Moreover New England traders were often found on territory claimed as French, doing business with tribes which supposedly were under French influence. There was continual bitterness between the Governments at Boston and at Quebec, and the periodical conflicts between England and France in Europe and on the sea, did not tend to ease the relationship.

Detroit was the crossing-place of all main land and water routes west of the Alleghanies and was a natural trade-centre. From 1701, when the first fort was established by La Motte Cadillac, a Gascon gentleman of long military experience, Detroit had a large place in the annals of New France. Twenty years after its foundation Father Charlevoix, the traveller, was at the Strait and as a result of what he saw urged the Jesuit Superior at Quebec to establish a mission there. A remnant of the Huron nation, some Petuns and Neutrals were settled on the east side of the river and also on Bois Blanc Island. The Miamis had a village near by and there was a strong settlement of Ottawas. Cadillac had said of the Hurons, "This is the most industrious nation that can be seen; they scarcely ever dance and are always at work, raise a large amount of corn, peas, beans, and some grow wheat. The soil they cultivate is very

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fertile; the corn grows to the height of twelve feet"—as it does even yet in that neighborhood.

In 1728 Father de la Richardie was sent by the Jesuits to Detroit. The Fort and settlement about it were under the ministry of the Récollets, therefore the Jesuit crossed the river and established the Mission of L'Assomption where the town of Sandwich now stands. He also took under his care the Huron village on Bois Blanc. Assistance came in 1744 when Father Pierre Potier arrived and took charge of the Island mission. In 1746 he came to the Fort and soon afterwards was at Sandwich with Father de la Richardie. On the withdrawal of the latter to Quebec, Father Potier became superior of the mission, and lived alone in Sandwich for over thirty years ministering to the needs of his Huron charge. In 1781 some of his Indian neighbors noticed that no smoke was rising from his chimney. Entering the mission house they found the priest lying dead on the floor of his living room, his skull having been fractured. He had been seized presumably with dizziness while winding his clock, and fell against one of the andirons on his hearth.

Father Potier had occupied his leisure by writing a Huron grammar and dictionary in a manuscript as small as Pica print. He made pasteboard and bound his work most efficiently in deer-skin. Three of these volumes are preserved in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. They have been printed in fac-simile by the Ontario Archives. In the account-book of the Detroit Mission from 1740 to 1748 reference is made to Jean Baptiste Boyau, who cultivated the Jesuit farm on the Island, to Jean Cecile, the blacksmith, who built the church and mission house for six hundred and thirty-five livres and to many other individuals whose names are still familiar in the neighborhood—for instance, Hyacinthe Réaume, Gaudet, Gervais, Campeau, De Marsac. A complete list of the names mentioned is to be found in the 1918-19 Report of the Ontario Archives.

In 1751 the Abbé François Picquet made a journey by canoe from the mission of La Presentation (Ogdensburgh) founded by him in 1749, to Niagara, following the north shore of the Lake. He was greatly impressed by the beauty of the country.

Fort Rouillé, built at Toronto in 1749, was merely a trading post. The same can be said of the forts in the west and along the Ohio. When the Seven Years' War began the French military

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force was strengthened in order to hold a country that for the most part was not being settled. The Regiments of Béarn, Guienne and La Sarre were sent to Canada and these veterans found themselves in garrison at Fort Frontenac or at Niagara guarding an unpeopled wilderness. M. Pouchot a captain in the Bèarn Regiment was sent to Niagara in 1756 with authority to complete the fortifications, and constructed there a fortress according to the plans of M. de Vauban, the famous French military engineer of Louis XIV.'s period. Redoubts, half-moons, covered ways—all were provided on a front of 120 toises. Since the toise was equivalent to 6.39 English feet the fort was immense and might have served for the Rhine frontier. Pouchot's "Memoirs" have been published and make interesting reading.

In 1684 a detachment of 500 soldiers was sent to fortify Fort Frontenac, the journey from Montreal by flat boats occupying twelve days. Five or six men were drowned in the Rapids and after the fort was reached above 80 died from disease. Six years later scurvy appeared in the small garrison, closely invested by the Iroquois, and Denonville gave orders that the fort should be blown up. Count Frontenac, who succeeded Denonville as Governor, countermanded the order, and the place remained a fortified French post, of variable efficiency until 1758 when it was captured by the English under Col. Bradstreet. He embarked at Oswego with 2,700 Provincials, of whom 1,100 were New Yorkers, and 42 Indians, under Chief Red Head. The operations against Fort Frontenac were described (with some incoherence) by Thomas Butler in the following official report: "Early in the morning of the 26th (of August) we landed our cannon and drew them near the fort, upon which we fired and they at us, which lasted the whole day, and not one of our people hurt. In the night we got two entrenchments made within two hundred yards of the enemy's fort. The enemy fired away briskly with cannon and small arms at us all this night, with but little fire from us, only once in a while a bomb. On the 27th our cannon playing on the fort very briskly which the monsieurs finding too hot came out to capitulate, and about twelve o'clock we took possession. The remainder of the day was spent in destroying the fort, shipping, etc., of which there were nine, and not one escaped. In the evening the French, being about 150 men went to Canada according to agreement,



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but are to return the like number of prisoners, among whom is to be Col. Schuyler. It's undescribable the quantity of stores we found here. We have a brig and a schooner which we keep to carry plunder to Oswego. In the whole of this action we have not lost a man, and only two or three slightly wounded. One of the enemy had his thigh shot off, whom Red Head scalped. They lost some by the bursting of their cannon, and some wounded by our shot." A postscript to this dispatch signed by Sir William Johnson declared that the enemy had not one vessel left on Lake Ontario. This was the answer to the success of the French under Montcalm in 1756 when the English fort at Oswego had been captured and destroyed.

The expedition for the reduction of Fort Niagara consisted of 2,200 regulars and Provincials under General Prideaux and 943 Indians under Sir William Johnson. The force left Oswego on July 1st, 1759, and invested the fort on July 7th. On the 19th General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a shell carelessly discharged by one of the English gunners and Johnson succeeded to the command. He pressed the siege and the bombardment was so severe that by the 22nd a practicable breach was made in the "flag bastion." Meanwhile the French general D'Aubry collected from Detroit and the neighborhood a force of 1,200 men and advanced to take the English in rear. Johnson's scouts gave him full information of the progress of this expedition and on July 24th he detached a considerable force and marched with it along the River road towards the Falls. There was a smart fight, ended by an impetuous English charge. D'Aubry and eighteen other officers, with 96 men were captured and about 150 French were killed. Returning to Niagara Johnson sent the news to Captain Pouchot within the fort and summoned him to surrender before the Indians would get out of hand. On the morning of July 25th the fort capitulated, and 11 officers and 607 men were made prisoners of war. These were sent to England by way of Oswego and New York. The women and children in the Fort were sent to Montreal.

Following the fall of Niagara, Fort Levis on Chimney Island, about three miles below Ogdensburg, was reduced, and then on September 13th, 1759, Quebec yielded to the British forces under Wolfe. The capitulation of Montreal did not take place until September 6th, 1760, De Vaudreuil signing the papers. Four days afterwards Major Robert Rogers was ordered to take possession of Detroit and



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the other western French posts. He left within twenty-four hours of the issue of the order, having fifteen whale-boats and 200 men. The journey from Lachine to Fort Frontenac occupied twelve days, from September 11th to September 23rd; then the expedition rowed along the north coast of the Lake and by October 1st was at Niagara. Rogers was a native American, an expert in border warfare, a scout of parts, and one who was thoroughly at home in negotiations with the Indians. His book on the war and his journal show him as an excellent observer. He and his party were detained for a day or two at the site of Fort Frontenac on account of a wind accompanied by rain and snow. "We improved our time," he wrote, "in taking a plan of the Old Fort situated at the bottom of a fine, safe harbour. There were about 500 acres of cleared ground about it, which though covered with clover seemed bad and rocky, and interspersed with some pine trees." He mentioned that game was plentiful along the North shore and twice stress of weather drove the party to beach their boats and go hunting. On the 30th of September after a run of 70 miles the expedition reached the "Toronto River." Major Rogers found a clearing of about 300 acres around the place where the French formerly had a fort. He added, "I think Toronto a most convenient place for a Factory (or trading-post) and that from there we may very easily settle the north side of Lake Erie."

After refitting at Niagara the party crossed Lake Erie to Presqu' Isle and remained encamped while Major Rogers proceeded to Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) with despatches from General Amherst. On his return half the men were sent by land, and half by water, to Detroit, arriving there on November 29th. Rogers received the capitulation of the Fort from De Belestre, the commandant, administered the oath of allegiance to such settlers as were remaining in the neighborhood and had an unpromising interview with an Ottawa delegation from Pontiac, a shrewd and accomplished chief. Despite the severe weather the Major, and 37 men, attempted to go by Lake Huron to Michilimackinac, but were forced to turn back by reason of floating ice and rough weather. From Detroit, Rogers proceeded to Sandusky, to Fort Pitt, to Albany, Philadelphia and New York, arriving there on February 14th, 1761.

Sir William Johnson was in Detroit in 1761, for there were rumors that the Indians were uneasy. Two years later Pontiac had

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completed a scheme for a simultaneous attack upon twelve British posts along the whole frontier. The plan for the reduction of Detroit and Michilimackinac was for the Indians to accept an armistice, and to celebrate it by a lacrosse game to which the British officers of the garrison should be invited. The warriors being unarmed it was expected that the British would be thrown off their guard. As if by accident the ball was to be thrown into the Fort; then as the braves pursued it, the Indian women were to produce weapons from beneath their blankets. The stratagem succeeded to admiration at Michilimackinac, but at Detroit the Indian mistress of a British officer gave warning of the enterprise afoot and secret preparations were made to meet it. Pontiac, when the signal was given, found himself checkmated. The Fort was besieged for six months but was relieved by a force under Col. Bradstreet in 1764.



## Some New York Manors and Patents\*

BY BENEDICT FITZPATRICK, NEW YORK



THE word 'manor' has a Latin root and the genealogy of the idea for which it stands may be presumed, therefore, to have had a Latin origin, using the term in the comparative sense, and a Norman-French channel of descent. In American law it stands for a tract of land occupied by tenants who pay a free-farm rent to the proprietor. Specifically in New York it stood for a tract of land granted in colonial days either by patent or in confirmation of grants from the States-General of Holland to proprietors or patroons, who held by perpetual rent in money or in kind. The patrons were tenants in capite and had such manorial privileges as the right to hold a manorial court, to award fines, and to have waifs, estrays, and deodands. They had the right of subinfeudation, but their tenants did not. After the Revolution the State superseded the English king as lord, and the rents from the proprietors were from time to time commuted or released. In a few cases the rents, in money, in services, or in kind, from the subtenants continued to exist as rent charges upon the land. The old French word was "manoir," derived apparently from the Latin verb, "manere," having the sense of "to remain" or "to dwell."

Under the old law of Europe the manor consisted of a district of land held by some baron or man of worth by freehold tenure of the king or of some mesne lord, within which the lord of the manor exercises a certain jurisdiction in addition to his rights as landlord. The term "manor" to describe such a lordship did not come into use in England until some time after the Norman Conquest, but the institution is found in a less-developed form among the Anglo-Saxons. The typical manor in its later development consisted of two parts: (1) the inland (demesne) or home estate, which the lord held in his own hands, upon which his house was built, and which was farmed by non-free, peasant occupiers, and (2) the outland or

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VAN CORTLANDT MANSION, VAN CORTLANDT PARK,  
NEW YORK CITY



WILLIAM H. MORRIS MANSION





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geneatland, which was held, in part at least, by freemen as freehold tenants, holding of the lord at a rent, which might be money, or produce of the land, or military or other service. The tenants proper were freemen, but most of the occupiers who constituted the lord's dependents, belonged to one or more of the classes of the unfree, such as the villeins, who constituted the bulk of the peasant population. These for the most part dwelt together in villages and lived ordinarily by agriculture. In the view of certain authoritative historians there were in the beginning few manors, but that they gradually increased in number, until in the twelfth century the prevailing system of society, outside the boroughs or incorporated towns, was that of manors with dependent peasants. The Roman origin of the manor is obscure, but some authorities hold it to be due to the imposition of the system of the Roman villa on the servile population by the French invaders of England and other countries. Other authorities see in it a normal development of the village community. The lord of the manor might hold directly by grant of the king, who was, under the feudal system, the supreme landowner, the lord paramount, of all lands in the kingdom, in which case his customary jurisdiction, based upon and derived from the ancient customs of the manor, might be restricted or enlarged by royal grant; or he might hold under some mesne lord, who in his turn held the manor, together with other lands, directly of the crown. With the growth of the process of subinfeudation, that is, of the granting of lands by a tenant to be held of himself as overlord, the latter method of holding manors became common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When one lord held two or more manors, whether of the king or of a mesne lord, the entire estate was known as a lordship or honor.

The manor could be looked at from two points of view, the economic and the political. The manor has an estate for its basis, although it need not coincide with an estate, but may be wider. It is also a political unit, a district formed for purposes of government, although the political functions made over to it may greatly vary. As a lordship based on land tenure, the manor necessarily comprised a ruler and a population dependent on him, and the characteristic trait of such dependence consisted not in ownership extending over persons, as in slave-holding communities, nor in contractual arrangements, as in a modern economic organization, but

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in various forms of subjection, chiefly regulated by custom. In this sense the manor occurred in every country in which feudalism got a hold. Under various names we find it not only in France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, but also to a certain extent, in the Byzantine Empire, Russia, Japan, and other countries. It is especially representative of an "aristocratic" stage in the development of European nations. When tribal notions and arrangements ceased to be sufficient for upholding their commonwealths, when social and political life had to be built up on the basis of land-tenure, the type of manorial organization came forward in natural course. It was closely connected with natural economy, and was suited to a narrow horizon of economic wants and political requirements. At the same time it provided links for a kind of national federation of military States.

The full grown continental manor of the medieval period is better seen in France than elsewhere. Feudalism in France attained the greatest extension and the utmost regularity, while in other European countries it was hampered and intermixed with other institutional features. The expression best corresponding to the English "manor," in the sense of an organized district, was seigneurie. In principle the disruption of political life brought about by feudalism ought to have resulted in a complete administrative independence of the manor. "*Chaque baron est souverain dans sa baronie*" is a proverb meant to express this radical view of manorial separation. As a matter of fact this separation was never completely realized, and even at the time of the greatest prevalence of feudalism the little sovereigns of France were combined into a loose federation of independent fiefs. Still the problem was not a mere play of words and it took a long time for the kings of France to break in the local potentates. The institutional expression of this aspect of feudalism in the life of the seigneurie was the jurisdiction combined with the latter. The principal origin of the jurisdiction was the dismemberment of royal justice, the acquisition by certain landowners of the right of holding royal pleas. The assumption of authority over public tribunals of any kind was naturally considered as equivalent to such a transmission of royal right. But it was assumed by French feudal law that in all cases where land was granted by a seigneur in subinfeudation the recipients would be bound to appear as members of a court of tenants for the

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settlement of conflicts in regard to the land. There was also the extension of the patrimonial justice of a person over his serfs and personal dependents to the classes of free and half-free population connected with the seigneurie in one way or another. There arose in consequence of this assumption of jurisdiction a most bewildering confusion of tribunals and judicial rights. It happened sometimes that the question as to who should be judge in some particular contest was decided by matter-of-fact seizure—the holder of pleas who was the first on the spot to proclaim himself judge in a case was deemed entitled to jurisdiction. In other cases one seigneur held the pleas in a certain place for six days in the week, while some competitor of his possessed jurisdiction during the seventh.

The economic fabric of the French seigneurie varied greatly according to localities. In the north of France it was very much like that of the English manor, which derived from it. The capital messuage or castle, and the home-farm of the lord, were surrounded by dependent holdings, paying rent, and villein tenements burdened with services. Between these tenancies there were various ties of neighborhood and economic solidarity, recalling the open field cultivation in England and Germany. When the harvest was removed from the open strips they returned to a state of undivided pasture in which the householders of the village exercised rights of common with their cattle. Wild pastures and woods were used more or less in the same fashion as in England. The social relations between the manorial lord and his subjects were marked by various forms of the exploitation of the latter by the former. Apart from jurisdictional profits, rents and agricultural services, dues of all kinds were exacted from the rural population. Some of these dues have to be traced to servile origin, although they were evidently gradually extended to groups of people who were not descended from downright serfs but had lapsed into a state of considerable subjection. The main morte of rustic tenants meant that they had no goods of their own, but held movable property on sufferance without the right of passing it on to their successors. The formarrriage corresponded to the English merchetum, and was exacted from rustics on the marriage of their daughters. Although this payment assumed very different shapes, and sometimes only appeared in case consorts belonged to different lords, it was considered a badge of serfdom. As a person wield-



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ing political authority, a kind of sovereignty, the lord enjoyed divers rights which are commonly attributed to the state—the right of coining money, of levying direct taxes and toll, and of instituting monopolies. These latter were of common occurrence and might take the shape, for instance, of forcing the inhabitants to make use of the lord's mill, or of his oven, or of his bull.

In England the manor consisted partly of the houses of the inhabitants more or less closely clustered together and surrounded by arable land divided into large fields, two of three in number. The condition of the inhabitants of such a manor was complex. At the head of the community came the lord of the manor, with his hall, court, or manor-house, and the land immediately about it, and his demsene both in the fields and in the meadow land. Part of his demsene would be granted out to free tenants to hold at a rent or by military or other service; part would be in the lord's own hands, or cultivated by him. Below the lord and the free tenants came the villeins, natives, bondmen, or holders of virgates or yard lands, each holding a house, a fixed number of acre strips, a share of the meadow, and of the profits of the waste. In any one manor the holdings of all the villeins were equal. Normally the holder of a virgate was unfree; he had no rights in the eye of the law against his lord, who was protected from all suits by the *exceptio villenagii*. He could not without leave quit the manor, and could be reclaimed by process of law if he did. The strict contention of the law deprived him of all right to hold property; and in many cases he was subject to certain degrading incidents, such as merchet (*merchetum*), a payment due to the lord upon the marriage of his daughter, which was regarded as a special mark of unfree condition. The hardship of his position lay in the services due from him. As a rule a villein paid for his holding in money, in labor, and in kind. The cotters were the poor of the manor, who held a cottage and garden, or perhaps one acre or a half acre in the fields. They were unfree in condition, and in most manors their services were modelled upon those of the villeins. From their ranks were usually drawn the shepherd, the bee-keeper, and other minor officials of the manor.

The most complicated structure in the system was the manor court. The complication was, indeed, partly the work of lawyers interpreting institutions they did not understand by formulae not adapted to describe them. But beyond this there remain the facts

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that the court was the meeting point of the lord and the tenants both free and unfree, that any question touching on the power and constitution of the court was bound to affect the interests of the lord and the tenants, and that there was no external power capable of settling such questions as did arise. In the beginning the manor court exercised its criminal, civil or manorial jurisdiction as one court; its name might differ, the parties before it might be free or unfree, but the court was the same. The court leet, the court baron, and the court customary were differentiations of a later date. The president of the court was the lord's steward; the bailiff was the lord's representative and the public prosecutor; and the tenants of the manor, both free and unfree, attended at the court and gave judgment in the cases brought before it. To modern ears the constitution sounds unfamiliar. The president of the court settled its procedure, carried it out, and gave the final sentence, but over the law of the court he had no power. All that is comprised in the word "judgment" was settled by the body of tenants present at the court. This attendance was indeed compulsory and absence subjected to a fine any tenant owning and refusing the service known as "suit of court." It might be asked who in these courts settled questions of fact. The answer must be that disputed questions of fact could only be settled in one way, by ordeal; and that in most manorial courts the method employed was the wager of law. The business of the court was criminal, manorial, and civil. Its powers under the first head depended on the franchises enjoyed by the lord in the particular manor; for the most part only petty offenses were triable, such as small thefts, breaches of the assize of bread and ale, assaults, and the like; except under special conditions the justice of great offenses remained in the king. But offenses against the custom of the manor, such as bad ploughing, improper taking of wood from the lord's woods, and the like, were of course the staple criminal business of the court. Under the head of manorial business the court dealt with the choice of the manorial officers, and had some power of making regulations for the management of the manor; but its most important function was the recording of the surrenders and admittances of the villein tenants. It is to be noted that the conveyance of a villein's holding was affected by the vendor surrendering his land to the lord, who thereupon admitted the purchaser to the holding. The history of the decay of the manorial

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jurisdiction in England has not yet been written. On the one hand were the king's courts, with new and improved processes of law; on the other hand the gradual disintegration which marks the history of the manor in the later medieval period. The criminal jurisdiction was the first to disappear, and was closely followed by the civil jurisdiction over the free tenants.

The transition from this European idea of the manor to its American form in historic reality may perhaps best be indicated by citing some clauses out of the petition which the Walloons, who were the first settlers of New Netherland, but who in the beginning purposed making the voyage to Virginia, directed through Sir Dudley Carleton, British ambassador at The Hague, to the English king, and setting forth the terms and conditions under which they desired to undertake the enterprise. The petition contained seven articles specifying the details of the plan under which they desired to enter upon the work of colonization. In this document appears the earliest mention of the land tenure which the first colonists of New York asked for. It was that with which they were familiar and which they understood, and under which they had lived, and it was based on fealty, homage, and manorial rights, once fixed by Roman law but modified by the passage of time, and under which the West India Company was established in the new land as the embodiment of its government, and which governed it till the arrival of the English in 1664. The fifth and sixth articles of the petition, which was couched in French, ran something as follows:

VI. Whether he (His Britannic Majesty) would grant them a township or territory, in the radius of eight English miles, or say, sixteen miles in diameter, which they might improve as fields, meadows, vineyards, and for other uses; which territory, whether conjointly or severally, they would hold from his Majesty upon fealty and homage; no others being allowed to dwell within the bounds of the said lands unless they shall have taken letters of citizenship; in which territory they would reserve to themselves inferior manorial rights; and whether it might be permitted to those of their number who are entitled to maintain the rank of noblemen, to declare themselves such.

VII. Whether they would be permitted in the said lands to hunt all game whether furred or feathered, to fish in the sea and the rivers, to cut heavy timber, as well for ship building as for commerce, at their own will; in a word, whether they could make use of all things either above or beneath the ground, at their own pleasure and will, the royal rights reserved; and whether they could dispose



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of all things in trade with such persons as may be permitted them. Which provisions would extend only to said families and those belonging to them, without admitting those who might come afterwards to the said territory to avail themselves of the same, except so far as they might of their own power, grant this to them, and not beyond, unless his said Majesty should make a new grant to them.

Here we have the terms under which the earliest colonists began the actual settlement of the region known as New York, terms which they carried out, a little modified by the Dutch manorial system and rule. The West India Company by its charter was obliged to take measures for the development of the new province and the increase of its population. Militating against this was the great profit of the fur trade, which absorbed the general attention, and in addition there was the general apathy in Holland in respect to emigration for the Dutch farmers and laborers were of opinion that they could do just as well at home as abroad and in many other respects would be better off also. "The colonizing such wild and uncultivated countries demands more inhabitants than we can well supply," says a report of the Assembly of XIX of the States General in 1629; "not so much through lack of population, in which our provinces abound, as from the fact, that all who are inclined to do any sort of work here, procure enough to eat without any trouble; and are therefore unwilling to go far from home on an uncertainty." It was the recognition of facts such as these that brought about the plan giving special privileges, powers, and exemptions, to such members of the West India Company as would, at their own expense and risk, send out expeditions and establish separate and distinct plantations in any part of New Netherland, outside of Manhattan Island. It was thus that the Dutch manorial system was introduced into what is now the Bronx and other places, a system that received its final elaboration and modification in June, 1629, when it was approved and adopted by the Assembly of the XIX, and ratified and confirmed by their High Mightinesses the States-General. The plan or charter was entitled:

### FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS

Granted by the Assembly of the XIX, of the  
Privileged West India Company, To All  
Such as Shall Plant any Colonies  
in New Netherland.



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It consisted of thirty-one articles and was printed in a small quarto pamphlet of four or six pages and distributed throughout the United Provinces in 1630. It is the first instrument under which lands in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Connecticut, were acquired, and on which titles rest. It opens up by saying that such members of the said company as may be inclined to settle any colonie, meaning a plantation or settlement, in New Netherland, shall be permitted to send in the ships of this company going thither, three or four persons to inspect the situation of the country, provided that they, with the officers and ships company, swear to the articles, so far as they relate to them and pay certain sums for provisions and passage. The third clause says:

All such shall be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland, who shall, within the space of four years next after they have given notice to any of the chambers of the company here, or to the Commander or Council there, undertake to plant a colonie there of fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old; one-fourth part within one year, and within three years after the sending of the first, making together four years, the remainder, to the full number of fifty persons, to be shipped from hence, on pain, in case of wilful neglect of being deprived of the privileges obtained; but it is to be observed that the company reserve the island of Manhattan to themselves.

Other clauses describe their privileges as follows:

IV. They shall, from the time they make known the situation of the places where they proposed to settle colonies, have the preference to all others of the absolute property of such lands as they have chosen; but in case the situation shall not afterwards please them, or they should have been mistaken as to the quality of the land, they may, after remonstrating concerning the same to the Commander and Council there, be at liberty to choose another place.

V. The Patroons, by virtue of their power, shall and may be permitted, at such places as they shall settle their colonies, to extend their limits over four miles along the shore, that is, on one side of a navigable river, or two miles on each side of a river, and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit; provided and conditioned that the company keep to themselves the lands lying and remaining between the limits of the colonies, to dispose thereof, when and at such time, as they shall think proper, in such a manner that no person shall be allowed to come within seven or eight miles of them without their consent, unless the situa-

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tion of the land thereabout, were such, that the Commander and Council for good reasons shall order otherwise; always observing that the first occupiers are not to be prejudiced in the right they have obtained, other than, unless the service of the company shall require it, for the building of fortifications or something of that sort; remaining, moreover, the command of each bay, river, or island, of the first settled colonie, under the supreme jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the States-General, and the company; but that on the next colonies being settled on the same river or island, they may, in conjunction with the first, appoint one or more council, in order to consider what may be necessary for the prosperity of the colonies on the said river and island.

VI. They shall forever possess and enjoy all the lands within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers and fountains, thereof; as also the chief command and lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company, as a perpetual inheritance, without it ever devolving again to the company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed with twenty guilders per colonie, to be paid to this company, at the chamber here, or to their Commander there, within a year and six weeks after the same occur, each at the chamber where he originally sailed from; and further, no person or persons, whatsoever, shall be privileged to fish and hunt but the Patroons and such as they shall permit; and in case any one should in time prosper so much as to found one or more cities, he shall have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there, and to make use of the title of his colonie according to his pleasure and the quality of the persons.

### Article XIX says:

They (the Company) will not take from the service of the Patroons any of their colonists, either man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant; and though any of them should desire the same, they will not receive them, or permit them to leave their Patroons and enter into the service of another, unless on consent obtained from their Patroons in writing; and this for and during so many years as they are bound to their Patroons; after the expiration whereof, it shall be in the power of the Patroons to send hither all such colonists as will not continue in their own service, and until then shall not enjoy their liberty. And all such colonists as shall leave the service of their Patroons and enter into the service of another, or shall, contrary to his contract, leave his service; we promise to do everything in our power to apprehend and deliver the same into the hands of his Patroon, or attorney, that he may be proceeded against, according to the customs of the country as occasion may require.

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These clauses give us an idea of the degree of power and authority delegated to the Patroons, a power and authority clearly greatly circumscribed in comparison with the absolutism of the lord of the manor in the height of the feudal period. It is to be noted that in the first article of the plan or charter the privilege of becoming Patroons, with all their rights, powers and exemptions, hereditary and otherwise, was confined solely to the members, that is the stockholders of the West India Company. Other persons, however, could, with the permission of the Director and Council of New Netherland, take up as much land as they could improve, "and enjoy the same in full property either for themselves or others," but without any of the advantages and privileges conferred upon the Patroons. They were styled free Colonists. Under these clauses the colonizing of the territory of New Netherland was begun.

The erection of manors by the English in New York, like the creation of patroonships by the Dutch in the same province, was simply the establishment and carrying out of what they deemed the best method of promoting the growth and development of their new possessions under their own laws and customs. To the same purpose may be attributed the granting of similar large tracts of land which were not manors. The latter, the "Great Patents," as they were called, were usually granted to several grantees. The manors were necessarily granted to one only. The franchises, privileges, and other valuable incidents, which the manor possessed, and which the Great Patents did not possess, were fewer than is generally supposed. The tenure of both classes of these crown grants was the same, being "in free and common socageas of the Manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent." The greatest difference between them lay in the peculiar public incidents, as they have been called, which constituted a manor, incidents essential to its existence, and which related more to the government and good order of the territory of the manor, and the protection of the manor, than to power and profit of the lord of the manor. Tenants could, and did, take up lands under the grantees of the Great Patents, as well as under the lords of the manors. The former could, and did, settle people upon their Patents under leases, as well as deeds in fee, just as the latter did upon their manors. Both classes of proprietors sold in fee, or granted in leases of different kinds, just as their



INDIAN MONUMENT, VAN CORTLANDT PARK,  
NEW YORK CITY





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wishes or interests dictated. The Great Patents, their grantees, and the inhabitants upon them, were subject, in general and local matters, to whatever public territorial divisions of the province embraced them, and the laws in force therein. The manors, their lords, and their inhabitants, whether tenants, or holders in fee simple, of manor lands by purchase from the lords, were subject only to the jurisdiction and courts of the manor in local matters. Both, in all matters not local, were governed by the laws, courts and the civil and military authorities of the county and the province. There were in the county of Westchester six manors, which together comprised the larger part of its area. The Great Patents were more numerous, but together not so extensive in area. These latter and the borough-town of Westchester, with a few small original grants, formed the rest of the county as it was originally. The lower part of the "Equivalent lands" or "The Oblong," received in settlement of a boundary dispute from the colony of Connecticut was not added to the county till the year 1731, and this too, was then embraced in a single great patent.

The manors were those of "Cortlandt," "Scarsdale," "Pelham," "Morrisania," "Fordham," and "Philipseborough" or "Philipseburgh." Of these Cortlandt and Philipseburgh were much the largest. In the year 1769 it is calculated that one-third of the population of the county lived on the two manors of Cortlandt and Philipseburgh. The manors of Fordham, Morrisania, Pelham and Scarsdale, lying nearer to the city of New York than these two, and more accessible than either, were more settled. It is estimated that five-eighths of the population of Westchester County in 1769 were inhabitants of the six manors that have been named. As the people on the manors were free of personal jury duty the fact threw upon the rest of the county an increased burden. The "burgess" or representative of the Borough of Westchester in the Assembly in 1769 was John de Lancey of Rosehill. He sought to bring about some relief for the non-manorial inhabitants of the county and brought the matter before the Assembly. Some of his remarks are worth recording:

As the qualification required by the act for returning able and sufficient jurors in the several counties of this colony entirely disqualifies all the tenants settled upon the Manor of Philipseburgh and a great part of those settled on the manor of Cortlandt, in the

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county of Westchester, from serving upon juries; which makes that service extremely hard upon other parts of the county, the manors of Philipseburgh and Cortlandt containing at least one-third of all the inhabitants of the said county; I therefore move for leave to bring in a bill to enable and qualify the tenants holding lands improved of the value of sixty pounds, either for years, or at will, within the manors aforesaid to serve upon juries within the said county of Westchester."

Leave was given and the next day the representative introduced the bill. The jury act referred to required all jurors to be possessed either in their own rights and names, or that of the Trustees, or in that of their wives, of "a freehold in lands, messuages, or tenements, or rents, in fee, feetail, or for life, of the value of sixty pounds, New York currency, free of all incumbrances." In the City of New York alone personalty of sixty pounds value was permitted as a qualification. The object of de Lancey's bill was to make the tenants in the manors, who were not freeholders, subject to jury duty. This legislative action shows that none of the leases in the manor of Philipseburgh were "fee-farm" leases, that is leases in perpetuity, for such leases were "freeholds," and the tenants freeholders, by law, and that the same thing was true of a great part of the leases in the manor of Cortlandt. De Lancey's attempt to aid his constituents was not successful. His bill failed to pass. The manor grants in Westchester varied a little in the form and terms of the clauses providing for the reservation and the payment of these quit-rents and the times of their payment. The clauses were framed in the model of the quaint clauses of the old English manors. But apart from this there is nothing of a feudal aspect in them. The quit-rent clauses of certain local manor grants are these:

Manor of Cortlandt:—"Yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year unto us, our heirs and successors, at our City of New York, on the first day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin Mary, the yearly rent of forty shillings current money of our said Province, in lieu and stead of all other rents, services, dues, and demands whatsoever for the afore recited tracts and parcels of land and meadow, Lordship and Manor of Cortlandt and premises."

Manor of Scarsdale:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly and every year forever at our City of New York, unto us our heirs and successors, or to such officer and officers, as shall

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from time to time be empowered to receive the same, five pounds current money of New York, upon the Nativity of our Lord, in lieu and stead of all services, dues, duties, or demands whatsoever."

Manor of Pelham:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly and every year forever at our City of New York, unto us our heirs and successors, or to such officer or officers, as shall from time to time be empowered to receive the same, twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province, at the City of New Yorke, on the five and twentyeth day of the month of March, in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatsoever."

Manor of Morrisania:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin, unto us, our heirs and successors, at our city of New York, the annual rent of six shillings, in lieu," etc., "for the said lordship and manor of Morrisania, and premises."

Manor of Fordham:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying yearly and every year unto his Royal Highness, the Duke of Yorke and his successors, or to such governor or governors, as from time to time shall by him be constituted and appointed, as full acknowledgment and quit-rent, twenty bushels of good peas upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded."

Manor of Philipseburgh:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying therefor, yearly, and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at our fort of New York, unto us our heirs and successors, the annual rent of four pounds, twelve shillings current money of our said provinces, in lieu of all former rents, services, dues, duties, and demands for the said Lordship or Manor of Philipsborough and premises."

The manors of Westchester in the order of their erection were: "Fordham" in November, 1671, "Pelham" in October, 1687, "Philipseburgh" in June, 1693, "Morrisania" in May, 1697, "Cortlandt" in June, 1697, and "Scarsdale" in March, 1700. As the Manor of Cortlandt comprised the whole northern part of the county from the Hudson to the Connecticut line, and was ten miles in width, it stood first in the order of importance. The authority of the Governor, as Governor, of the Governor and Council in the executive capacity of the latter, and of the Governor, Council in its legislative capacity, and the General Assembly, the three together forming the legislature of the Province, extended throughout the manors



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of New York in all respects save one. Neither of these authorities could in any way alter, abridge or interfere with the franchises, rights, powers, privileges, and incidents of the manors. This was a matter in their own discretion, but none of them could become void by non-user, nor could the Province authorities of any grade modify them in any way. If the lords preferred or had no objection to have any local duties, legal acts, or offices, exercised by justices of the peace, assessors, constables, and other minor officers, either chosen by their tenants alone, or by their tenants in connection with the inhabitants, freeholders of any adjoining non-manorial lands, this could be done by an act of the provincial legislature. But no act of such a nature could be passed against their wishes. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and of the Court of Sessions, extended to all lands whether manorial or non-manorial. So, too, in the matter of elections, the inhabitants of the manors, with the exception of that of Cortlandt, which had a representative of its own as a franchise of its manor-grant, united with the people of the non-manorial lands in the choice of members of the Assembly for the county.

Brouncksland was a manor in an inchoate form. Its boundaries are hard to determine, though the northern line probably did not extend beyond 150th Street. To the east the land extended to Bungay Creek; and to the south, to the Harlem River and the Bronx Kills. The site of Bronck's house became that of Colonel Lewis Morris, and later of the manor-house. In the southwest corner of the West Farms strip was a small tract the ownership of which was in dispute between the heirs of the patentees and the Morrisses from 1666 to 1740, when the manor-lord of Morrisania obtained possession. As there were a number of streams in that locality, the question arose as to which was the Sackwrahung. The West Farms people claimed that it was Bungay Creek, or Brook; Colonel Morris that it was the stream to the eastward, called Wigwam Brook, and later, Leggett's Creek and Bound Brook. The disputed strip was long known as the "debateable land." During Dutch possession comparatively little was done in the way of development. A settlement grew at Harlem on Manhattan Island, and it is not unlikely that some of the farmers occupied land on the mainland. Thus we have the court records of a dispute in 1683 with the Jansen brothers and Daniel Turneur as plaintiffs against Colonel

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Lewis Morris, for four lots of meadow land at Stony Island, now Port Morris, which they had cultivated under previous owners of Brouncksland. The plaintiffs were inhabitants of Harlem. They lost their first suit when the Jansens withdrew. Turneur then entered suit alone against Colonel Morris and was finally successful in proving ownership of the disputed land.

At the time of the English occupation the land on the main has been thus described. On the west lying between the Hudson and the Bronx rivers was Colen Donck; next came Brouncksland, between the Harlem and the Bronx; next to the eastward came West Farms; east of this tract was Corhell's Neck; adjoining it on the north was Oostdorp, or Westchester; beyond on the Sound was Throgg's Neck; and north of Westchester was Pell's purchase of 1654. A portion of the Keskeskeck purchase of 1639 seems not to have been taken up. By an instrument dated August 10, 1670, Samuel Edsall conveyed Brouncksland to Richard Morris, and Lewis Morris. In 1676 Colonel Morris received from Governor Andros a patent confirming his title to the land, and in addition to all the lands lying adjacent to Brouncksland, "not included in any grants or patents, which land the said Colonel Morris doth desire for further improvement." This additional land was by survey fourteen hundred acres, which, with the addition of Brouncksland, made the whole estate 1920 acres. The quit-rent was a yearly payment of "five bushels of winter wheat." The bounds on the north were the lands of Daniel Turneur and John Archer; on the east the land of John Richardson and Thomas Hunt; on the southeast the Sound or East River; on the west, the Harlem River. We thus see that Brouncksland became incorporated in Morrisania and may be described as the heart of the manor.

The first lord of the manor of Morrisania, Lewis Morris, second of the name, died in the spring of 1746, aged seventy-three, so that he was born in the year 1673. By his will he directed that he should be buried at Morrisania, and that his funeral should be conducted in a manner that was Quakerish in its simplicity. He prohibited "any mourning dress to be worn on his account, as he should die when Divine Providence should call him away, and was unwilling that his friends should be at unnecessary expense, which was owing solely to the common folly of mankind." To his son, Lewis, he left all that part of the manor lying east of the Mill

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Brook; to his wife, Isabella Graham, the remainder of the estate, lying westward of the Mill Brook, called "Old Morrisania"; and to his second son, Robert Hunter Morris, he bequeathed his New Jersey estates.

Following the death of his mother, Lewis Morris, third of the name, became possessed of the whole manor. He was married twice, his first wife being Elizabeth Staats, by whom he had three sons: Lewis, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, Staats Long, a general in the British army, who married Catherine, Duchess of Gordon, whose son was the instigator of the "Gordon riots" described in Dickens' "Barnaby Rudge," and Richard Morris, who married into the Ludlow family, and who was a judge of the Court of Admiralty at the outbreak of the war. The second wife of Lewis Morris was Sarah Gouverneur, by whom he had one son, Gouverneur Morris, and four daughters, one of whom, Isabella, became the wife of the Reverend Isaac Wilkins. Lewis Morris, the third, died in 1762, at the age of sixty-four. By his will, dated November 19, 1760, he bequeathed to his eldest son, Lewis, "all that part of Morrisania west of the Mill Brook"; to his wife, "the land upon which my house stands west of the Mill Brook"; and to his other sons, the remaining part of the manor. He also directed that his son, Gouverneur, was to have the best education "that was to be had in England or America." The legacy of the land to the west of the Mill Brook carried with it the right to the use of the stream for milling and other purposes, so that the east bank really became the boundary. It is a curious fact that today in consequence, the purchaser of a lot which lies on both sides of the bed of the former stream, that is that would be crossed by the stream if it existed, is obliged to get a quit-claim, or release, of the brook from the descendants of the original legatee, in order that the title shall be clear and above reproach.

Lewis Morris became the manor-lord and continued so until after the Revolution. Upon the breaking out of hostilities he became a brigadier-general in the American army, but, early in the war, he resigned his position to become a member of the Continental Congress; and as such his name is affixed as a signer of the Declaration, as a delegate from New York. His brother, Staats Long, refused to perform service in America against his countrymen and remained in England during the whole war, notwithstand-





LYDIG HOUSE, BRONX PARK, NEW YORK CITY



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS MANSION





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ing which he rose to high rank in the British service before his death. The manor-house of Lewis Morris, west of the Mill Brook, stood until about 1891, when it was demolished by the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad in making improvements for the suburban branch along the Harlem River and Bronx Kills. It stood west of Brook Avenue, and was known as "Christ's Hotel."

The most conspicuous member of the Morris family was Gouverneur Morris, who was born at Morrisania, January 31, 1752. As a boy he went for instruction to Dominie Tetard, from whom he acquired a thorough knowledge and control of the French language, as well as of other matters. In accordance with his father's directions he received the best education to be obtained in America, and was graduated from King's College in 1768, at the age of sixteen. Subsequently he studied law and became one of the ablest and most brilliant lawyers in America. Upon the approach of hostilities he became a member of the Provincial Congress, and July 8, 1775, a member of the Committee of Safety of Westchester County. During the whole of the struggle with Great Britain he was in the active service of his country, serving it in a political capacity. He was a close friend and confidant of Washington; and between him and Hamilton, there existed the strongest friendship until the tragic death of the latter. The oration over the body of Hamilton, an oration famous for its power and pathos, was pronounced by Gouverneur Morris. Morris was a member of Congress during the war, and he was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. As a member of the latter body he framed the final draft of the Constitution as submitted to the States for ratification; and the beautiful, clear and forceful English of that instrument is almost entirely his work. He was a Federalist in politics, and assisted Jay and Hamilton with tongue and pen, until his departure for Europe, in striving for the ratification of the Constitution by the several States. As a statesman, Morris ranked with these two famous Federalists, in the judgment of some; as a financier, he ranked after the financier of the Revolution, Robert Morris, whose assistant he had been, and after Alexander Hamilton, the first great Secretary of the Treasury.

Gouverneur Morris was a man of brilliant parts, with a rough, caustic tongue and pen which made him many enemies. Washington esteemed his patriotism highly and admired his directness and

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good judgment, but declined to appoint him on some diplomatic mission for fear his manner would defeat the object of the mission by arousing the ire of those whom he would meet and whom it would be his duty to conciliate. He believed in calling a spade a spade. Even in that time of easy morals Morris was conspicuous for his disregard of the opinions of the respectable portion of the community and liked to shock people with his vagaries. One of his fads was to drive a pair of spirited horses without reins. Though repeatedly warned by his friends of the danger of doing so, he continued to laugh at their misgivings until one day in May, 1780, when his team ran away with him in the streets of Philadelphia and one leg was crushed so badly that the surgeons thought it necessary to amputate it; in consequence for the rest of his life Morris was obliged to hobble around on a wooden leg. A religious friend called upon him one day to sympathize with him on the loss of his leg, and to tell him it was all for the best, as it was an act of divine wisdom; to whom Morris replied: "My good sir, you argue the matter so handsomely; and point out so clearly the advantages of being without legs, that I am almost tempted to part with the other." During the war his mother remained a Loyalist and occupied the manor-house in New York. He did not see her for seven years; but during that time, both he and his half-brother, Lewis, corresponded with her whenever opportunity offered, an act which called forth the denunciations of their enemies, who even impugned their loyalty to the cause for which they were both doing so much. In 1788 Morris left for an extended tour of Europe, and was in Paris during the distressing events preceding the French Revolution. His advice was sought by Louis XVI and his ministers, and he drew up for the French king an address from the throne. Morris was at last made minister to the Court of Versailles, and he remained in Paris during the period of the Reign of Terror, being the only foreign representative that did so. After his supersession as minister by Monroe in August, 1794, at the request of the Directory as a set-off to Genet's recall, Morris made an extended tour of Europe. In Austria he tried to secure the release of Lafayette; but though unsuccessful, he procured for the marquis many privileges that tended to mitigate the tedium of confinement. He was United States Senator from the State of New York from 1799 to 1803, but upon the defeat of the Federalists by the Democratic-Republicans under Jef-

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ferson, he withdrew from politics taking a pessimistic view of the future of the country. Morris was probably the first to advance the idea of connecting the harbor of New York with the great inland seas by means of an artificial waterway, and he foresaw in part the immense trade that would accrue to the city as a result. Morris was opposed to Governor George Clinton politically, but the governor appointed Morris one of the members of the first commission to inquire into the feasibility of the Erie Canal and to superintend its construction. The Gouverneur Morris house, to which many additions had been made by the builder's successors, commanded a magnificent view of the East River to the south, overlooking Bronx Kills and Randall's Island. The rooms were large and lofty, and upon the floors were the marks made by Morris's wooden leg. Some weak efforts were made at one time to preserve the house as a museum and the grounds in which it was situated as a public park; but about 1905 the property was secured by the railroad and the historic mansion was demolished.

The manor grant of Fordham was made in 1671, when Francis Lovelace was governor of New York, and bears his signature. The manor never constituted a township by itself, having first been incorporated in the township of Westchester by the Act of 1788, and later, within the township of West Farms when it was formed in 1846. It lies so close to Kingsbridge it is sometimes difficult to differentiate in describing the two. On the Harlem River, Fordham extends as far south as Highbridge, and on the Bronx, it lies between West Farms and Williamsbridge. Within this area there grew up a number of villages, Fordham, South Fordham, Tremont, East Tremont, Belmont, South Belmont, Mount Hope, Mount Eden, Monterey, Fordham Heights, Jerome Park, and Williamsbridge.

The Fordham grant goes back to within a few years following the fall of New Amsterdam. Some time before 1666 the widow of Adriaen Van der Donck married Hugh O'Neale of Patuxent, Maryland, and went there to live. On September 21, 1666, "came Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife (who in right of her former husband laid claime to a cert<sup>n</sup> parcele of land upon the Maine not farre from Westchester, commonly called the Younckers land), who bro't severall Indyans before the gov<sup>r</sup> to acknowledge the purchase of said lands by van der Donck commonly called ye Youncker. . . . Tackarack, . . . . Claes, . . . . received satisfact<sup>n</sup> of Van Der Donck. All the



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rest of the Indjans present being seven or eight acknowledged to have rec<sup>d</sup> full satisfaction."

Pelham is situated to the southeast of New Rochelle. It has for its southern boundary Long Island Sound. A small stream called by the Indians the Aqueanouncke, and by the English Hutchinson's River, separates it from East Chester. It appears to have been purchased from the Indians some time previous to the year 1666 by Thomas Pell, and by him called Pelham. By Governor Nicholls it was granted and confirmed in 1666, "To Thomas Pell, Esq., of Fairfield in Connecticut, together with the island adjacent and all its privileges," and erected into "an enfranchised township or manor," and secured to him and his heirs. Thomas Pell, the first proprietor of the township, appears to have been an adherent of the popular party in the great struggle between the Parliament and the crown. Having been identified with the Puritans under the protectorship of Cromwell, after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he fled from the vengeance of the royalists into France. He afterwards removed to Onckaway, or Fairfield, in Connecticut, and from thence went to Pelham, where he purchased from the Indians the right to the soil. After his death which took place about 1680 the manorial proprietorship descended to John Pell, his nephew, son of the famous Dr. Pell, ambassador of Oliver Cromwell to the Swiss Cantons. In 1691 the name of John Pell is found on the list of members returned by the sheriff to represent the county of Westchester, New York.

The region within the limits of Pelham was claimed both by the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the colony of Connecticut. In the year 1634, Thomas Pell bought from the Indians,—so stating in his testimony before a Court of Assize, held in New York, September 29, 1665—the title to the lands afterwards known as Pelham, Westchester, and New Rochelle. This whole tract of land was originally included in the grant made by the Indians to the Dutch West India Company in the year 1640. What Pell paid to the Indians for it does not clearly appear. Probably not so much as the Dutch paid them twenty years before for the whole of Manhattan Island. "A valuable consideration" are Pell's own words. In the year 1666 Pell's title was confirmed by royal grant, issued by Governor Nicholls.

In the year 1689, John Pell, successor and heir of Thomas Pell,

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sold to the Huguenots of New Rochelle through the agency of Governor Leisler, a tract of land consisting of six thousand one hundred acres, from the Manor of Pelham, for the sum of about one dollar per acre. The one hundred acres was a free gift to the French Huguenot Church, erected or to be erected by the inhabitants. The Manor of Pelham had originally contained nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six acres so that nearly two thirds of it constitute the town of New Rochelle. The islands in the Sound opposite Pelham belong to the town. These are Minneford's, now City Island, containing about two hundred and fifty acres; and Hart Island, with eighty-five acres. The death of John Pell, nephew and heir of Thomas Pell, occurred in 1700, according to the inscription on his monument. He is said to have lost his life by the upsetting of a boat off City Island in the autumn of that year. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded to the inheritance, and died in 1739, at the Manor House. In October, 1776, the British forces landed at Pelham Neck, ten days prior to the battle of White Plains. They came from Throgmorton's, now Throg's Neck. They were met by the Americans and a heavy skirmish resulted. After some loss the Americans fell back, and the British advanced towards New Rochelle. Though largely outnumbered the retreat of the Americans was orderly and their resistance obstinate. The loss would appear to have been about equal. The owners of the islands along the Pelham shore suffered more severely from this invasion than the people in the interior, because a portion of the British fleet was always anchored in the Sound, and boats were constantly landing to obtain supplies, which they often, and probably unintentionally, forgot to pay for. One Benjamin Palmer, who lived on City Island, after the war was over sent a petition to Governor Clinton, complaining of his grievances. He declared that he had been driven off the island, his stock destroyed, his effects plundered, his family taken prisoners, and, as a last indignity, the commander of the guardship, "Scorpion," ordered him to cut his wood in a certain place and no place else, "upon penalty of having his house burned down." Palmer's case was not a peculiar one. These acts of petty oppression were universal during the occupancy by the British of all parts of the country. But in his case there was a special reason for the enemy's retaliation. He had ventured to write to General Howe a letter in vindication of the Americans. But inasmuch as the suf-

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ferer afterwards removed to New York City with his family and had besides, abundance of good company in his sufferings and since his oppressors were ultimately defeated and driven from the country and he, if present, might have witnessed the hauling down of their flag on the Battery, in New York, in 1783 it would appear that he might well have been content to call it square and withdraw his petition. A hundred years made a great change in the value of the plantation held by him and from which he was then driven on City Island. The oyster business was greatly developed there. The building of vessels, mostly pleasure yachts, led to the establishment of a dock-yard, in which a considerable number of men were employed, and where some of the speediest yachts in the country were built.

The manor of Philipseburgh occupied in its southern part the western side of what is now the Bronx, reaching from Spuyten Duyvil to Croton Point and Haverstraw Bay, where the manor of Cortlandt had its southern limit, running northward along the eastern shore of the Hudson. Yonkers was an important part of the Philipseburgh manor. Going back to its beginnings it is necessary to recall that Elias Doughty sold to Frederick Philipse, Delaval, and Lewis 7,708 acres of Colen Donck. By June 12, 1686, the whole tract had come into the possession of Frederick Philipse by purchase from the heirs of the other two proprietors. In the meanwhile, Philipse had been buying land from the Indians and from later proprietors and patentees, until in 1693, he owned an enormous tract of land extending virtually from Spuyten Duyvil Creek and Harlem River on the south to the Croton River on the north, and between the Bronx and Hudson rivers on the east and west. This tract did not include the Mile Square, nor the tracts sold to Hadden or to Betts and Tippet. On June 12, 1693, by royal charter signed by Benjamin Fletcher, "captain-general and governor-in-chief of our province of New York aforesaid," all of Philipse's purchases were formed into the lordship and manor of Philipseburgh, or Philipseborough, with the regular rights of court-baron and court-leet, "together with the advowson and right of patronage of all and every the church or churches erected or to be erected or established or hereafter to be erected or established within the said manor of Philipseborough." The quit rent was an annual payment of four pounds current money of the province upon the feast





PELL TREATY OAK, PELHAM BAY PARK





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day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, payable "at our fort of New York." Included in this grant was the island Paparinemo, with the right of building a bridge across the Muscoota, or Spuyten Duyvil Creek. Frederick Philipse—the name was also spelt Flypse, Flypsen, Vlypse, and Vlypsen, its meaning being "the son of Philip"—was a native of Friesland in Holland, who came to New Amsterdam before 1653 when he was about twenty-one years of age. He worked at his trade of carpenter, but gradually engaged in mercantile pursuits until he became the richest man in the province and was known among the English as the "Dutch millionaire." He made two advantageous marriages, his first wife being Margaret Hardenbroeck, widow of Pietrus Rudolphus De Vries, a wealthy merchant of New Amsterdam, whose business the new Mrs. Philipse continued in her own right with extraordinary shrewdness. This was in 1662; she died about 1690. The second Mrs. Philipse was Catherine Van Cortlandt, the sister of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and the widow of John Dervall. Philipse was named in the order for Dongan's council and was councillor for upwards of twenty years. His business ventures were in both the East and the West Indies and with the Five Nations of the Mohawk Valley.

The original patent of West Farms comprised the territory between the Fordham line on the north, the Bronx River on the east, the Sound on the south, and Bungay Creek and Morrisania on the west. On March 12, 1663, Edward Jessup and John Richardson, of Westchester, bought from nine Indians a tract of land west of the Bronx River, extending south to the East River, and northerly to about the middle of the present lower lake in Bronx Park; the western boundary was a small stream called Bungay Creek by the English, or "Sackwrahung" by the Indians; the eastern boundary was the middle of the Bronx River. The tract was subdivided into twelve farms, and was therefore called the "Twelve Farms," or since these lay to the west of Westchester, more commonly, the "West Farms." By confirmatory patent of Governor Nicholls, dated April 25, 1666, the tract was divided into two equal portions between the two original patentees. Jessup's daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Hunt of the "Grove Farm" on Throgg's Neck; they came into possession of the Neck extending into the East River, which thus became known as Hunt's Point. This was by purchase from "Robert Beachem and Elizabeth, formerly the wife

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of Edward Jessup," of "all those holding lands and accommodations that were formerly Edward Jessup's." The deed is dated June 20, 1668. In the southwest corner of the West Farms strip was a small tract whose ownership was in dispute between the heirs of the patentees and the Morrisises from 1666 to 1740, when the manor-lord of Morrisania obtained possession. As there were a number of streams in the locality, the question arose as to which was the Sackwrahung. The West Farms people claimed that it was Bungay Creek, or Brook; Colonel Morris, that it was the stream to the eastward, called Wigwam Brook, and later, Leggett's Creek and Bound Brook. The disputed strip was long known as the "debatable land."

The land "on the main" at the time of the English occupation stood something like this: On the west, lying between the Hudson and the Bronx rivers, was Colen Donck; next came "Brounck-land," between the Harlem and the Bronx; next to the eastward came the West Farms; east of this tract was Cornell's Neck; adjoining it on the north was Oostdorp, or Westchester; beyond, on the Sound, was Throgg's Neck; and north of Westchester was Pell's purchase of 1654. A portion of the Keskeskeek purchase of 1639 does not seem to have been taken up. The only settlement or town in the whole district was Westchester; and the settlers here had an agreement with Pell, who claimed to the East River, by which they were to pay him a certain annual quit-rent. This they failed to do; and in acknowledgment of his right on June 14, 1664, they surrendered into his hands all right, title, and interest in the lands. This was a rather curious transaction, as at the time of it they were sworn to allegiance to the Dutch, whose jurisdiction they acknowledged. But being Connecticut men they were probably inclined to further the claim of their native colony to the Atlantic Ocean which they could do better by admitting Pell's supremacy than by upholding the claim of the Dutch.

On August 16, 1680, the town of Westchester gave to Richardson and Jessup, the owners of West Farms, the privilege of locating a saw-mill and a grist-mill upon the Bronx River. On April 2, 1711, this privilege, together with one saw-mill and three grist-mills, was conveyed to Tryntje Byvanck, widow of Evert Byvanck, to William Provost, from whom it passed to the original Etienne, or Stephen, De Lancey, who by will dated March 4, 1735, devised

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“unto my son, Peter and to his heirs, all my mills, mill-house, mill-boat, farm and land, and all and every the appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate and being in the county of Westchester, upon Bronck’s river, lately known as the mills of William Richardson.” In consequence of this inheritance the heir became known as “Peter of the Mills,” and the locality as De Lancey’s Mills, as well as West Farms. Later the most thickly populated portion of the Bronx mainland was the section lying contiguous to the Sound: Westchester, West Farms, Throgg’s Neck, and Eastchester. Here the preponderating influence was that of the De Lancey family. In the spring of 1777, during the war, the British forces occupied the abandoned fortifications of the Americans on the mainland, restored and strengthened them, and built several new ones. Their line of outposts extended from Philipse’s Manor or Yonkers through Mile Square, Williamsbridge, and Eastchester, with an interior line of posts at Kingsbridge, Fordham Heights, Morrisania, West Farms, and Westchester, while the various necks and points of land extending into the East River were not neglected. There was thus left between the two opposing armies a wide space of the county, which was subject to the forays and marauds of both sides;—this constituted the famous “Neutral Ground.”

Grace Church, West Farms, was incorporated December 13, 1844. The credit of first attempting to establish an Episcopal church in the village was due to Miss Margaret Hunt, daughter of Thomas Hunt, fourth in descent from Edward Jessup, one of the original patentees of West Farms. The corner stone of the church was laid November 10, 1846, and the edifice was consecrated by Bishop De Lancey of Western New York, June 28, 1847. During the colonial period some of the churches in the northern part of the county were comprised within the presbyteries of Connecticut or of Dutchess (Putnam) County; but even thirty years after the Revolution little or nothing was done in the lower part of the county, and it was considered a good field for missionary work by the New York Presbytery. In 1814 the Reverend Isaac Lewis divided his time between New Rochelle and West Farms engaged in such work; and in the following year, 1815, a church edifice was erected at West Farms. Four members organized the church on December 4, 1816; and the congregation was fully organized by the election of officers on November 5, 1818. The ancient edifice, the



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oldest in the city belonging to the Presbyterians, and its churchyard, stand on East 180th Street, a short distance west of the Boston Road and the site of De Lancey's Mills. In 1903, Charles Bathgate Beck, left a legacy to the church, and a fine stone edifice with an imposing tower was erected on the land directly opposite the old church building, which was for a time given over to a colored congregation. The new church is known as the Beck Memorial Presbyterian Church. Previous to 1858 the Pilgrim Baptist Church of New York opened a mission in what was called West Farms Hall, where services were held on Sundays by the Reverend Theodore Gessler and by a business man by the name of Halset Knapp. Success crowned their efforts and a number of converts were made who were baptized in the Bronx River. In January, 1858, the Baptists of West Farms, to the number of twenty-one, formed themselves into a distinct church and adopted the name of the Pilgrim Baptist Church of West Farms. In November of the same year a lot was purchased on the Boston Road at Bryant Street, and the erection of a small church edifice was begun shortly afterwards; a later edifice occupies the same site, though long unused, having been vacated on account of the noise of passing trolley cars and elevated trains.

Soon after the close of the Civil War, in 1866, the Bathgate farm was acquired by the Jerome Park Villa Site Improvement Company, but the American Jockey Club soon became the lessee and laid out a track for racing purposes. The property lay in the town of West Farms, in the ancient manor of Fordham; and the site is now occupied by the Jerome Park distributing reservoir.

The houses of the manor-lords and the well-to-do Dutch and English men and women were substantially built of stone, or of black, yellow, and red bricks especially imported from Holland or England. They usually consisted of two stories and an attic, the latter for the use of the servants. The houses were large, comfortable, and roomy; the last often a necessity in the case of the Dutch, as indeed, of the English, both of whom in colonial days had large numbers of children. Not only did the necessities of life abound, but many of the luxuries. The furniture was of mahogany, the rooms wainscoted, the fire-places of tiles bearing extracts from the Scriptures or pictures illustrating Biblical scenes, while silver and pewter utensils and fine Delft or other china were in constant

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use. In later times fine pictures by Allston, Sully, Peale, and other artists hung upon the walls, and some of the best European artists were represented there. The manor-house of the Philipses at Yonkers remains as an example of many of these homes of the wealthy gentry. The carved oak and ornamental ceilings, doors, and walls, done by workmen imported for the purpose, show the taste and comfortable circumstances of the owners. It must not be thought that these people belonged to the idle class; on the contrary they were practical farmers, merchants, or professional men; for idleness was one of the deadly sins, and several European visitors, as well as the officers of the French army under Rochambeau, have left their testimony to the activity of the better-to-do of the American colonies. The pasturage was excellent and cattle, sheep and swine had free range of the woods. The Labadist missionaries who visited New York in 1679 expressed surprise at the number, size, and lusciousness of the peaches, and noted the fact that, while many of them lay upon the ground, the hogs paid little attention to them, as the hogs were apparently already gorged. The cattle not only furnished milk and meat, but their hides supplied the footwear of the family, being made into shoes by the itinerant shoemaker on his yearly or half yearly visits. From the sheep was obtained wool, and flax was early planted and cultivated; the hand loom stood in every household and converted them into woollen cloth and into linen thread and sheeting. The thread was of extraordinary strength and the linen of a satiny texture. His homespun cloth not only clothed the farmer and his family, but he was able to send his surplus to New York, whence it was sent to other parts of the coast and to Europe. Tobacco was also added to the planting field, as everybody smoked; and the Dutch were, beyond all others, consumers of the fragrant weed. Added to these the woods abounded in wild birds and game, and deer were plentiful. The waters of the Sound, the Harlem, and the Hudson, and of the innumerable brooks and streams supplied the settlers with fish; so that of food there was an abundance, even upon the tables of the poorest, while upon the tables of the well-to-do there was such a variety and profusion as to arouse the comment of such Europeans as visited the colony.

The attire of the people was in keeping with their general circumstances. The women and girls dressed plainly in serviceable

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and durable homespun. For Sundays and for "frolics" a ribbon or other gewgaw could be purchased from the Yankee pedlar who began to make his stated rounds with his pack. The ordinary dress of the yeoman was homespun in summer. In winter his dress consisted of leather breeches and apron, as cloth was too expensive—about a guinea a yard. The stockings were made of wool raised on his own farm and knitted by his women folks. The Dutch adhered to their distinctive dress of voluminous petticoats and breeches, so humorously described by Irving; but as time passed intermarriages began to be frequent among the different races, with the result that national characteristics became modified and amalgamated, and the population became more and more nearly homogeneous. The well-to-do classes dressed with an expenditure parallel to that which they made on food and habitation. They tried to follow the fashions of Europe, but necessarily they were a year or two behind. It was to be expected in an English colony that the social distinctions of England would be observed to a greater or less extent. There were then three classes in the social scale; the gentry, the tradesmen, and the yeomanry, of whom the last were, of course, the most numerous. The line between the gentry, those of landed estates or descended from those who were regarded as "gentlemen" in Europe, and the other classes was marked. While perhaps the upper classes were not supercilious nor the lower obsequious, there was condescension on the one hand and deference on the other. The influx of New Englanders, whose democratic ideas rendered them obnoxious to the phlegmatic Dutch as well as to the English New Yorker tended to break down this barrier, and the Revolution and the Constitution together swept it away at the end of the eighteenth century. The principal cause of the difference in caste lay in the land tenure. Many of the farmers were tenants of the landed gentry, occupying their lands on long and liberal leases, which did not at first begin to pay the landlords for their expense in obtaining settlers, but which, as time passed, became valuable. The New Englanders frequently preferred the leasehold property to holding property in fee. In the former case they could, if seized by that desire for improvement of which Irving speaks, quit at the expiration of the lease or even before by disposing of their betterments to a new-comer and emigrating to "green fields and pastures new." If they were owners in fee they



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were to a certain extent bound to the land which they owned. There thus existed between landlord and tenant that relation which has prevailed in England since Saxon days, and which in the modern age has set off a class of people known distinctively as the landed gentry.

Westchester County was not as distinctively Dutch as Rockland and other up-river counties, nor was the Dutch tongue spoken for so long a time. The Dutch settler usually built his house of stone with a large door, the lower half and the upper half being swung separately, so that the upper half could be opened for light and ventilation, while the lower half remained shut, to prevent the egress of the small children and the ingress of poultry, pigs, or other domestic animals. The windows were made of small pains of glass and were protected by strong shutters hung on heavy wrought-iron hinges, and kept open by a large catch shaped like the letter "S." A porch, or stoep, extended, if not across the front of the house, at least in front of the doorway. In the kitchen was a huge fireplace which might consume a cord of wood a day, and within whose generous dimensions, in the winter time, the whole family, including the cat and the dog, could find accommodation. The beds were great four-posters, the bottom of sacking, through which stout ropes were drawn and fastened to pegs, on the frame, while upon this was piled the mattress or feather beds. In poorer houses, clean straw or hay thrown upon the floor, or in shelves or bunks built for the purpose, answered all the purposes of beds.

It has been noted that slavery was introduced on to the mainland of America by the Dutch, in the sense at least that a vessel of that nationality sold to the planters at Jamestown, Virginia, a number of negro slaves in 1619. One of the earliest promises held out to prospective settlers in New Amsterdam by the West India Company was that a sufficient number of negro slaves would be furnished to the settlers. The institution of slavery existed all through Dutch and English days, and even after New York became a State. Slaves however were not held in large numbers as in the southern colonies, nor were they usually provided with separate quarters. They ordinarily slept in the attics or upper stories of the houses of their masters and ate their meals in the kitchen after their master and his family had finished. They were, in a sense, regarded as members of the family group and the farmer who owned one or



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two worked in the fields alongside of them, much as the small farmer works with his hired men. On the whole, their owners treated them with kindness and did not have unlimited power over them in the way of punishment. They were flogged, of course, on occasion, but that was a form of punishment meted out to blacks also. The Dutch in particular had the repute of treating their black dependents with humanity. During the seventeenth century the value of a negro was about one hundred dollars in our money, and of a negress about two hundred dollars. The traffic began to decline in 1718; and in 1755 there were but seventy-three African slaves in the whole county of Westchester. When it was pretty certain that slavery was to be abolished in the State many of those who owned slaves sent them into the southern states for sale, so that there would be no loss of property or money. The plan of freeing the slaves was one of gradual manumission, and the last slave held in New York State was one belonging to the Morris family—this about 1827. Indians were also reduced to a condition of slavery in the early days of the colony, but the Indian has never shown himself greatly addicted to hard manual labor—that he left to his squaw. Captain Graydon of the American army, while a prisoner in Flatbush during the Revolution, wrote: “Their blacks, when they had them, were very free and familiar; sometimes sauntering among the whites at meal time, with hat on head, and freely joining in the conversation, as if they were one and all of the same family.” Notwithstanding this familiarity there was no miscegenation until the soldiers of the British army were let loose on parts of the country; and the first appearance of a mulatto-child is said to have stirred a displeased curiosity and a feeling of general condemnation.

A different kind of enforced labor was also employed in the colony, that of the indentured, or bond servant. This was a man or woman who, desirous of coming to the New World, received a passage from the ship-master, with the agreement that upon arrival his or her services were to be sold for a certain period, usually five years, to the highest bidder. The ship-master pocketed the sum paid and was thus reimbursed for his trouble and expense. Sometimes persons were trepanned in England and disposed of in this way by persons whose interests would be favorably affected by the disappearance of the seized person. It may be noted that the uncle

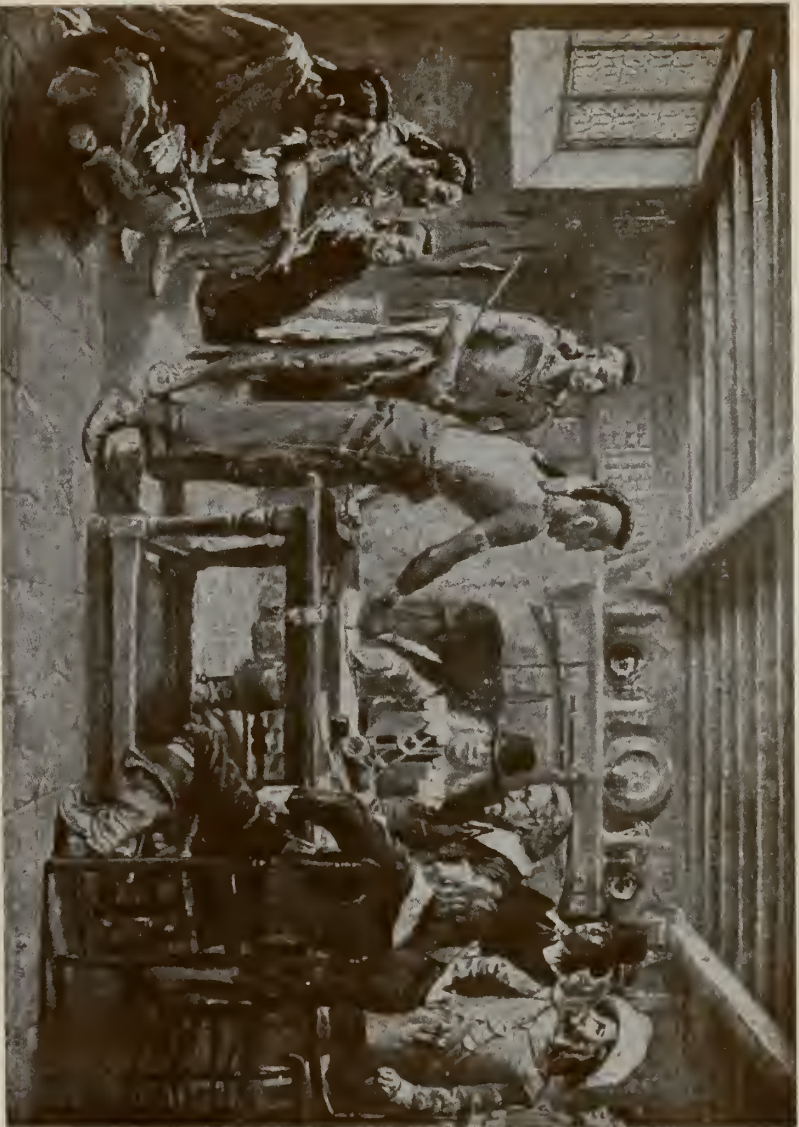
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of David Balfour, in Stevenson's story, "Kidnapped," attempted to get rid of his nephew in this way. The person whose services were disposed of became legally bound to the buyer, who thus became in a sense the owner, and in any case the master, of the bond servant, until the expiration of the term of service, when the servant became capable of disposing of his or her own time. The same laws and penalties practically applied to a runaway bond-servant as to a runaway slave. The class of indentured servants was not composed of the vicious and the wicked. Most of them were merely poor and thought they could do better in a new land than in the thickly settled countries of Europe. Occasionally it was pique or some similar feeling that drove them to the step, sometimes disappointed love, or dissipation, or disappointment. But there was another class of servants made up of men and women condemned by law and sold into the plantation for life or for a certain period of time accordingly as it was determined by the judges who sentenced them. Some of these were actually criminals and malefactors; others of them were men of the loftiest character, patriots who fought against oppression, men who deliberately defied bad laws, others penalized by unjust judges or degraded men in authority, according to the usage in the bad old times that have been often too much praised. The services of these were sold to the highest bidder as in the case of the indentured servant. When we recall the number of offenses that were capital in England and in other lands where it was sought to impose English law, we may well believe that those who escaped the hangman were not usually guilty of what we would consider in these days very heinous crimes. Of these transported men and women comparatively few reached New York; there was a greater demand for them in the southern colonies and in the West Indies. In respect to crimes and misdemeanors the English laws prevailed, with such additions and modifications as the conditions of the new country would require. There was the same long, ghastly list of capital crimes; and the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post stood always ready for the minor offenders. In the court records of the borough-town of Westchester is the case of one offender convicted of hog-stealing, who was sentenced to pay eleven pounds for the stolen animals, or to receive forty lashes upon the back. There is another record of one member of a jury "hanging" the jury and being fined by the

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court. The case of Judge Morris shows that there were honorable men on the bench, and this too at a time when the English judiciary had not lost its subserviency to the crown, nor completely departed from the brutal truculence of which Jeffries was an example.





SIGNING THE TREATY WITH THE INDIANS IN 1642 AT THE HOME OF JONAS BRONCK  
From the Painting by John Ward Dunsmore





# The Principal Early Anglo-Norman, English, Welsh and Scottish Families in Ireland Now Represented in the United States

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



THE first of the private adventurers to invade Ireland at the call of Dermot MacMorrough were a group starting from Pembrokehire, the nearest point in Wales. Several of this group were connected by blood or by marriage, especially the children of Nesta, daughter of Rhys, king of South Wales. Some of these adventurers, probably by adopting to a considerable extent the clanship system, have left progeny rivalling in numbers the large Irish clans. Other names and families have nearly or wholly disappeared, while the English of the Pale were left to shift for themselves during the wars of England for French provinces or for the throne; since half of these English are said to have returned to England, then under the increasing pressure of the native Irish upon them; so that English conquest of the life, language, laws and customs of the Irish, had made little progress beyond a narrow Pale until the reigns of the Tudors. The prominent families settling before the Tudor times:

*Barry.* William de Barri, who married a sister of Robert Fitz Stephen, was ancestor of the Barrys, whom the Registrar-General of Ireland in 1891 estimated at 9,700. (Cork.)

*Birmingham,* John de, settled in Ireland 1316. (Seats, Galway and Louth.)

*Blake,* name adopted by Richard Caddell in 1278. Ancestor of the Blakes, originally in Galway.

*Browne,* originally Le Brun, died in Ulster 1303, after receiving a grant of land. Other Browns settled later. 1891 number 14,600. (Limerick, Mayo, Galway.)

*Burke, Bourke,* descendants of William Fitzadelm de Burgo, who succeeded Strongbow as chief governor of Ireland, 1177. In the reign of Henry VIII, David Bourke's 2d son John was father

of Theobald, whose 3d son John had Richard, father of the Rt. Hon. John Bourke, created earl of Mayo, 1776. His oldest son, John, 2d earl, died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Joseph, 3d earl; he by his son John, 4th earl, who died in 1832; succeeded by his son Robert, 5th earl; he by Richard Southwell Bourke, 6th earl. 7th and present earl, Dermot Robert Wyndham. This branch came to Connaught by the marriage of Richard, son of William de Burgo, to Una de Gernon, granddaughter of O'Connor, king of Connaught; and Burgo became Bourke there in the 14th century. Registry 1891, Burke, 15,900; Bourke, 8,300. (Galway, Mayo, Kil-dare.)

*Butler.* Theobald Fitzwalter, son of Hervey Walter, mentioned in accounts of Norfolk and Suffolk, A. D. 1156, who was heir to Hubert Walteri, was created Chief Butler of Ireland 1177, and granted possession of Upper and Lower Ormond. His son Theobald, 2d Butler, was the first to assume le Botiler or Butler as a surname, 1221, and died in 1236. His oldest son, Theobald, 3d Butler, died 1248, and was succeeded by Theobald, 4th Butler, who sat as a baron in the Parliament of Ireland. Lord Theobald died 1285, and was succeeded by his oldest son, Theobald, 5th Butler, who died unmarried, 1299; and was succeeded by his brother Edmond, 6th Butler, who on Sept. 1, 1315, was created earl of Carrick, and died 1321. He was succeeded by his oldest son James, created by Edward III in 1328, earl of Ormonde. He died 1337, and was succeeded by his son James, 2d earl of Ormonde. He died 1382, and was succeeded by his oldest son James, 3d earl of Ormonde. James, 12th earl of Ormonde was in 1642 created Marquess and in 1661 Duke of Ormonde; died 1688; and was succeeded by his grandson James, 2d Duke, who was attainted, and his honors transferred to his brother Charles, created earl of Arran, 1693, de jure 3d Duke of Ormonde and 14th earl of Ormonde, though he never assumed the dignities of Ormonde, really vested in John Butler of Kilcash, heir male of the family, through Walter, 11th Lord; yet neither he nor his cousin, Walter, who succeeded him, assumed the title; but the right to the Irish peerage was acknowledged in his son John, 17th earl of Ormonde, who died 1795. He was succeeded by his oldest son, 18th earl, who had only a daughter; and the honor devolved upon his brother James, 19th earl and 1st Marquess of Ormonde, who died 1838, succeeded by his son John, 2d Marquess, who died 1854; suc-

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ceeded by James E. W. Theobald, 3d Marquess, who died 1919; succeeded by his brother James A. W. F. Butler, 4th and present Marquess. War cry, "Butler-a-boo." (Kilkenny, Queens and Wicklow.)

*Caddell*, Richard; went to Ireland with Strongbow, 1170; married a daughter of Richard de Burgo. Richard, a descendant, in 1278 adopted the surname Blake, i. e. black.

*Carew, Carey*. Otho, oldest son of William Fitzgerald of Caerucastle, Carmarthenshire, Wales, accompanied his brother Maurice to Ireland, where he died 1173. Robert, descendant of Otho, was the ancestor of the barons Carew, in Ireland; usually corrupted to Carey. John of Carew died 1363, leaving his son Thomas, who died 1431. His son Sir Nicholas, left 2d son Sir Nicholas, whose great-great-grandson, Sir Thomas, was father of Sir Thomas, created baronet in 1661; so on to Sir Henry P. Carew, 9th and present baronet. (Cork and Carlow.)

*Clare*, Richard de, or "Strongbow," was son of Gilbert, created earl of Pembroke 1138, whose brother Richard was ancestor of the old earls of Hertford. Strongbow accepted the offer of his daughter, and succession to the throne from Diarmid, king of Leinster; but having regained power, Diarmid died 1171, and Clare 1176, without heirs male. Pembroke went to William Marshall who married Clare's daughter 1189. Clare, town in Suffolk.

*Cogan*, Milo and Richard de, to Ireland with Strongbow. Few descendants. (Leinster.)

*Commins* of Badenoch, Scotland, to Ireland 1291; now usually spelled Cummins.

*Costello*, originally MacCostello (4 Masters), 1193 on; branch of the De Angulo or Nangle family.

*Courtney*, Reginald de, in Ireland with other Anglo-Norman adventurers before 1200; of a common ancestry with Richard "Strongbow." From Curtenaye on the Isle de France.

*Cusac*, Geoffrey de, Anglo-Norman in Ireland by 1200. Originally in Meath, now in Munster.

*Dalton*; from North of England; mentioned in the 4 Masters, 1328 on. South Ireland.

*D'Arcy, Darcy*, Norman; 33 lordships in Co. Lincoln recorded as his possessions in Domesday Book, 1086. His son Robert had a son Thomas, who died 1180, and was succeeded by his son Nor-



man; he by his son Philip, who died 1263; he by his son Norman, who died about 1296. His 2d son Roger, had John, the 1st Lord Darcy of Knayth in Co. Lincoln. Sir Jean D'Arcy was Viceroy of Ireland 1323-4, 1332, and in 1340 appointed Viceroy for life. Descendants.

*Dillon*, Sir Henry, accompanied king John to Ireland 1185, and received grants of land in Longford and Meath; oldest son Sir Thomas, had oldest son Henry who married Olivia, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, ancestor of the earls of Kildare. Henry's oldest son, Robert, was succeeded by his son Gerald, father of James, ancestor of the Dillons, earls of Roscommon, and the Dillons, Lords Clanbrock, now extinct; and of oldest son Maurice, who had Thomas, who had Gerald, who had James, whose 3d son, Theobald, was created in 1620 Viscount Dillon. Harold A. is the 17th and present Viscount Dillon of Mayo. More Dillons in Leinster and Munster, than in N. Ire.

*Doyle*; in Yorkshire records 1379. Denis Doyle of Wexford died 1625, and his sister Grace 1627; William Doyle succeeded as next of kin and heir. Sir Francis created bart. 1828.

*Fitzgerald*; Otho or Other of Normandy was made a baron of England in the 16th year of Edward the Confessor; and his son Walter in 1078, Castellan of Windsor; and appointed by William the Conqueror, Warden of the forests of Berkshire. He married Gladys, daughter of Rywal ap Conyn, and had three sons: Gerald, Robert, and William. Gerald, the ancestor of the Fitz Geraldts married Nesta, daughter of Rees Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, in 1112. She had been concubine to king Henry I and was mother by him of Meiler and Robert FitzHenry; and had also been married to Stephen, Constable of Pembroke castle, by whom she had Robert FitzStephen. Gerald had Maurice FitzGerald, who with his half brother, Robert FitzStephen, and 10 knights, 20 esquires, and 100 archers, in 1168 came to Wexford, Ireland, and took it. The king granted him the barony of Offaly, and he died 1177 at Wexford, leaving four sons and a daughter Nesta. His oldest son, Gerald, is called baron of Offaly in 1205, and died 1205. He was succeeded by his son Maurice, Lord Justice 1229, who died 1257, leaving sons Gerald, Thomas, and Maurice (who died 1286 without issue). Thomas died 1260, leaving one son, John, killed with his oldest son, Maurice, 1261; but Maurice left a son, Thomas, made

Lord Justice 1295, and called Prince of Munster. He died 1296, leaving Maurice, created earl of Desmond, 1329, and John "of the Ape." Maurice died 1356; by his first wife he had Maurice, 2d earl of Desmond, and John, 3d earl, and by his 3d wife, Gerald, 4th earl, "the Poet," who disappeared 1399, and was succeeded by his son, John, 5th earl; whose son John, 6th earl, gave up his right to his father's brother James, who became 7th earl; his son Thomas was 8th earl, the end of whose heirs male occurred 1632. John, of the Ape, oldest son of Thomas, was created earl of Kildare in 1316, but died that year. His son Thomas, 2d earl, died in 1328; whose son Richard, 3d earl, died in 1331, and was succeeded by his brother Maurice, 4th earl, who died 1390. He was succeeded by his son Gerald, 5th earl, and he by his son John, 6th earl, who died 1427; succeeded by Thomas, 7th earl, who died 1478. James, the 20th earl of Kildare, was in 1747 created Viscount, and in 1766 Duke of Leinster. Dying in 1773, he was succeeded by his son William Robert, 2d Duke. Maurice FitzGerald is the 6th and present Duke. The FitzGerald war-cry, "Crom a bu," is said to be from the Crom castle of Maurice, 2d baron of Offaly. (14,700 in 1891.)

*Fitzgibbon*; descendants of Gibbon, son of John FitzGerald, killed 1261. (Limerick.)

*Fitzsimmons, Fitzsimon*; in Dublin, 1476.

*Fleming*, Richard and Thomas le, Longford 1176.

*Grace*, William le Gras (i. e. the fat), whose son Edmund married Sibia, daughter of Donal MacGilla Padraig. His son William exchanged his lands in Sodbury, Gloucester, for lands in Ireland, 1283. His son Oliver married May, daughter of Sir Gerald FitzGerald, 3d Lord of Decies. His descendant Sir Richard Grace of Queens county, was made baronet, 1795. The present baronet, Valentine R. Grace, is the 5th.

*Jordan* "de Exeter"; to Ireland, 1172. MacJordan of this line, and it is claimed a MacJordan from Jordan de Courcy, nephew of John. The former in Down, latter, Mayo.

*Joyce*; Thomas de Jorsse, 1282 from Wales settled in west Galway. A sept MacSithigh (Sheehy) was formed.

*Lacy*, Hugh de, with Henry II 1172, in Ireland, where Henry granted to him the whole kingdom of Meath. He was descended from Gaultier de Lasci, who came with William the Conqueror and received land in Wales. In 1205 Hugh's son Hugh was created earl

of Ulster, the earliest record of creation of any Anglo-Norman dignity in Ireland. This de Lacy built the castle of Drogheda 1216, but Hugh was replaced as Viceroy, 1224. Hugh's half-brother William was ancestor of the Lynches of Galway and some Lacys. (Antrim and Down; and O'Lacy of Meath.)

*Lynch*, Nich., mayor of Galway in 1494, was descended from William above, surnamed le Petit, lord justiciary of Ireland; died 1213. Lynch, including the Irish Lynchys assimilated in spelling, 19,800 in 1891.

*Martin*; appears in several migrations, the earliest said to be with De Burgh, 1172. (14,600 in 1891. Galway; now chiefly Ulster.)

*Nagle, Nangle*. From Gilbert de Angulo, 1171 to Ireland. Mac-Costello a branch. Mainly Cork.

*Nugent*, Gilbert and Christopher de, 1171. From Meath into Ulster and Munster. With brother Richard and cousin Hugh; grandsons of Gilbert, son of Fulke de Bellesme, lord of Nogent de Rotron. Gilbert and Richard were the 1st and 2d barons of Delvin. Christopher, 14th baron Delvin, died 1602; was succeeded by his oldest son Richard, 1st earl of Westmeath. Anthony F. Nugent is the 11th and present earl, Lord Riverston.

*Plunket*, Sir Christopher, England to Ireland, where he died 1445. In England originally de Plukenet. (Cavan to Leinster.)

*Power*, Robert le Poer, England to Waterford, 1177. (Mostly Waterford and Kilkenny.)

*Prendergast*, Maurice de, with FitzStephen, 1168. Name from Prendergast parish, Pembrokeshire, South Wales.

*Purcell*, Hugh to Ireland, 1171; sons Walter and Hugh. (Mainly in Kilkenny and Limerick.)

*Redmond*, Alex., died Wexford, 1599. Yorkshire name.

*Roche*, Adam de la (Rupe), to Cork about 1280.

*Russell*, England to Ireland, 1197. (Down.)

*Savage*, Sir William, to Ards in Down, 1176.

*Smith*, Robert, 1169-71; and many since.

*Staunton*, Adam, built a castle in Roscommon, 1232. (4 Masters.) A Staunton to Connaught 1634.

*Tobin*, St. Aubyn, Jersey name; early settler, Munster.

*Twite*, Richard, to Ireland, 1170; killed, Athlone, 1211.

*Tyrrell*, Hugh, with sons to Ireland 1184; married a daughter



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of Theobald Butler. Family to Eng. 1066. In Domesday Book, Turald.

*Ussher*; the first said to have come to Ireland with Prince John; but the first on record is John le Ussher, constable of Dublin castle 1302.

*Walsh*; among the early immigrants from Wales to South Ireland. Sir Nicholas Walsh mentioned 1287. Originally le Waleis, the Welshman. Walshes in Ireland 1891 estimated 41,700. (Wicklow, Dublin, Kilkenny.)

### THE SCOTTISH MACDONNELL'S IN ANTRIM.

*MacDonnell*, John, known as John Mor, (Irish Eoin Oge) was the 2d son of John or Ian, Lord of the Isles, by the Princess Margaret Stewart, his second wife, daughter of Robert II, king of Scotland. He married Margery, daughter and heir of John Bisset, lord of the Glynns in county Antrim, and was murdered by James Campbell before 1427, leaving two sons. The oldest, Sir Donald Balloch, who was 20 at his father's death, commanded in the Rebellion in the Isles, 1431, and then withdrew to his mother's lands in Ulster, where he married a daughter of Conn O'Neill, and died 1476. He was succeeded by his son John de Insulis, who married Sabina, daughter of Felim O'Neill, by whom he had a son, Sir John MacIan, surnamed Cathanach, because he was fostered by the O'Cathans of north Ulster. In 1493 he was the head of Clan Ian Vor, when the Lordship of the Isles was finally forfeited. He married Sheela Savage, and had six sons; but with four of them was executed; after which the oldest, Alexander MacIan Cathanach, fled with his surviving brother, Angus Ilach, to Ulster, 1494. He married Katharine, daughter of John MacIan MacDonnell, and died before 1540. His 4th son, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, was appointed by his oldest brother lord of the Route, north Antrim, 1558. He married Mary, daughter of Conn O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and died 1589; and was succeeded by his oldest surviving son, Sir Randal, who had a grant of the Route and the Glynns, May 28, 1603; and May 28, 1618, was created Viscount Dunluce, and advanced Dec. 12, 1620, to earl of Antrim. He died Dec. 10, 1636, and was succeeded by his oldest son, Randal, 2d earl, (1609-1682); advanced to Marquess of Antrim Jan. 26, 1644, for life; and died Feb. 3, 1682, when his earldom devolved on his brother Alexander, 3d earl, born 1615,



died 1699; succeeded by his only son, Randal, 4th earl (1680-1721); who was succeeded by his only son, Alexander, 5th earl (1713-1775), and he by his son, Randal William, 1st earl, by new patent 1785, with remainder to his daughters; succeeded by his oldest daughter, Anne Catherine, who died 1834; she by her sister, Charlotte, who married 1799, Vice-Admiral Mark K. Kerr, and died 1835; succeeded by her son Hugh Seymour Kerr, who took the name MacDonnell by royal license 1836; succeeded by his brother Mark, by license MacDonnell, and he by his son, William R. The 7th and present earl is Randal Mark Kerr. The territory granted to the earls of Antrim, was the northern half of Antrim, extending from Larne to Portrush.

#### THE SCOTTISH COLONIES IN DOWN.

Con O'Neill, who held possession of Upper Claneboy, the northern half of county Down, being in prison in Carrickfergus, on account of a clash between his soldiers and the soldiers of the English government, Hugh Montgomery, 6th earl of Braidstane, made stock of the opportunity to mediate between Con and the king, to his own advantage. By strategy he got possession of Con, and brought him to Braidstane, where Con entered into an agreement, that provided Hugh should furnish board to Con and his followers, and should procure pardon for his and their transgressions, Con would assign to Hugh one half of his lands. Hugh took Con to Westminster, where he was so successful as to obtain pardon for Con, and knighthood for himself, provided that the lands should be settled with Scottish or English Protestants. Meanwhile, Sir James Fullerton put in a claim for third share, for service to the government by James Hamilton; the king to compensate Hugh out of the Abbey land, and by the grant of the Great Ardes out of Con's share, that the sea coast might be in possession of Scots; while he assigned to Con the region about Castlereagh, which Con had desired; the grant being dated 16th April, 1605; Hugh presently passing into Ireland, and Hamilton arriving at Dublin July 4, 1605. March 14, 1606, Con granted Hugh a deed of all his lands, and Hugh beginning his colony May, 1606; Hamilton however, having obtained from the Viceroy, Sir Arthur Chichester, the grant of Con's estate in his own sole name, he granted to Hugh on Oct. 1st, 1606, the lands of Movilla, Newtown-Ards, and Crey Abbey, and

to Con, his lands about Castlereagh. The colonists on Montgomery's plantation, 1617, were: Gilbert Adare, Andrew and Thomas Agnew, John Aickin, Pat Allen, David Anderson, John Barkley, David and Thomas Boyd, William Catherwood, James Cathcart, James Cowper, Michael Craig, William Crawford, Claud Conyng-ham, David and Hugh, John and William Cunningham, Charles Donnelston, John Fraser, two John Harpers, Robert Harper, Thomas Harvey, Thomas Kelso, David Kennedy, Walter Logan, Uthred McDougall, David McIlvayne, James MacMacken, John Morton, James and John Maxwell, Hugh, two Johns, Matthew, Patrick, Robert and William Montgomery, Hector, John, Quinton and William Moore, John Mowlen, Thomas Nevin, John Peacock, Andrew Sempill, Alex. Speir, Patrick and William Shaw, John Thompson, James Williamson, Allen and Robert Wilson, John Wyly, and William Wymis. Hugh Montgomery married about 1622, Jean, daughter of Sir William Alexander, the king's secretary for Scotland; and was Viscount. James Hamilton was created Viscount Clanboy, and his oldest son James, Earl of Clanbrassil. Upon the Clanboy lands 1688:

Adair, Aiken, Alexander, Allan, Anderson, Aniston, Armstrong, Aul, Baily, Barclay, Beatty, Beers, Biglam, Black, Blackwood, Blakely, Blany, Boyd, Bole, Bredfoot, Bradin, Bradley, Brakenrig, Browne, Byers, Camlin, Campbell, Carmichael, Carr, Carse, Caul, Chambers, Clarke, Cleland, Clugston, Cochran, Corry, Corsby, Coulter, Cowden, Cowy, Crafford, Cringle, Criswell, Cudbert, Cumin, Cunningham, Danison, Davison, Daziel, Delop, Dixon, Dublin, Dobby, Donnelson, Dowy, Duffe, Dunlap, Dunn, Espy, Fairris, Fairly, Ferguson, Finlay, Forgy, Forman, Forrest, Forsythe, Fullerton, Gamble, Gastle, Gay, Girvin, Gibbon, Gibson, Gilmore, Gilpatrick, Gordon, Gowdy, Greer, Gregg, Hamill, Hamilton (15), Hanington, Hannah, Harper, Harris, Hawthorne, Hay, Henderson, Henry, Heron, Heslip, Hewart, Hewitt, Hillhouse, Hogg, Holland, Halliday, How, Hui, Hunter, Hutchison, Inch, Irwin, Jackson, Johnson, Johnston, Kelton, Kennedy (5), Kernochan, Kindsay, Laggan, Laughlin, Lenox, Linzy, Leslie, Lewis, Lindsay, Lockart, Loggan, Long, Lowden, Lowry, Luke, Luthersdale, Lyon, McAmt, McBride, McCaldon, McCalla, McCardy, McCarly, McCartney, McClurgh, McCo, McComb, McConnell, McCormick, McCrea, McCreery, McCullam, McCullin, McDowell, McDoran, McFerran, McGibbon, Mc-

## ANGLO-NORMAN, ENGLISH, WELSH AND SCOTTISH FAMILIES

Gill, McIllduffe, McIlrath, McHol, McKee, McKelvy, McKitrick, McLaughlin, McMechan (6), McMorlan, McMullen, McMunce, McMurray, McNaught, McNarry, McNeily, McRobins, McTeer, McWilliam, Macunson, Mahaule, Marshall, Martin, Mathy, Maxwell (4), Mayers, Molton, Mitchell, Montgomery (5), Moorhead (3), Moore (8), Morell, Morrow, Mossman, Murray, Neill, Nelson, Nesbit, Newell, Nicholson, Oghterson, Oliver, Orr, Paradine, Parker, Patterson (4), Petticrew, Patton, Pollock, Pottinger, Purdy, Ramsay, Rea, Read, Richison, Ritchie (3), Ringland, Robb, Robinson, Ross (4), Rowan, Russell, Savage (3), Scott (3), Shaw, Shearer, Sim, Simpson (3), Sloane (4), Smith (3), Spittle, Spotswood, Stanus, Steele, Starlin, Thompson (4), Throw, Tod, Trail, Vance, Wallace (5), Wardlaw, Warden, Warnock (3), Watson, Watt (3), Welsh, Whitla, White (3), Williamson, Wilson, Wily, Woods (3), Worrell, Wright, Wyly, Young.

In 1614 the colonies of Montgomery, brought from his own county of Ayr, and of Hamilton, brought from Renfrew, Ayr, Wigtown, Dumfries, and Kirkeudbright, could furnish 2,000 able soldiers, indicating about 10,000 population. In 1604, King James granted the castle and village of Belfast, in 1612 about 120 houses, mostly of mud, to Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who brought Scottish and English settlers who spread up the Lagan both in South Antrim and on the Down side, and westward far into Armagh. In 1662, "150 houses within the walls, which were built in 1643, in five streets and as many lanes."

### THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

The earl of Tyrone and the earl of Tyrconnel having been defeated in an uprising against the British government, fled from Ireland in Sept. 1607, and their lands were forfeited to the king; the counties Colerain or Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegal. King James and his counsellors in order to provide a substantial body of settlers, having mapped out from the 3,800,000 acres in the six counties, 500,000 acres most suitable for tillage, issued "orders and conditions" on which tracts of land would be allotted, to "undertakers"; chief of which was the condition that these undertakers should bring in settlers born in England or in the inland (that is, the Lowland) parts of Scotland, not from the roving clans; Derry being reserved for the London guilds to settle.

## ANGLO-NORMAN, ENGLISH, WELSH AND SCOTTISH FAMILIES

The lands were opened to settlement in 1610; in 1619, 1,974 immigrant families reported; but also the report said that the English did very little ploughing; the Irish lived by grazing; and were it not for the Scottish tenants who do plough, all might starve. There were 1,897 dwelling houses. A census taken about 1658 gives: Armagh, Scotch and English, 2,393; Irish, 4,355. Cavan, S. and E., 6,485; Ir., 8,218. Fermanagh, S. and E., 1,800; Ir., 5,302; Tyrone, S. and E., 8,085; Ir., 10,245; Lond'y, S. and E., 4,428; Ir., 5,306. Monaghan, S. and E., 434; Ir., 4,649. Antrim, S. and E., 7,074; Ir., 8,965. Donegal, S. and E., 3,412; Ir., 8,595. Down, S. and E., 6,540; Ir., 8,643. Abp. Synge says 500,000 Scots settled in Ulster 1688 to 1715, when emigration had begun.





## Romantic Beginnings of San Francisco

BY HARALD A. HELGESEN, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.



ALM and indifferent in her splendid isolation, the great metropolis of the Pacific sits serenely on the edges of the Western world. Other cities have borne a greater antiquity, have possessed more ancient institutions and a longer tradition, but few, within her space of years, have had a greater wealth of romance or a more remarkable history than has had San Francisco.

Crossing the bay from Oakland to San Francisco in the early morning, the first impression one receives of his destination is likely to be typical of its character. The chances are that the peninsular point of land before one—once the sanctuary of the padres—will be shrouded in mist. Drawing nearer, the pall suddenly rises and the city seems to greet one. In the swift transformation is beheld the marvelous growth and spirit of triumphant resurrection. Perhaps is seen, in the mind's eye, the valiant pioneer procession that conquered plain, breasted wave, and wrought achievement out of sloth.

San Francisco, like other great cities, is the incarnation of the courage and stamina of her builders. She is the product of hazard and daring. She has been chastened by fire, and wrecked by mighty upheaval, yet she has invariably found a rebirth of larger faith. Glorious with romance, linked with picturesque conquest, she forms a sort of separate world, aloof and unforgettable by the western sea.

The city stands in a unique class of its own as to its growth as the Mecca of the gold seekers of 1849. It did not pass through the hamlet, village and small town struggle like most cities, before attaining prominence as a city. Like the Greek Autochthones of legendary fame, who leaped into existence, helmed and accoutred, San Francisco sprang into the city class. The story may be found in the files of various newspapers of the time, city directories and other records still existing, and as told in the famous *Annals of San Francisco*.

## ROMANTIC BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

The years 1852-54 are good to start with in giving a picture of the days following the Spanish foundation of the city. In those three years, immediately following the arrival of the Argonauts, as the pioneers were called, the city had been practically rebuilt five times after as many destructive conflagrations that swept it like a besom. Yet read what the records show of the indomitable energy of those sturdy pioneer founders of the present metropolis of the golden west.

Of the city in 1852 one reads in *The Annals of San Francisco*: "In spite of local jobbery and mismanagement, enormous municipal expenses, and iniquity everywhere, the city grew in size, beauty and importance. Its admirable maritime position, and chiefly the determined energy and perseverance of its people, who believed in its glorious future, and found their own interest in the work, were raising it year by year to still more remarkable grandeur. Many of the citizens were opulent, while none needed to be in poverty. Intemperance and dissipation alone could squander the enormous wages of the most inferior laborers and the large profits of capital in every kind of business. Then, as now, no healthy man of ordinary strength need want lucrative and honest employment of some kind or other."

The settled portion of the city covered three square miles and there were two hundred and fifty public streets, most of which were graded and substantially planked. The principal part of the business was carried on in houses erected on piles or built on earth filled in, where the waves of the bay rolled three years before. Besides an immense number of handsome and commodious edifices of frame, there were six hundred and twenty-six brick or stone buildings within the limits of Broadway and Bush Streets, Broadway and the bay. The real estate of the city was valued at \$28,800,200. There were one hundred and sixty hotels and public houses with a descriptive name, sixty-six restaurants, sixty-three bakeries, fifteen flour and saw mills, thirteen foundries and iron works and five public markets, besides half a hundred private ones.

There were nineteen banking firms, of which more than one-half were extensive establishments of the highest credit. The operations of a single one in a year totaled \$80,000,000. There were nine fire, life and marine insurance companies and ten public schools. Churches numbered eighteen. Six uniformed military com-

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panies turned out in holiday parades. The fire department boasted of twelve engines and three hook and ladder trucks.

A fine law library was maintained for two hundred attorneys, and the societies for mercantile, professional, literary, social and religious purposes were more than a score in number, among them being the Chamber of Commerce, Mercantile Library association, Christian Library association, California Pioneers, Philharmonic Society, Medical Society, New England association and the San Francisco Verein.

The daily newspaper field was much more crowded than it is at the present time, there being twelve daily newspapers, of which eight were running morning and three evening. Two tri-weekly and six weekly journals flourished. Among places of public amusement there were five American theatres, a French theatre, a music hall for concerts, balls, lectures, exhibitions, etcetera, a gymnasium and two race courses. In 1853 a German, a Spanish and a Chinese theatre were opened. Billiard rooms and private places where games of chance were carried on were reported as innumerable.

There were daily stages running to San Jose and the redwoods and a stage twice a week to Monterey. Regular lines of omnibuses ran every half hour over the planked road to the Mission. Three hundred miles of telegraph wire connected the city with San Jose, Stockton, Sacramento, Marysville and other towns in the interior. Mail for Atlantic ports and the east left twice a month by steamer via Panama and by Overland carriers via Independence, Mo. One million letters a year went to foreign and Atlantic ports.

This record of a three year old city is one to be proud of as a shining example of human achievement in city building.

Following the unsuccessful expedition of Cortez, and the doubtful attempts of Ulloa, Alarcon, and Melchor Diaz, who possibly saw California from the Colorado River, Upper, or (as the Spanish explorers named it) Alta California, was discovered on the 28th of September, 1542, by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. This explorer came from Navidad, in Mexico, in command of two Spanish vessels. He discovered a "land-locked and very good harbor," which he named San Miguel, and located in latitude 34 deg. 20 min. The descriptions and bearings taken from his original report are neither entirely correct nor consistent with later knowledge, but it is conceded that this bay where he stopped is now called San Diego Bay,



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and that he and his companions were the first white men to land upon the territory now known as California.

Cabrillo's exploration proceeded northward, touching at various points until Cape Mendocino was reached. On his return to San Miguel, Cabrillo, who had previously suffered a severe injury, died on the 3rd of January, 1543, and was placed with ceremony in the soil of the territory of his memorable discovery.

During the next sixty years, four explorers visited and sailed along the California coast, and from the death of Cabrillo until 1769 all knowledge of California is founded upon the reports of these four explorers. Francis Drake came to California in 1579. His voyage is widely known and much has been written concerning it, especially of his reputed discovery of the Bay of San Francisco. Although he sailed along the coast as near as the Farallones, it has been disproved conclusively that he entered the bay or ever saw it. The name, "Francis Drake's Bay," was confused by the old geographers with "San Francisco" and "St. Francis," with the result that some of the old maps show the existence of "St. Francis Drake's Bay." The failure of Drake and others to discover the Bay of San Francisco has been attributed to the heavy fogs that often envelop and conceal the entrance to the Golden Gate.

Francisco de Gali explored the coast of California in 1584, Sebastian Rodriguez de Cermenon in 1595, and Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602-03. Of the expeditions of the two former little is known. Vizcaino discovered the Bay of Monterey and named it the "Famous Port of Monterey."

With the exception of that of Drake, the narratives of these early explorers contain little description. As might be expected, the landfalls are fully described, with the sailing directions, observations and soundings. Details regarding the character of the country, its inhabitants and its natural history are not so complete, although in this direction the information contained in the account of Vizcaino's voyage is more extensive than that found in the narratives of the others. Francisco de Gali has described Cape Mendocino, although it appears to have been named at a much earlier period. Drake's account is easily accessible, but the narratives of the others are to be found only in collected works.

The first attempt to settle and colonize Upper California was made in 1769. This was a partial awakening from the long indiffer-



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ence which the Spanish-Mexican authorities had displayed. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 had centered the attention of the realm upon the Lower Californian Settlements, and extending explorations of the Russians upon the northwest coast of America caused Spain to have some apprehension for her northern frontiers. Expeditions were formed to proceed by land and sea. The expedition by sea was an utter failure. Over two-thirds of the crew died of scurvy, and the vessels, the *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos*, suffered severely from the storms they encountered.

The land expeditions were two in number. The first, under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, accompanied by Padre Juan Crespi, reached San Diego on the 14th of May, 1769. The second, commanded by Don Gaspar de Portola (destined to become Governor of the territory), accompanied by Padre Junipero Serra, arrived on the 1st of July. On the 11th of July, 1769, the Mission of San Diego was founded. Three days later, Captain Portola with nearly all his forces marched northward, Monterey being the point of destination. With him were the officers Rivera y Moncada, Jose Francisco Ortega and Pedro Fages, the engineer Miguel Costanso, Padres Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, and the various other members of the expedition, forming in all a company of sixty-four persons. Either by miscalculation or failure to observe directions, the port of Monterey was passed and the expedition reached the Peninsula of San Francisco. On the 7th of November, 1769, Padre Juan Crespi, who was virtually in command, saw the outer Bay of San Francisco, but was unaware of the fact and did not record it as a discovery. This account, which is given in the journal of Father Crespi, is the first notice, so far as known, of the bay of San Francisco. Historians concede to Gaspar de Portola the honor of discovering the bay of San Francisco, although Jose Francisco Ortega is believed to have been the actual discoverer, and that he viewed it from Telegraph Hill, from the summit of which the greater part of the bay was spread before him.

While the discovery of such a harbor was an event of vast importance to later generations and gave Captain Portola much prestige among those who lived on its shores a century and a half later, it contributed nothing to the wants of the inner man at the time of the discovery, and without doubt the worthy Portola and his men were less elated by their discovery than they were cast down

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by the knowledge that their provisions were nearly exhausted and that the promised relief ship, the *San Jose*, had not been sighted. With saddened and discouraged hearts they started southward on November 11th.

On the return, after many tedious delays in journeying and rejourneying, the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey was founded on June 3, 1770. Padres Serra and Crespi had accompanied the expedition and they assumed charge of the Mission. A few huts were erected on a site surveyed by Costanso, and all were enclosed by palisades. Salutes were fired and masses were celebrated.

Of these expeditions there are numerous accounts, some having been printed and others remaining in the original manuscript form. A considerable portion of the narratives, being observations of distances, altitudes and bearings, are somewhat tedious, but among the description is much of interest. The character of the country and all of its features, particularly the manners and customs of the Indians, forms interesting reading. Curious details abound, and not infrequently differences of opinion.

The hardships endured on these expeditions were severe. The food was coarse and scant, the roads rough and nearly impassable, the weather inclement, and frequently the members of the expedition were overtaken by sickness. Padre Serra himself being a constant sufferer.

After the founding of Monterey, other settlements were formed and other missions established, colonization was progressing, and the history of California had begun. Of the leader of the first expedition in 1769, little is known. Among the characters of those earliest days of California after her settlement, the figure of Don Gaspar de Portola is a shadowy one. He was, until July 9, 1770, the first ruler of California, rather as military commandant than Governor, after which he returned to Mexico, and it is not known that he ever revisited California. Nine years later he was Governor of Puebla, Mexico, and then is lost to history.

Meantime the Bay of San Francisco, with its superb beauty and its future possibilities, was unknown. No craft had yet crossed the Golden Gate, no keel had yet disturbed its silent depths, and no eye, except that of the aborigine, had ever gazed upon the glorious sweep of its length and breadth. Padre Crespi had seen the outer

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bay in 1769; Jose Francisco Ortega had explored part of the Peninsula of San Francisco; Pedro Fages in 1772 from the Berkeley hills had gazed through the Golden Gate, but beyond this nothing of the bay was known, and its city, destined to be a great metropolis, was unfounded. San Francisco, almost the last and greatest child of Spain's declining grandeur and fading glory, was unborn.

Several expeditions of exploration had been made, and the general locality having attracted a wider attention, an overland journey was undertaken, the results of which were more extensive than any yet accomplished. This was the expedition in which Juan Bautista de Anza, accompanied by Padre Pedro Font, had in the early part of 1776 reached the Peninsula of San Francisco. The object of this expedition was to find a site upon which to establish a presidio and to build a mission at San Francisco. Anza and Padre Font returned to Lower California, but an order dated November 12, 1775, had come from Bucareli, the Viceroy of Mexico, wherein he gave directions for the foundation of a fort, presidio and mission on the Bay of San Francisco.

On the 17th of June, 1776, an overland expedition was formed at Monterey. It was under the command of Jose Joaquin Moraga, and with him were Padres Palou and Cambon. The other members of the party were one sergeant, sixteen soldiers and seven settlers, all of whom were married and accompanied by their families. With these were a number of servants, herdsmen and drovers, for they brought with them about two hundred head of cattle, together with the pack-train with provisions and the equipage necessary for the road. They arrived without delay on the 27th of June. A site near what is now that of the mission was found and formal settlement was made June 29, 1776. This historic event, five days before that of American Independence, was the founding of the city of San Francisco. Some time earlier, when several of the missions had already been established, Padre Junipero Serra had expressed his desire that one should be named in honor of San Francisco de Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order to which Padres Serra and Palou both belonged.

"Is there then to be no mission for our father, San Francisco?" inquired Padre Junipero Serra, observing that the list of names to be given to the missions to be established in California



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did not include that of St. Francis, founder and patron of the Franciscan Order.

"If San Francisco wants a mission," replied the Spanish royal inspector-general, Don Jose de Galvez, "let him cause his port to be discovered, and it will be placed there."

Thus it was that the heart of the loyal Padre Junipero overflowed with satisfaction when Gaspar de Portola came upon the great bay and transferred to it the name of San Francisco, which, in the accounts of the sixteenth century Spanish voyagers, had been given to the cove in the crook of Point Reyes. The Padre at once began to press the foundation of the mission which would fittingly head the chain of Franciscan establishments in California with one under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi.

So the Mission de San Francisco de Asis, commonly called Mission Dolores, was founded on June 29, 1776. It derived its popular name of Mission Dolores from the lagoon of that name which once spread out before the mission over all that portion of San Francisco now between Guerrero and Howard and Fifteenth and Twentieth streets. The Laguna de los Dolores, filled in many decades ago and now forgotten probably by even the oldest inhabitant, was joined with the bay by a creek of which Channel street is the sole remaining vestige. So San Francisco received its name.

The military establishment of the Presidio took place on September 17th, and with the Feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, the official foundation of San Francisco as a Spanish town was celebrated. A solemn high mass was sung by the priests, and when it was ended the royal standard was run up, and note was taken in due form that the Presidio of San Francisco was henceforth a part of the domain of King Charles III of Spain and the Indies. The official founding of the Mission bears date from October 8th of the same year.

The ceremonies took place in the afternoon. Padre Palou and his associates, Comandante Moraga and his soldiers, all the male colonists, and the crew of the San Carlos, assisted at the solemn function. A procession was formed headed by Padre Palou. With firing of musketry, the procession marched from the Presidio to the Mission site, where Padre Palou chanted a mass, and delivered a sermon upon the life and character of San Francisco de Assisi, the patron saint of the Fort, the Presidio, and the Mission, after which



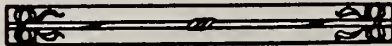
## ROMANTIC BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

feasting took place in the refectory. This was the beginning of San Francisco.

Of the original buildings in the Presidio, no trace remains, though the site is the original one. A history of the old Presidio of San Francisco would form a large part of the history of California, for it was among the earliest of the Spanish establishments in this State, and its Comandantes governed a large part of its territory. Its inception was military, as has been its entire history. Three flags have waved over it, the flags of Spain, Mexico and the United States. Among the ancient guns that formerly served as posts was one that bore the date of 1673, and the following inscription, which, although of cabalistic appearance, is readily decipherable:

GOVERNAN  
DOLOSSENO  
RESEDELARE  
ALAUDIEN  
CIADELIMA

The original mission building, undisturbed by the many tempests of earth and air, still stands, the sole landmark of San Francisco. The tangled, vine-covered old graveyard adjoins, in which it is said ten thousand of our early population have been buried. The Mission has undergone some restoration, but the original adobe building as founded by Padre Palou remains almost unchanged and carefully conserved. The venerable padre died in Mexico about 1790, at the age of 70. He was the author of a life of Padre Serra and chronicler of the early history of California that is claimed to have been practically the source of all that has ever been written on California mission history down to 1784, but his achievements along with those of other members of the Franciscan Order are hallowed in the monuments to their indefatigable spirit.



## A Sanctuary of Books\*

CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, M. D., CAMBRIDGE, N. Y.



THROUGHOUT my career books have exercised upon me a very great influence, compared with which other inducements have been of small account. From almost my earliest recollection I have entertained for them a real affection, not only for their instructions and inspirations, but I love to take them fondly in my hands and to study their material construction and, if possible, to admire and rejoice in any elements of external grace or beauty which they may possess. In return for my loyalty and love, books have steadily ministered to me of hope and courage in the battle of life and have afforded solace in many a day of gloom and dejection. And they offer only the best they have of their respective authors; they do not obtrude and insist upon being heard; modest and patient they remain in their places awaiting the convenience and call of their owner. From books vast quantities of chaff have been winnowed, and only the substantial merits of the author's character and ideas remain, so that we have in them the disembodied spirits of the wise, the great and the good, and the inspired of all the past ages of the world.

As I stand in the door leading into my study, which I call my sanctuary, I feel almost like prostrating myself in the presence of so much erudition, art, poetry, spiritual beauty and power. Here, indeed, is a university of scholarship, a collection of authorities in every branch of learning beyond the ability of any college to afford—even of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, alone, it has been well said, that were all the knowledge of the earth to perish except that mighty compend, there would be little lost to learning. Upon my shelves is no trash, but little fiction and that of the first order, while the best class of English literature prevails. Law, Medicine, The-

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\*Dr. Ingraham has been so long and favorably known to readers of *Americana*, and his researches and studies have been such important factors in its work, that we have felt that the friends he has made through the printed page would enjoy a visit with him in the place he calls his sanctuary. We have read his article with much pleasure as the experience of a man who, though his profession is not that of books, has made them a large part of his life.

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ology and American History are represented, for in each of these four departments I have studied, being a practitioner of medicine, a lay preacher, a contributor of many historical papers, while legal affairs have become somewhat familiar to me though having served many years as a Notary Public. It is to this, my study, that I retreat when burdened with a sense of the dullness and rudeness so frequently met along the paths of our common life, and here I invariably enjoy a ready welcome, and in communion with the noble and sympathetic souls which are present night and day to greet me, I forget the bitterness of haunting, disquieting memories and live in unity with the immortal bards, philosophers and saints of all time.

My books have been gradually accumulated through obtaining and preserving every volume which appealed to me; some of them have come as gifts; others have been appropriated from persons and places where they were not valued, and considered as mere rubbish, were likely to be thrown away or destroyed. Many have been bought at second-hand book stores, and in this way I have become possessed of rare and interesting volumes, out-of-print books to be obtained from no other source. My books generally, perhaps, would not appeal to the most of readers, on account of their thoughtful, conservative character, and of this I am assured from the fact that concerning some of them, obtained second hand, I have found by the fresh and sometimes uncut pages that they have not been perused, though their bindings may be shelf-worn and indicate much handling.

The slow and attentive reading of many books has made me critical of printed matter and I long ago found that works which had been highly recommended failed to come up to the standard of what I had expected; and I must admit that outside of the Bible, which I consider as literature alone the greatest the world has to offer, there are few if any books, from my viewpoint, which can be claimed as extraordinary. I have many times been disappointed in my reading of highly lauded works. On the other hand, I have found under unheralded names what seemed to me the highest excellences of literature, and yet with the authors remaining little known to the world. In connection with my devotion to books I would say that I sometimes have the thought presenting itself to me that while I was not a great success in the recitation room, disliking heartily to attend the regular sessions at school, that in later

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years I have found that many or most of those who liked study and excelled in examinations, in after life seemed to have no real fondness for books, while I have made them my chief concern and have continued a student always.

To go over the catalogue of my library, even cursorily, would prove uninteresting, but I would like to take the reader around the room with me and to pause with a few of the works which I consider specially worthy of mention as being rare, or old, or as having been particularly interesting or helpful to me.

*Caxtoniana*, (1864) by Bulwer Lytton, is a little-known but highly valuable volume of essays. It contains a multitude of entertaining and suggestive ideas, as is shown by the profusion of my markings. I have a confirmed habit of thus indicating all striking parts of the books I read, which, though somewhat disfiguring a work, renders it easy thereafter to quickly obtain the essentials of it.

The institution of slavery, as it once existed in the United States, will ever remain a subject of interest, and a classic contribution of its literature is *The Seaboard Slave States*, (1856) by Frederick Law Olmsted. Referring to this work, Mr. George Haven Putnam says:

“This book gave an account of a trip taken on horseback by an intelligent Yankee farmer from Virginia along the coast to Jacksonville. Olmsted’s descriptions of the condition of the South just before the war have often been compared to those given by Arthur Young in his *Travels in France*, written a year or two before the outbreak of the Revolution of 1783.” Olmsted pursued his journey to New Orleans, continuing the enlightening and practical observations which appear in the book.

In connection with this subject I would mention the book, *Solomon Northup: Twelve Years a Slave*, (1853) his own narrative, though edited by David Wilson. It is a most absorbing story of the kidnapping at Saratoga Springs of a colored man of this (Washington) county, northern New York, and of his subsequent sale as a slave, his fearful experiences and final rescue and liberation. The book appeared in the same year that Mrs. Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was published, and though not having so large a sale, was yet widely read and proved an important factor in the achieving of emancipation.



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Dealing to a considerable extent with the political affairs of the Civil War is the work, *Democracy in the United States*, (1868) by Ransom H. Gillet. It is a history of the Democratic party and abounds in interesting accounts of men and events from a Democratic viewpoint, and is a valuable contribution to the political history of the country.

Several scrap-books, compiled years ago, contain much valuable material of a miscellaneous character, which has been of real service to me in my literary work; articles, poems and pictures preserved in these volumes represent a vast deal of interesting and frequently otherwheres unavailable matter. I have many bound volumes of *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly*, bearing dates of about Civil War years, and which, having been edited when American literature was at its high-water mark, afford an almost inexhaustible source of aid to the writer, and on a great variety of subjects.

I come now to my desk and to the books accumulated about it, having to do with the occupation of the literary worker, chief among which and employed the most are Webster's Unabridged Dictionary and Roget's *Thesaurus*. They are constantly referred to and constitute practically my right and left-hand men, respectively, each being indispensable. Concerning my many other helps, they are not much consulted, for in the process of writing I depend almost entirely upon my sense of propriety, which has been acquired partly by the reading of the best class of literature, and partly by the hints which I have derived from the technical works of grammar, rhetoric and authorship generally. A subconscious element of the mind no doubt presides over the writer, directing him as to his style and the many little points of the craft. I really consider but very few rules in my writing, such as to avoid the repetition of prominent words until a considerable space has been covered and to diversify the length of periods. Paragraphing is important, and judgment is required to correctly proportion them and to have none of them very long. Reading seems to be encouraged by short paragraphs and brief chapters. I have a few simple grammatical and rhetorical guides ever in mind, but there are frequent cases when all rules fail of providing the proper form, and in such circumstances I intuitively employ what seems most appropriate and understandable.

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The collection of uniform works under the title of *The World's Greatest Literature*, (1902) comprising sixty volumes, is a great storehouse of distinguished material dealing with "History, Biography, Philosophy, Economics, Politics, Literature, Criticism and Oratory." It is elaborately indexed, an entire volume being devoted to this purpose. To the student and to the writer this set of books is a prolific treasury of all branches of literature from all ages and nations of the world.

*Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature*, (1902) thirty-one volumes, is framed somewhat along the same lines, but has much less of the author's own material and more biographical and critical work by the editor and his assistants. The three last volumes are devoted to the purpose of rendering this vast collection readily available to the student and literary worker. The reading of this library from beginning to end was a delightful task which I set myself, and when I had completed it I felt that there was no great writer in the history of letters with whose works I was not to a considerable extent acquainted and with whose life and character I was not familiar.

The most important acquisition I ever made in the line of books was *Hone's Popular Works*, (1826-9) an English publication consisting of four thick octavo volumes, with multitudes of engravings and with a world of antiquarian and miscellaneous information on almost every conceivable subject. Three volumes are made up of materials under the headings of each day of the year, chronologically, and have something of interest in prose or poetry for each division, particularly as concerns the respective dates. The fourth volume, *The Table Book*, comprises a great mass of miscellaneous matter, and like the others is devoted largely to the quaint and curious of earlier days, and has a profusion of rare wood cuts.

My diary, now accumulated to several volumes, I find useful in my work. It was commenced in 1914 and has been faithfully kept since that time, but few days remaining unrecorded, even if some dates contain little else besides the condition of the weather. Many of the more striking events of the World War are chronicled, while brief excerpts from the press, pictures, unusual ideas which I have heard or read, appear in these pages, which I frequently consult with advantage. I find a peculiar enjoyment in keeping a journal of my daily life, thoughts and activities, the source of which pleas-

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ure I cannot easily account for. It may be due in a measure to a fondness for laudation—a feeling that my life is of some consequence and its details worth recording, if only by myself. And then, a diary is like a confidential friend, and every evening when you take it to yourself and tell it what you have been doing, thinking or reading, you entertain the whim that this book somehow appreciates you and cordially receives you and your thoughts into its bosom.

I have ever been devoted to the study of speculative philosophy, and have read considerable in that line, in hopes of finding some one principle or fundamental truth from which all things material, mental, moral and spiritual might emanate, which constitutes its problem, but I have never found it outside of the Bible, the comprehensive first statement of which is, In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. My *Schwegler's History of Philosophy*, Hegel's *Philosophy of History* and other works of the kind have been attentively studied, but besides opening new realms of thought, conveying information and quickening one's perceptions, they have not solved the secrets of creation. I have derived much philosophical and religious discipline from Plato, Emerson, Channing, Bushnell and Ruskin, the reading of whose works are elevating and liberalizing, though I do not unreservedly commit myself to all their doctrines.

Walt Whitman, though not overburdened with learning, was in certain directions a deeper thinker and a more influential writer than any of these men, with the exception of Plato; with a simple, naive, intuitive genius he has penetrated further into the real depths of things, though in a genial, unsophisticated way. He had, it must be confessed, a vulgar streak in his makeup, as certain parts of his writings and the cast of his physiognomy reveal, but he possessed an all-absorbing love of nature and humanity, which were redeeming features of his personality, and won him friends. To these attractive traits he added an untutored, uncouth egotism which convinced him that he had not on the earth his superior as concerns the essentials of human worth, dignity and character. In his sublime self-confidence he brushed aside all schools, colleges and universities, all man-made scholastic degrees, all human distinctions, and with an unlimited democracy of soul welcomed to his bosom as a friend and brother the impoverished, the ignorant and the friendless. Though his writings have a paganish trend, they are a mighty



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force to deliver the human mind from the fetters of formalism and to encourage confidence in one's own individuality. "Let your soul," he says, "stand cool and composed before a million universes."

Whitman's mission, which though difficult to define, might be said to be the exaltation of the worth, independence and dignity of man. He had little genuine religious sentiment,—or, perhaps it were better to say, religion had no controlling influence over him; he seems always groping in a haze of mystery, to be ever seeking something and never finding it. The edition of his *Leaves of Grass*, which is before me, is a beautiful one, (1900) edited by his intimate friend, David McKay, the Philadelphia publisher, who says in his preface that the book is "the work of his own hands." Whitman has been an inspiration to me, injecting primitive strength into my somewhat flaccid disposition. Even his catalogizing, which repeatedly occurs in his poems, has in it an undefinable element of power, as if in these mere dry recountings he was able in some mysterious way to infuse a portion of his free and indomitable spirit.

I have all the leading poets, ancient and modern, and have read them, though in some instances as task-work, for I must admit that some of the so-called great classics of antiquity seem dreadfully dull to me, while, as I have before intimated, some modern minor poet may hold my attention and gain my admiration with no high sounding phrases or profound ideas. Such an one was the English poet, Kirke White, (1785-1806). He died of consumption at the early age of twenty-one, leaving a mass of letters, poems and essays of astonishing merit for one so young. I value this book highly, not only on account of its excellent literary elements and the beautiful character of the author as depicted in his works, but from the interest it derives from the fact that his friend, Robert Southey, the eminent poet, as a labor of love collected his writings and prepared for the volume a biography of this young author. It is an illustrated book, beautifully bound, and will ever perpetuate the fair fame of this gifted writer.

*McFingal: An Epic Poem*, (1775) by John Trumbull, reprinted with an introduction and notes by Benson J. Lossing, appeared in 1881. This is a satiric work dealing with affairs of the Revolution and is a poem of great merit, conveying through an intelligent con-



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temporary a realistic view of social and political conditions during those historic days. Its many shafts of ridicule and derision are aimed at the tory element, which, with a genius for wit, the author exposes to scorn and contempt. In connection with the introduction and notes, which constitute more than half of the volume, it is a valuable contribution to the history of the Revolution.

A book which has a startling array of predictions, some of them realized, and others as yet unfulfilled, is *Prophetic Voices Concerning America*, (1874) by Charles Sumner. Here are many striking forecasts, having to do with the future of this continent, which have been made by thinkers of different times and lands.

Henri Frédéric Amiel, (1821-81), a French author, is acknowledged as one of the world's great master-minds, though he established no philosophical system and seems to be critical of all things, not omitting himself. His *Journal Intimé*, his principal work, has upon every page original and profound ideas strung along indiscriminately with no attempt at arrangement.

A favorite volume with me is *Poems You Ought to Know*, (1902), selected by Elia W. Peattie, literary editor of *The Chicago Tribune*. The poems were collected from the daily issues of that newspaper and with their unique and beautiful illustrations appear in this attractive book. Each is accompanied with brief biographical and explanatory notes. Nothing but genuine poetry is printed in this collection.

A vast treasury of facts, figures and general information concerning the subjects of which it treats is *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, (1908) edited by William D. P. Bliss. This is indeed a monumental work, embracing all lands, and though now somewhat antedated, it contains a world of data indispensable to the reformer, and difficult to obtain elsewhere.

No work has exercised a more profound influence upon me than that entitled, *Ecce Homo: A survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ*, (1910) by Sir J. R. Seeley. The ideas which are here presented, while not strictly unorthodox, led me out into larger, more inviting and more fertile religious fields than I had known to exist. It was like the discovery of a new continent.

The uniform edition in five volumes of the *Life, Letters and Poetical Works of Alexander Pope*, (London: 1857-67) is a fine set. The translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in two volumes are

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illustrated by the renowned artist and sculptor, John Flaxman, while the other three volumes have many artistic wood engravings. Homer, however, or Pope, are not my favorite authors, notwithstanding that they have won the world's praise. I have now reached a corner of my study where are found many old leather-bound volumes, some of them dating back to and beyond the Revolution, and giving one an idea of the character of reading which was perused in those early times. I can mention but one or two of them:

A set of two small volumes, entitled, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife, Comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals*, (1810) has no doubt much excellent counsel, but I must confess that I have never summoned the courage to read the books. The author's name is not given, but it is known that the writer was Hannah More, the once distinguished English litterateur. The work is didactic in treatment and the title gives a fair idea of its contents. In its time it was popular both in England and this country, but it has been forgotten in this day of whirling activities. Another small, two-volume work comprises the poems of James Montgomery, the first containing *The Wanderer of Switzerland, and Other Poems*, the second, *The West Indies and Other Poems*, (1811). These little books are perfectly preserved, and a century ago were no doubt considered a de luxe edition. Though Montgomery, from the fervent humanitarian sentiments found in his poems, might be thought permanently popular, he is now but little read. Though I am not very familiar with his verse, I read years ago his splendid book, *Lectures on General Literature*, with pleasure and profit.

I have several of the charming books of William C. Prime, a ripe scholar and a rare writer, whose, *The Old House by the River*, (1853) and *Along New England Roads*, (1892) are favorites. This author is particularly interesting to me for the reason that his father, Rev. Nathaniel S. Prime, was many years pastor of the Presbyterian church here at Cambridge, N. Y., where this author was born in 1825. His books, alluded to, are composed of sketches written in a familiar style and abounding in simple, pathetic recitals of human experiences, and nature appreciations, all done with literary grace and distinction.

Foster's *Contributions to the Eclectic Review*, (2 Vols. London, 1844) by John Foster, the English author, and his book of essays,

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*Decision of Character*, are much prized by me as a treasury of enlightened thought on literature, history, philosophy, religion and kindred subjects. His first book, *Decision of Character*, gave him a reputation in the world of letters and led him to adopt literature as a profession. The editor of his *Contributions to the Eclectic Review*, in the closing words of his preface says, "In all the higher and more permanent qualities of the intellect, in their largeness of view, penetrating subtlety of thought, deep insight into human nature, and sympathy with the nobler and more lofty forms of spiritual existence, they (these papers) will be found eminently worthy of the genius of their author, and subservient to his permanent repute."

Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson* stands as a sort of monument among my books, something to be looked upon with a sentiment of wonder, too vast to be read and assimilated in any ordinary space of time usually devoted to works of its own length. I would not, however, have it on any account abbreviated. Though Boswell has long been the sport of litterateurs infinitely beneath him in literary merit, dubbed as a lickspittle, following Johnson around as a dog does his master, and chronicling every small detail of his hero's life, it needs but a slight acquaintance with this great biography to discern that he, far beyond being a mere reporter of the doings of a distinguished man, was himself a genius almost equal to that of the famous lexicographer himself. Of all the scholars and writers who surrounded Dr. Johnson, Boswell was the only one who deeply appreciated his intellectual gifts and who considered them of sufficient importance to make a permanent record of his unique personality and the versatility of his mind as discovered in his remarkable conversations.

Boswell had rare literary ability, unusual fluency and grace of diction and great critical discernment. To all these equipments as a biographer he added a deep devotion of friendship for Dr. Johnson and untiring perseverance in committing to writing, year after year, the ideas which ever were falling from his lips. No light and volatile character, as Boswell is said to have been, could have planned and carried to completion so voluminous a work. It is difficult to understand how Macaulay, his chief traducer, could have been so misled, for Boswell is as great a literary light as himself and as great a scholar. The pages of his book disclose in their side-remarks a wealth of diversified erudition, and one-half, perhaps, of



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the biography is devoted to matters not immediately related to Dr. Johnson, and of Boswell's own coining. He may have been, and probably was, frivolous and dissolute, a charge which may be substantiated against many another man of genius, but there can be no doubt that he appreciated everything high and worthy, for his book abounds in intelligent comment on every phase of human life and thought.

American history has ever had a strong attraction for me, and a considerable portion of my books are devoted to this subject, conspicuous among which is *Harper's Cyclopedia of American History*, in ten volumes. A beautiful and superbly illustrated book is *Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron Von Steuben*, in Washington, D. C., December 7, 1910, and also *Proceedings Upon the Presentation of the Replica to His Majesty the German Emperor and the German Nation*, in Potsdam, September 2, 1911. (Printed by the Government Printing Office.) This work has a large collection of material concerning this prominent figure of the Revolution, all of which is readily available to the historical student through its index.

Another splendid volume from the press of the Government Printing Office is *Memorial Addresses Delivered Before the two Houses of Congress on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield and William McKinley*. (1903.) These martyred Presidents have for their eulogists three men eminent in the history of the United States, who spoke intelligently and eloquently of their character, life and times and achievements. Hon. George Bancroft honored the memory of Lincoln, Hon. James G. Blaine, memorialized Garfield, and Hon. John Hay eulogized McKinley. Comprised in these orations are many first hand and reliable facts concerning the biographies of these illustrious patriots and the contemporary men and events of their day.

The poetic and prose works of Longfellow, in three massive (quarto) volumes, bound in half-morocco, (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1883) is a splendid edition, profusely illustrated by distinguished artists. These books were obtained second-hand, in perfect condition, for a small fraction of their actual worth. Many of my books have been procured in this manner for a trifle; but in this particular case it was probably the bulky size of the volumes, rendering them inconvenient of accommodation upon the shelves of cases, that made



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them undesirable to many. But this objection, added to the inconvenience of handling, are small matters compared with the material beauty of these books and the wealth of illustrative art which they abundantly contain. Longfellow and Whittier are the outstanding poets of the United States; of lofty ideals, romantic sensibilities and fervent patriotism, they typify the best and noblest of American life and traditions. While Longfellow excelled in culture, the "Quaker Poet" was his superior in robustness and vitality, so that the two combine in one harmonious and powerful voice to celebrate American sentiments and aspirations.

*Religio Medici (The Religion of a Physician) and Other Writings*, by Sir Thomas Browne, (1605-82) is an intellectual gymnasium where may be found the miscellaneous equipment for the strengthening of the mental faculties. This author possessed not only a remarkably acute and philosophical mind, but he reveled in an encyclopedic acquaintance with literary and scientific lore, such as few have ever attained. He is said to have "thought with his imagination." He was a man of absolutely independent ideas and convictions, a trail blazer utterly indifferent to contemporary thought and ancient tradition, and though his admirers are few, he has great things to communicate to those who will sit attentively at his feet.

Emerson's works abide sedately in their place and are but seldom opened; this is true of the larger part of my books; they are rarely taken in hand except for reference. For, so intently and slowly do I peruse every work which attracts me, that they cease thereafter to produce their original effects, and seem tame and uninteresting. And really, Emerson was not a particularly deep thinker; he was more unique than profound. He is too desultory—inspiring rather than convincing. His essays consist of ideas and sentiments jotted down at odd times in his note books, and later strung together under a common heading. The effect produced on the reader, therefore, is like that of a rapid succession of electric vibrations, stimulating, but not permanently energizing. His essays remind me of my medical-practice days, when patients with paralyzed limbs would come limping in for electric treatment, and would go away with lively steps, to return again when the beneficial effects had worn off.

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Many readers by whom humanitarian sentiments are entertained must have observed in his writings a lack of cordiality and fellow-feeling, for in this respect Emerson was like the generality of the transcendentalists, to which cult he belonged. While his teachings are airy and radiant they are unsubstantial and have little of real, practical help for the race of men. He does not seem distressed at the miseries of the world—he displays no sympathy for downtrodden and afflicted men and expresses no indignation against the cruelties and injustices of his times. The Duke of Argyll aptly characterizes Emerson's personality and his philosophic method, in this manner:

“I went with Lord Carlisle to hear one of Emerson's lectures in London. It was full of a dreamy beauty, delivered slowly, and in an equable and pleasant voice, and with perfect calmness of countenance and expression. There was no continuous thread of thought nor central principle of intellectual conception. It was one continuous flow of sentiment, of precept, of imagery and of exhortation. It was like watching some beautiful butterfly in its flight over a boundless prairie, picking out and lighting upon all the flowers, and then passing on with some little sip of honey.”

*Self-Culture, Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Spiritual*, (1880) by James Freeman Clarke, has exercised upon me a profound influence. It is not only a cordial and able teacher and counselor, but points out how the body, and the mind and soul within us, may be developed infinitely to our enjoyment and usefulness. He exalts reverence, a sentiment sadly wanting in our day, in these words:

“It is the crown of the whole moral nature, and has been therefore fitly found by phrenologists on the summit of the head. It produces that beautiful modesty which, when accompanying manliness, is so charming; it creates that respect for all that is above us, which lifts the soul; it is the great incentive to nobleness; it is the power which enables us to rise above ourselves in the worship of goodness, whether human or divine. Shakespeare calls it ‘that angel of the world;’ Goethe calls it ‘the crown of the whole moral nature.’ It is the power of moral harmony; which makes a concord of discordant things, by opening the soul to the highest and best of all.”

## Empire Building

By FRANCIS E. SMITH, TACOMA, WASHINGTON



THE delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did on the 15th day of November 1777, and in the second year of the Independence of America, agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual union. Each State retained its sovereignty, freedom and independence, every power, jurisdiction and right which was not delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates were annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State directed. Each State was bound not to send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or state, without the consent of the United States Congress.

Acting under authority conferred upon it by the Articles of Confederation, Congress entered into a treaty of alliance with France, concluded February 6, 1778; ratified by Congress May 4, 1778. Under the terms of Article VI of the treaty, the King of France renounced forever possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as any part of the continent of North America, which before the treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which were at that time, or had lately been under the power of the King and Crown of Great Britain. Under the terms of the treaty the United States Congress obtained a relinquishment of French claims to any part of the North American continent.

January 20, 1783, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, for the United States, and Alleyne Fitzherbert for England declared a cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and Great Britain. September 3, 1783, a treaty of definite peace was concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain.



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The treaty was ratified by Congress January 14, 1784, and proclaimed the same day.

The definite treaty ceded to the United States all of the Northwest Territory, extending from the Ohio River on the south to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods on the north, the Alleghany Mountains on the east to the Mississippi River on the west, together with the territory lying east of the Mississippi and north of Florida.

The first act of Congress relating to any of the territory ceded to the United States, situated outside the jurisdiction of any individual State, was to prohibit the purchase of land from the Indians by private individuals. This act of Congress has exerted a tremendous influence over the subsequent development and growth of the United States.

Independence and peace were established at the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain and the public mind was relieved from the excitement incident to a state of war. An examination into the actual condition of the country found a burden of a foreign debt of \$8,000,000, a large sum for those days. A domestic debt of \$30,000,000, was due the citizens, besides arrearages due the soldiers of the Revolutionary War. The country was in a serious condition owing to the inability to meet obligations. The Parliament of England determined upon a policy to cripple the young Republic by opening Upper Canada (Ontario) to settlement on the French seigneurial plan. Canada was platted in lots of 200 acres each, between concession lines a mile apart, the lots extending in narrow strips from one concession line to another. Land was offered to prospective settlers on certain conditions. Many Americans availed themselves of the opportunity of securing a home for themselves and their families. In the meantime discontent was growing in the United States and conditions were favorable to make shipwreck of self-government. The result was, the United States was being drained of some of its best blood. A way had to be provided to stop the leak.

During the month of July 1787, Congress passed the famous Northwest Ordinance which came to the rescue and gave the American people an opportunity of moving westward and establishing homes for themselves. The Ordinance was accepted by the Americans who had served in the Colonial Army during the Revolutionary



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War and the veterans readily went in and occupied the land. The Ordinance prevented the settlers from forming an alliance with the foreign powers who occupied the lower Mississippi Valley. The same Ordinance also prevented American navigators from forming any alliance with the Spaniards or British on the Northwest Coast.

The opening of the Northwest Territory to settlement led to the Louisiana Purchase. The acquisition of Louisiana called for the establishment of boundary lines for the unbounded territory. The first move in that direction was the attempt to survey the boundary between Louisiana and Texas. Spanish authorities in Texas opposed the survey. While the attention of the Spaniards was directed towards the survey, Lewis and Clark made their famous overland expedition to the mouth of the Columbia River.

The opening of the Northwest Territory to settlement led to many wild-cat schemes of colonization. During the month of September, 1787, a company of Boston merchants fitted out two vessels for a voyage of commercial adventure and discovery to the Northwest Coast of North America. The owners of the ships instructed the commander of the expedition, John Kendrick, that in the event of his making any improvements he was to purchase land from the natives, and if conditions warranted it, he should purchase tracts of land in the name of the owners. Acting under his instructions, Kendrick purchased several tracts of land from the natives in the name of the owners. During this time England and Spain abandoned the country, leaving the American sea-captain in full possession.

The owners conceived the idea of selling the land to Europeans and established a real estate office at No. 24 Threadneedle Street, London, for the purpose of putting the land on the market. The London real-estate agents published a circular in four European languages inviting prospective buyers. For ingenuity in colonization scheme it is unsurpassed in the annals of history. The circular was worded as follows:

### TO THE INHABITANTS OF EUROPE

The era of reason is now dawning upon mankind, and the restraints on men's laudable endeavors to be useful will cease. The agents for the sale of American lands, therefore, take this method of informing all classes of men in Europe that by application at their office, No. 24, Threadneedle Street, London, they may meet

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objects worthy of their serious attention. That such as wish to hold lands (though aliens) in America, may purchase to any amount, on very low terms, and a perfectly secure tenure. . . .

That such as may be inclined to associate for settling a commonwealth on their own code of laws, on a spot of the globe no where surpassed in delightful situation, healthy climate and fertile soil, claimed by no civilized nation, and purchased under a sacred treaty of amity and commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise.

Needless to say that the circular was not taken seriously by the inhabitants of Europe, for we have no record that the circular obtained one settler for the Northwest Coast. The Lewis and Clark expedition was followed by the establishment of Fort Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River. The fort was erected by members of the American Fur Company, on soil claimed by no civilized nation.

The American Fur Company was founded by John Jacob Astor, German by birth, English by education, American by naturalization. Ostensibly his purpose in founding Astoria on the Columbia River was to engage in the fur-trade, but apparently he intended the founding of a new American colony, unconnected with the United States, as the following extract from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson, indicates:

"I considered it as a great acquisition, the commencement of a settlement in that part of the western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when its descendants had spread themselves through the whole length of the coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government."

The Astor plan for the founding of Astoria was broad and comprehensive. It embraced the sending a land expedition across the continent, and a maritime expedition to double Cape Horn to the Pacific Ocean and north along the coast to the Columbia River. The maritime expedition was the first to arrive, during the month of March, 1811. Immediately upon arrival, the members of the expedition set to work erecting a fort and buildings for shelter. All went well until the 15th of July, the same year.

During the year 1801 the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal

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determined to extend their fur-trade to the west side of the Rocky Mountains and if possible to the Pacific Ocean. The enterprise was entrusted to David Thompson with instructions to attempt the hazardous undertaking. Thompson crossed the Rocky Mountains to the head waters of McGillivray's River. His progress was intercepted by an overwhelming force of eastern Indians which obliged him to make a most desperate retreat of six days. The eastern Indians dreaded the western Indians being furnished with arms and ammunition. The Lewis and Clark expedition directed the attention of the eastern Indians to the head waters of the Missouri River. Thompson succeeded in crossing the Rocky Mountains and establishing himself on the head waters of the Columbia in the year 1807, where he built a fortified post and stockades, whence he explored the country, descending the Columbia to Fort Astoria, July 15, 1811. Acting on his own initiative, he placed a British flag at the door of the fort, by so doing issuing a defy to the United States government in the name of Great Britain. From the moment the British flag was placed at the door of Fort Astoria to this day the United States government has claimed the territory. There is no literature extant that indicates that the United States intended making any part of the Oregon Country United States territory. Great Britain recognized United States military control over the territory by sending the sloop of war, "Raccoon," to take the fort during the War of 1812.

The Northwestern Fur Company compelled the American Fur Company to sell out their interests and withdraw from the country. Fort Astoria was renamed Fort George. The men of the fort gave unrestrained liberty to their passions and soon the natives became afflicted with the white man's vice diseases, their condition becoming deplorable in the extreme. Ross Cox writing on this phase of the conditions issues a call for missionaries of the gospel of Jesus Christ to be sent among the natives.

Following the Astor enterprise came the immigration schemes of Hall J. Kelley, a lover of travel and exploration. As early as 1815, he became interested in the Oregon Country, gathering all the information obtainable relating to that disputed domain. He organized a land expedition in 1828, which failed; this followed by an attempt to fit out an expedition by sea, which also failed. In the year 1829, he incorporated a society for Oregon immigration, lands



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were to be cultivated, towns built, ports established, trade by water with the Orient was to be opened, schools and churches were to be encouraged,—a mighty undertaking. United States Senators frequently consulted Kelley as an authority on the Oregon Country and he induced many people to migrate thither, substantial benefits following due directly or indirectly to his efforts. Mr. Kelley lived to see the Oregon Country grow into a mighty empire.

The treaty of Ghent, concluded December 24, 1814, ratified by the President February 17, 1815, restored Astoria to the domain of the United States. The treaty of commerce and navigation, of 1815, granted liberty of commerce to American citizens. Article 2, treaty of 1818, relating to fisheries and boundaries, established the following agreement relating to the Oregon Country:

It is agreed that a line drawn from the most north western point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that line drawn from the said point due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States, and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods and the Stony Mountains.

*Article 3*—It is agreed, that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbours, bays, creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers: it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claims, which either of the high contracting powers may have to any part of the country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves.

The above articles of the treaty of 1818, are the beginning of joint occupation in the Oregon Country. When two great powers, such as the United States and Great Britain can agree upon a plan to prevent disputes and differences among themselves, it seems pos-



## EMPIRE BUILDING

sible that all civil powers can adjust their differences in the same manner.

The government of the United States seized the opportune moment for acquiring a relinquishment of Spanish claims to the Oregon Country while negotiating the Florida treaty, February 22, 1819. The relinquishment covered all of the territory north of the forty-second parallel of north latitude. During the year 1822, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company were united into one company. During the year 1821, the British Parliament by statute erected the Indian Territory of British America, comprising the unsettled wilderness beyond the Hudson's Bay Company's chartered domain. This vast region bordered on Russian America (Alaska), while from the well known degree 54' 40" southward to the 42nd degree of north latitude it touched the Pacific Ocean. The King of England exercised his statutory authority over the Indian Territory in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company by granting a license to the latter to trade within the limits of the territory for a period of twenty years. Thus the newly modified company virtually ruled British North America and the Oregon Country.

President Washington in his Farewell Address admonished the American people to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations. One of the alliances most dreaded by Washington was the guarantee of European dominion on the continents of North and South America. President Jefferson in his anxiety to secure the Spanish possessions east of the Mississippi River, authorized the United States minister to the court of Spain to say to the King of Spain that the United States would guarantee Spanish dominions west of the Mississippi River. The Spanish monarch refused the offer, April 7, 1802. Such an alliance would have involved the United States in endless difficulties. The treaty of joint occupation, between the United States and Great Britain to a certain extent guaranteed the dominions of both nations, especially in the Oregon Country; to that extent it was an entangling alliance. How to withdraw from the entangling alliance with honor was a problem for our statesmen to solve.

The opportune moment for asserting American principles came during the year 1823, while negotiating a treaty with the imperial government of Russia. President Monroe in his message to the

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18th Congress, 1st session, December 2, 1823, announced American principles in the following language:

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. . . . In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

The Monroe doctrine set the compass and pointed the course the United States was to pursue in the Oregon question. President Polk declared the same principle in much bolder language. The principle troubled the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, they discovered that the single determined principle of the United States was: "That no foreign power had any right to any part of North America, and whatever they may grant to the British Crown will be expediency, to be resumed again as soon as possible." The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company are mistaken in their interpretation of American principles. The establishment of the boundary line, west of the Rocky Mountains, is not an expediency on the part of the United States, to be set aside at a convenient moment, but it is a permanent fixture, adapted to the best interests of both the United States and the British Empire.

The Hudson's Bay Company erected a fort on the north side of the Columbia River and withdrew from Astoria. Conditions among the natives grew worse as time passed by. Early travellers had given the natives a meagre knowledge of the white man's "Book of Heaven." The natives began to think that if they could secure the book it would heal them of all their diseases and finally a delegation was sent east to St. Louis in a search for the book.

Matters between Great Britain and the United States over the Oregon question were approaching a crisis; the ten year period of joint occupancy was drawing to a close without any progress having been made toward an adjustment of the problem. The diplo-

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mats of the two nations came together in convention and concluded a treaty, August 6, 1827, continuing in force Article 3 of the treaty of 1818. Again the statesmen of the United States and Great Britain pledged themselves to prevent the hazard of a misunderstanding in the following language:

The United States of America and His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally desirous to prevent, as far as possible, all hazard of misunderstanding between the two nations, with respect to the territory on the Northwest Coast of America, west of the Stony or Rocky Mountains, after the expiration of the convention concluded between them on the twentieth of October, and also with a view to gain more time . . . .

Conditions in the Oregon Country were in a critical state, any overt act would be likely to start a war between the two nations, but the good judgment of the diplomats of both nations held in abeyance the martial spirit of the actors on the stage of action. The visit of the natives to St. Louis in a search for the Book of Heaven, gave the Christian community of the United States an incentive for greater activity. Money was raised by the Methodist Church to send missionaries into the distant land of the setting sun.

Methodist missionaries entered the Oregon Country during the year 1834. A mission station was erected on the banks of the Willamette River. Soon the missionaries discovered that the natives were a vanishing race and turned their attention to the white population living in the country. American settlers began flocking into the country. Under joint occupation, neither the United States or Great Britain established courts of law, the settlers soon felt the need of civil law and began agitating the formation of a provisional government, about which time Captain Wilkes, United States Navy, appeared on the scene.

*The Wilkes Observation*—Commercial interests in the United States were in need of a better knowledge of the earth's surface, and the government determined on sending an expedition for the purpose of gaining such information as would be useful to the government and citizens of the country. Charles Wilkes, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, was selected to command the expedition. Much has been said and written concerning the personality of Captain Wilkes. It is not pertinent to an article of the nature of



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this one to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of any one person, for which reason the writer refrains from a discussion of this topic. Enough for us to know that he was one of the makers of our history in the Oregon Country.

Previous to his appointment to the command of the exploring expedition, Captain Wilkes has served his country in the depot of charts and instruments at Washington. His duties connected with the surveying expedition, beside that of commander, was to make observations.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into a detailed discussion of the general results of the expedition, but only that pertaining to the work done in the Oregon Country. The expedition arrived at Port Discovery, Strait of Juan de Fuca, May 1, 1841, forty-nine years later than the Vancouver expedition of 1792. Proceeding up sound, Wilkes sent ahead to Fort Nisqually, Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters on the shore of the inland sea, for a pilot to guide his ships into the southern parts of Puget Sound. Arriving at Fort Nisqually, he laid plans for a complete survey of the interior sea. One precaution which he took is worthy of special mention. Calling his men on deck, he explained to them the nature of the hazardous undertaking in which they were about to engage, ending his talk by informing the crew that no intoxicating liquors would be permitted on boat expeditions, and that any member of the crew who could not dispense with his ration of grog would be permitted to remain on board ship. He called on all those who were willing to dispense with their grog to step forward, those who wished to enjoy their grog and remain on board ship to step backwards. Every man except one responded by stepping forward. This is a true test of American principle. When an emergency arises the general rank of the American people can be depended on to do the right thing.

Captain Wilkes sent out his lieutenants to examine every circumvolution, bay, inlet, indenture and island in the interior sea, and the lieutenants did their work and did it well. Expeditions were sent inland to examine the interior of the country. After the departure of the several expeditions, Captain Wilkes mounted the hurricane deck of a cayuse pony and started on a voyage overland to Fort Vancouver. He found this hurricane deck somewhat different from the deck of a man of war, but by careful navigation he



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reached his destination in fairly good health. After feasting on the bounties of the Hudson's Bay Company he continued his journey southward among the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. Here he felt the bite of an Oregonian flea and partook of the humble fare of the settlers. He found the settlers in a disturbed condition, very much agitated over the question of organizing a provisional government. Wilkes advised them not to organize a government on the ground that he could see no necessity of enforcing law and order, because the whole population seemed to be law abiding citizens. Captain Wilkes' remarks on the home conditions of the settlers are not altogether complimentary to the Americans, for he seemed to expect too much of the settlers. He found the settlers unyielding toward the Hudson's Bay Company, and that under no conditions would they submit to the narrow commercial spirit of the great monopoly. His report aroused the government of the United States into action, even though it was not complimentary to the American settler. The government realized that loyal American citizens were at the mercy of a heartless corporation, that Great Britain had infringed on the good intentions of the United States by erecting the Indian Territory in what they pleased to call British America, and that the great company was ruling things with a high hand.

Acting on the information received from Captain Wilkes and Robert Greenhow, the United States government notified the government of Great Britain that the period of joint occupation would cease and that the United States would take full possession of the Oregon Country. Before the year of grace expired the United States and Great Britain concluded a treaty fixing the boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains, which removed the state of doubt existing respecting the sovereignty and government of the territory on the Northwest Coast of America, west of the Stony or Rocky Mountains. The treaty is an amicable compromise of the mutual rights asserted by the United States and Great Britain.

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# Walworth and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

*Arms*—Gules, a bend engrailed, argent, between two garbs, or.

*Crest*—A cubit arm vested or, cuff argent, the hand grasping a dagger sinister imbrued gules, pommel and hilt or.

*Motto*—Strike for the laws.



THE Walworth family of America claim descent from Sir William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Richard II. Sir William Walworth died in 1383 and was buried in the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London. He was born in the suburban village of Walworth, named in his honor, which is located near London Bridge on the Surrey side. A painting of Sir William Walworth is preserved in the Guild Hall, London.

(The Family in America).

I. *William Walworth*, the progenitor of all the Walworths in America, came from the neighborhood of London, England, in 1689, to the New London Colony in New England, sailing at the special instance of Fitzjohn Winthrop, then in command of the forces of the Colony, with whom he was well acquainted. It was Winthrop's desire to introduce upon Fisher's Island the English system of cultivation with which Walworth was familiar, he having been a prominent farmer at Groton Manor in old England. Fisher's Island forms part of Suffolk County, Long Island, claim to it having been made in former times by both Massachusetts and Connecticut. The lease of the island was given to William Walworth by Fitzjohn Winthrop, son of John Winthrop, Jr., of New London, and grandson of John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. Situated as it is in such close proximity to Connecticut, the early Walworth associations were closely affiliated with that State. In 1690, shortly after William Walworth's arrival, he married Mary Seaton, a young English woman, born in 1669, who came to New London in the same ship with himself. (See Seaton I.) She was an orphan and the only surviving child of her parents. There is no record of this marriage to be found, but it probably took place in New Lon-

#### WALWORTH.

*Arms*—Gules, a bend engrailed argent, between two garbs or.

*Crest*—A cubit arm vested or, cuff argent, the hand grasping a dagger sinister imbrued gules, pommel and hilt or.

*Motto*—Strike for the laws.

#### WOODBIDGE.

*Arms*—Argent, on a bend gules three chaplets of roses proper.

*Crest*—A chaplet of roses proper

#### MORGAN.

*Arms*—Or, a griffin segreant sable.

*Crest*—A reindeer's head coupé or, attired gules.

*Motto*—Onward and upward.

#### DUNLOP—DUNLAP.

*Arms*—Argent, a two-headed eagle displayed gules.

#### RAYCE—RACE.

*Arms*—Argent, three spearheads gules, a chief azure.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet a phoenix's head in flames and holding in the beak a palm branch.

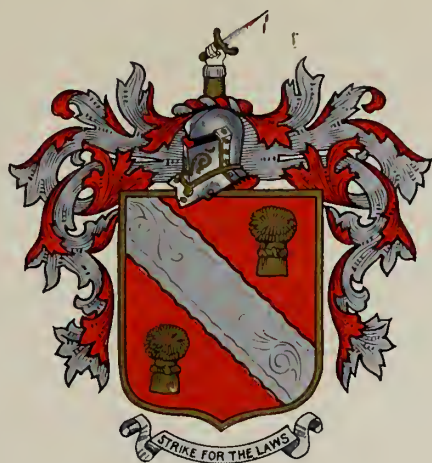
#### JOYNER.

*Arms*—Azure, on a bend argent an eagle displayed sable.

*Crest*—A dexter arm embowed in armour, holding in the gauntlet a battle axe, handle or, headed argent.







Walworth



Woodbridge



Morgan



Dunlop  
(DUNLAP)



Rauce  
(RACE)



Joyner



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

don, though all but the three youngest of their children were born on Fisher's Island, where he made his home for about nine years. In 1698 or 1699, owing to the remoteness and loneliness of the location, which was exposed not only to the depredations of Indians and French privateers off the coast, but particularly to the piracies of the notorious Captain Kidd, William Walworth removed his young family to Groton, Connecticut. He continued, however, to hold his lease on Fisher's Island until his death in 1703. His widow survived him for forty-nine years, dying January 14, 1752. Her gravestone stood until recently in New London, on the east side of the old cemetery in that city. The grave of William Walworth, however, has not been located. His will was filed at New London, February 3, 1703, but both will and record of it were destroyed by fire at the capture of New London by Benedict Arnold in the Revolutionary War.

The children of William and Mary (Seaton) Walworth were: 1. Martha, born in March, 1691; married, November 10, 1715, John Stark. 2. William, born in January, 1693-94; was of Noanke, having possessions elsewhere in Connecticut; removed to Bozrah in 1744, where he lived until his death, May 17, 1774. He married (first), January 16, 1720, Mary Avery, daughter of Captain Samuel and Susannah (Palmer) Avery, of Poquannoc, and a great-great-granddaughter of the Earl of Lincoln (see Royal Descent XXXII.); they had eight children: Nathan, Amos, James, Elijah, Mary, Susan, Lucy, and Abigail. He married (second), September 23, 1742, Elizabeth Hinckley, and had two more children, Eunice and Charles. (While the Royal Descent does not carry through to the branch of the Walworth family of Cleveland, still it is of great value and interest not only to that family but to all others interested in Walworth genealogy, and for that reason this Royal Descent is carried in this record.) 3. Mary, born in February, 1695; married, as early as April 20, 1721, Abiel Stark, brother of John Stark, leaving numerous descendants. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Joanna, born in October, 1699; married, April 1, 1722, Christopher Stark, cousin of John and Abiel Stark; had nine children born in Groton, Connecticut, and Dutchess County, New York. 6. Thomas (twin), born in May, 1701, at Groton; married, as early as June 20, 1724, Phoebe Stark, sister of Christopher Stark and daughter of William Stark,



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of Groton; they had one child, William. 7. James (twin), born in May, 1701, at Groton, died as a young man, probably at Groton.

*II. John Walworth*, of Groton, Connecticut, son of William and Mary (Seaton) Walworth, of Fisher's Island, was born on that island in June, 1696, died of smallpox in Groton in 1748. In his childhood his parents, with their young children, removed to Groton, where he grew to maturity. He was appointed cornet of a troop of dragoons in the Eighth Regiment of Connecticut Colonial troops, by a resolution of the General Assembly, May 10, 1744, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of captain. His commission as cornet, still in the possession of his descendants, is dated at Hartford, May 25, 1744, bearing the seal of the Colony and signed by Governor Law. A copy of this is on file among the archives of the State Library at Albany, New York, together with a record of the Revolutionary services of his son, Benjamin Walworth. He was buried in the Wightman Cemetery, where his wife and children were also interred.

John Walworth married, in November, 1718, Sarah B. Dunn, born about 1700, died November 5, 1778, only child of Captain Richard Dunn, Jr., and Hannah (or Elizabeth) (Bailey) Dunn, of Newport, Rhode Island; and granddaughter of Richard Dunn, who was freeman of Newport as early as 1635, and was a deputy to the General Assembly for a number of terms. (See Dunn III.)

Children of John and Sarah B. (Dunn) Walworth were: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. John, married (first), December 4, 1752, Mary Minor, daughter of Captain Rufus Minor; (second) Patience Denison, of Lyme, who was born in 1735; he and his second wife died at Hoosick, New York. 3. Sylvester, was a soldier of the Revolution, killed September 6, 1781, at the storming of Fort Griswold; married, April 8, 1756, Sarah Holmes, of Stonington. 4. William, married Sarah Grant, of Stonington. 5. James, died unmarried. 6. Benjamin, born at Groton, November 11, 1746, died at Hoosick, New York, February 26, 1812, to which he removed in 1793; he was a hatter by trade; he was a gallant Revolutionary War soldier; he married, in 1782, Apphia Hyde, of Bozrah, Connecticut, who died at Fredonia, New York, February 8, 1837. 7. Philena (or Phila), married Joseph Minor, of Groton. 8. Sarah, married Benjamin Brown; she died in Yates County, New York. 9. Abigail, died unmarried.





*John Walworth*

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

*III. Samuel Walworth*, son of John and Sarah B. (Dunn) Walworth, was born January 15, 1725-26, at Groton, Connecticut, where he lived, and he died there May 5, 1773. He was buried in the Wightman Cemetery. As the eldest son, he was appointed executor of his father's will, March 18, 1748.

Samuel Walworth married, January 10, 1761, Hannah Woodbridge (see Woodbridge V), who, after his death, married, March 16, 1775, William Avery, and after the death of her second husband, married (third), August 28, 1800, Deacon Peter Avery.

The children of Samuel and Hannah (Woodbridge) Walworth were: 1. Lieutenant Samuel, born March 7, 1762; served in the Continental Army during its operations in the Hudson Valley; was at one time a citizen of Hudson, New York, and died at Groton, Connecticut, January 13, 1787, of wounds received during the Revolutionary War; married Mary Latham, daughter of Captain William Latham; she died January 28, 1801, leaving two children, Mary and Solon. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Hannah, born July 27, 1769; married a Mr. Eldred; died at Groton, leaving a son and daughter.

*IV. Judge John Walworth*, son of Samuel and Hannah (Woodbridge) Walworth, was born at Groton, Connecticut, June 10, 1765, and died at Cleveland, Ohio, September 10, 1812. He was known as John of Cleveland, "the Pioneer." He moved to Aurora, New York, and in the winter of 1799 went from there to Fairport, Lake County, Ohio, returning to Aurora in the spring of 1800 for his wife and children. On his return to the Western Reserve he decided that lands along the Grand River were desirable, and on April 8, 1800, located at Bloomingdale, later named Painesville. He was commissioned justice of the peace for Trumbull County, Ohio, in 1802, and appointed Associate Judge the year following. In 1804 he was made postmaster of Painesville. A year later, 1805, he moved to Cleveland and became government inspector of the newly created port Cuyahoga (Cleveland), and in 1806 was appointed collector of the port of Erie, Associate Judge of the Superior Court of Geauga County, Ohio, and postmaster of Cleveland. The population of the city at that time was less than fifty, the mail came twice a week and was delivered by John Walworth personally, the letters being carried in his hat. The receipts of the office for the first three months were two dollars and eighty-three cents. He succeeded Elisha Norton, the first postmaster of



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Cleveland, who had moved to another county. When the county of Cuyahoga was organized, Judge Walworth was made county clerk and county recorder and filled both offices until his death.

On October 22, 1805, he consummated the exchange of his farm on the Grand River, with Samuel Huntington, receiving in return a three hundred acre tract in Cleveland in the district later bounded by Huron and Erie streets (now East Ninth Street) and the river. He brought his family to Cleveland in April, 1806, their first home being the upper floor of a building located on the north side of Superior Street near Water, now West Ninth Street. In 1809 they moved to the Walworth farm house located on Pittsburgh Street. A great panic seized the people of the settlement when Detroit was surrendered to the British by General Hull in 1812, and the pioneer homes of Ohio were left open to attack, but he did all he could to stem the tide and remained at the farm, as did his courageous wife, though many fled to the older settlements. His popularity grew until his death, and it was said of him that any office within the gift of his townsmen could have been his for the asking.

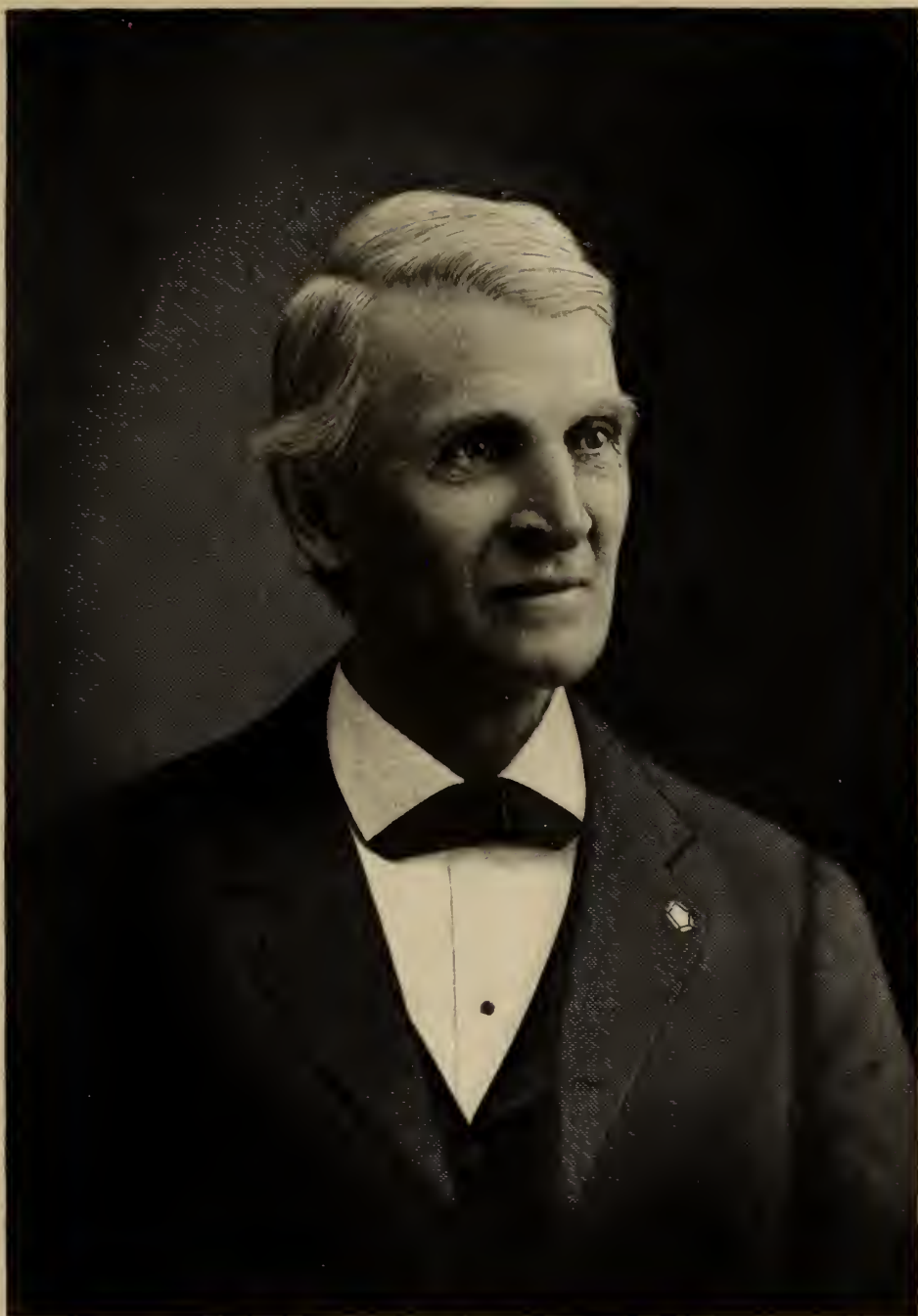
John Walworth married, March 22, 1789, Juliana Morgan, born at Groton, Connecticut, December 31, 1769, died at Cleveland, Ohio, March 3, 1853, daughter of Colonel Christopher Morgan, of the Revolutionary War, and his wife, Deborah (Ledyard) Morgan. (See Morgan VI.) Juliana (Morgan) Walworth was a woman of rare courage, a true pioneer's wife, and noted as one of the three women who refused to leave their homes at the time of General Hull's surrender at Detroit. She was an accomplished horsewoman, and in 1810 crossed the Alleghenies on horseback with her husband, on a visit to their old home in Groton, going *via* Philadelphia and returning to her Cleveland home by the same method of travel. She survived her husband by more than forty years.

Children of John and Juliana (Morgan) Walworth: 1. Ashbel W., of whom further. 2. John Austin, born September 28, 1792, died young. 3. Julia, born September 19, 1794; married Dr. Long, of Cleveland; died July 2, 1866. 4. Horace F., born at Cleveland, May 8, 1796; was a resident of Point Chicot, Chicot County, Arkansas, and died after a later residence at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 20, 1863, unmarried, and having been totally blind for years. He was a man of great wealth, both in personal property and real estate, and in his will bequeathed the bulk of his property





*C. M. Watworth*



*John Walworth*









WALWORTH RESIDENCE  
EAST CLEVELAND, OHIO

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

for the use of the blind in the Confederate States. 5. John P., born at Aurora, New York, September 11, 1798, died there in 1883; was the founder of the Mississippi branch of the family, removing from Cleveland to Natchez in 1803. He began life in Natchez as a clerk in the post office, became a merchant, bank president, and planter, with several plantations in Louisiana and Arkansas. He married, in 1827, Sarah Wren, daughter of Woodson and Mary Wren, of Natchez, and had children: i. Horace, died young. ii. Douglas, who became editor of the "Natchez Democrat," and was a major in the Confederate Army; was the husband of the well-known authoress, Jeannette H. Walworth, daughter of Baron Haderman, of Bonn, Prussia. iii. Ernest. iv. John P. v. Charles. vi. Laura. vii. Clara. 6. Hannah, born December 17, 1811; married Dr. Ben Strickland.

V. *Ashbel W. Walworth*, son of John and Juliana (Morgan) Walworth, was born December 6, 1790, lived in Cleveland, Ohio, and died August 24, 1844. He was one of the first to realize the possibilities in Cleveland real estate and his investments were all made with an eye to the future growth of the town. His holdings of real estate lay entirely in the First Ward and were farm lands principally until January, 1838, when with Thomas Kelley he laid out two acres in building lots south of Ohio Street (Central Avenue), and also an adjoining tract that extended to the river. He was one of the founders and charter members of the Old Stone Church on the Public Square.

Ashbel W. Walworth married, in 1820, Mary Ann Dunlap, of Schenectady, New York. (See Dunlap III.) Their children were: 1. John, of whom further. 2. William, died in the Union Army during the Civil War. 3. Sarah. 4. Ann. 5. Mary. 6. Jane.

VI. *John Walworth*, son of Ashbel W. and Mary Ann (Dunlap) Walworth, and grandson of Judge John Walworth, was born in the Walworth home (later the site of the "American House" and now the heart of the city of Cleveland, Ohio), August 11, 1821, died at his home on Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, October 11, 1900. His boyhood was spent in the section named as his birthplace, several of his playmates being Indian boys. He spent his entire life in Cleveland and witnessed as well as participated in the remarkable transformation of fields, untilled lands and woods, into a populous modern city. He was a fund of interesting narratives and adventures,



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and in his later years his stories of the early days of Cleveland were most entertaining. His reminiscences, with all their variety of change and local color, reflecting the life growth and development of Cleveland during the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century, would form a volume not only entertaining and interesting, but also most valuable historically. Like his father he became interested in the real estate development of the city. Shortly after his marriage he bought five acres on which the present Walworth home, No. 14609 Euclid Avenue, stands, and which at that time was considered far out in the country. This was his home for the remainder of his life.

John Walworth married, May 22, 1851, Mary Rocelia Race, born in Massachusetts, October 15, 1828, but who, in 1829, was brought West by her parents, William N. and Vienna (Joyner) Race, the family locating at Ridgeville, on a farm three miles from Elyria, Ohio. She died January 3, 1911, having survived her husband eleven years. (See Race III.)

Their children were: 1. Ida, residing in the Walworth homestead, No. 14609 Euclid Avenue. 2. Frank Howard, died March 14, 1916; married Kate Cline, daughter of Frank C. and Kate M. (Ingalls) Cline, of Jefferson County, New York. Children: i. Kathryn, married Stewart B. Brown; children: a. William Walworth, died aged six years. b. Benjamin W. c. Frank W. d. Kathryn Antoinette. e. Helen Elizabeth. f. Jean Louise. ii. Jeanette, married Eugene T. Izant; children: a. John W. b. David Cline. iii. John Dunlap, the last male of his direct line to bear the name Walworth. 3. Allyn Woodbridge, died in 1908; married Annie Doane, daughter of Edward Doane, also of an old and distinguished Cleveland family. Children: i. Bernice, married Albert D. Trenor; one child, Patricia. ii. Alleyne. 4. Antoinette, who resides in the Walworth homestead.

(Woodbridge Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a bend gules three chaplets of roses proper.  
*Crest*—A chaplet of roses proper.

Woodbridge as a surname is local, meaning "of Woodbridge," a parish in the County of Suffolk, seven miles from Ipswich. The name is a very ancient one appearing in the form De Wudebrige in 1273. By 1596 it had assumed its present form, that of Woodbridge, there being a record of a John Woodbridge of the County of Ox-



*Mary P. (Race) Walworth*

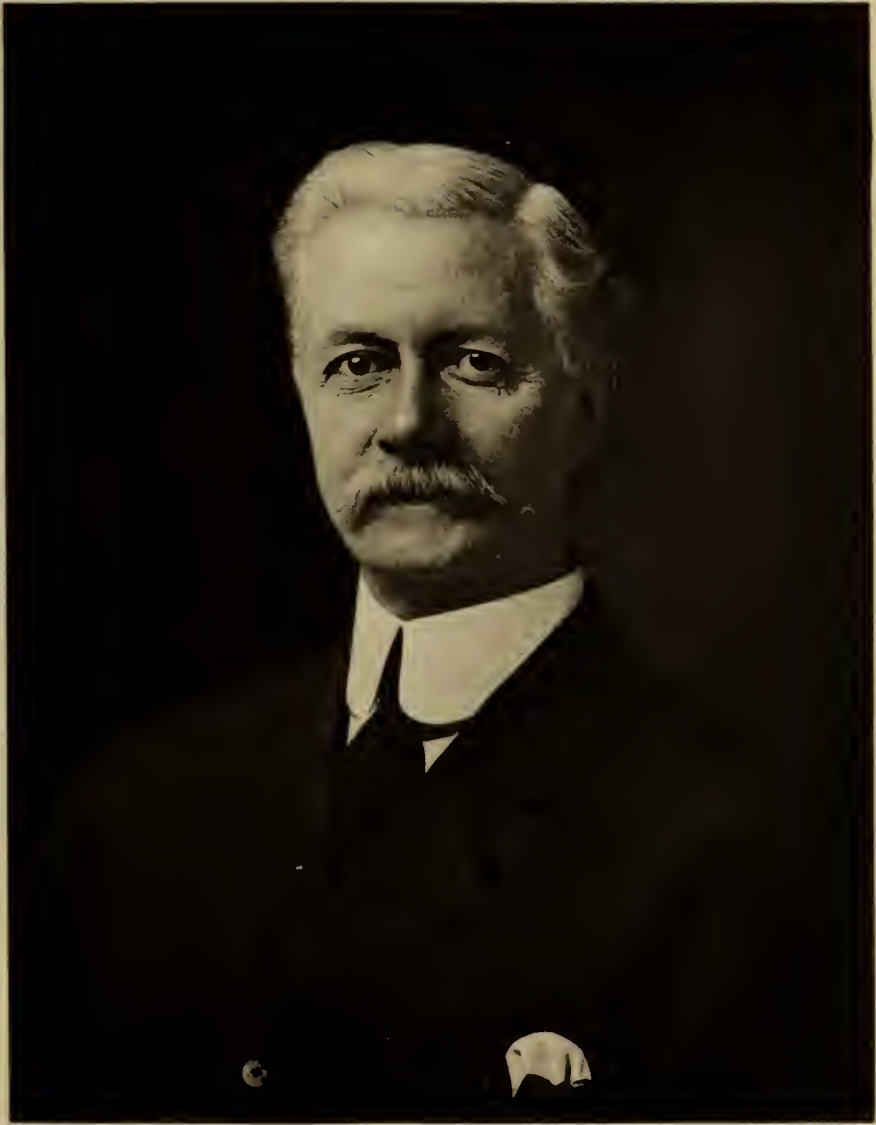








*Ida Walworth*



J. H. Halworth









*A. M. Walworth*



*Antoinette Walworth*



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ford in that year. Harrison in his "Surnames of the United Kingdom" states that the patronymic is derived from the Old English wudu, wood and brycg, brieg, bridge, and was used to denote a dweller at the wooden bridge. Woodbridge, County Suffolk, was Wodebregge in the fourteenth century, Wodebridge in the thirteenth, and Wudebridge in the thirteenth century is referred to as Wodebrigge in a copy made (with alterations) in the Middle English period of the (Latin) boundary-definements of a land grant dated A. D. 850 by Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons.

Rev. John Woodbridge died in Stanton in Wiltshire, England, December 9, 1637. He was rector of the parish of Stanton, near Highworth in Wiltshire, and a minister, "so able and faithful," says Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," "as to obtain an high esteem among those that at all knew the invaluable worth of such a minister."

Rev. John Woodbridge married Sarah Parker, daughter of Rev. Robert Parker.

Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born about 1614. 3. Benjamin, born in 1622. 4. Lucy.

(The Family in America).

*I. Rev. John Woodbridge*, son of Rev. John and Sarah (Parker) Woodbridge, was born in Stanton in Wiltshire, in 1613, and died in Newbury, Massachusetts, March 17, 1695. He was sent to Oxford when he finished school and kept there until "the oath of conformity came to be required of him; which neither his father, nor his conscience approving, he removed from thence into a course of more private studies." In the year 1634 he came to New England on the ship "Mary and John" and settled at Newbury, Massachusetts. He was town clerk of Newbury from 1634 to 1639, and was chosen "Surveyor of Arms" in 1637. In 1643 he kept school in Boston. He, with others, negotiated to purchase from the Indians, of the plantations, on which the town of Andover grew up. He was ordained at Andover, October 24, 1645, this being one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of regular ordinations in New England. In 1647 he returned to England, with his wife and family, and was chaplain to the Parliamentary Commissioners, who treated with the King at the Isle of Wight, and afterwards minister at Andover, Hants, and Barford St. Martin (Wiltshire) until he was ejected at



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the restoration. In 1663 he was driven by the Bartholomew Act from a school he had established at Newbury (England) and in the same year returned to New England. He was now made assistant to his uncle, Rev. Thomas Parker, at Newbury, remaining in this office until November 31, 1670, when he was dismissed in consequence of dissensions in the church. He was "assistant" of the Massachusetts Colony, 1683-84. He was also a large property holder.

Rev. John Woodbridge married, in 1639, Mercy Dudley, daughter of Thomas Dudley, Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. (See Dudley II.)

Children: 1. Sarah, born June 7, 1640. 2. Lucy, born March 13, 1642. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Benjamin, born in 1645. 5. Thomas, born in 1648. 6. Dorothy, born about 1650. 7. Anne, born about 1653. 8. Timothy, born January 13, 1656. 9. Joseph, born about 1657. 10. Martha, born about 1660. 11. Mary, born about 1662.

*II. Rev. John Woodbridge*, son of Rev. John and Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1644, and died in Wethersfield, Connecticut, November 13, 1691. He was graduated at Harvard College, 1664, began preaching at Killingworth, Connecticut (now Clinton), in 1666; and was ordained April 7, 1669. He resigned his pastorate in 1679, and was in the same year installed at Wethersfield, where he remained until his death.

Rev. John Woodbridge married, October 26, 1671, Abigail Leete, daughter of Governor William Leete, of the Connecticut Colony. (See Leete II.)

Children: 1. Mercy. 2. John, born June 10, 1678. 3. Dudley, born about 1679. 4. Ephraim, of whom further. 5. Benjamin, born December 26, 1681, died young. 6. Abigail, born March 1, 1687.

*III. Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge*, son of Rev. John and Abigail (Leete) Woodbridge, was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, January 25, 1680, and died in Groton, Connecticut, December 1, 1725. He graduated from Harvard College in 1701; was ordained, November 9, 1704, and became the same year minister of the First Church, Groton, Connecticut. He held considerable landed property in the southeastern part of what is now the town of Ledyard: some portions of this property are still occupied and farmed by

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

his descendants. His church or meeting-house was not far from what is now Groton Center, and his homestead a mile or two distant therefrom in a northeasterly direction, upon the road leading northward past the old Rogerene Meeting House.

Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge married, May 4, 1704, Hannah Morgan, daughter of Captain John Morgan, of Groton.

Children: 1. Dudley, born April 21, 1705. 2. Paul, of whom further. 3. Augustus, born October 29, 1710. 4. Oliver, born in 1713. 5. Hannah, born February 9, 1714. 6. Mary, born October 27, 1719. 7. Oliver, born December 3, 1723.

IV. *Captain Paul Woodbridge*, son of Rev. Ephraim and Hannah (Morgan) Woodbridge, was born in Groton, Connecticut, March 12, 1708, and died in Upper Mystic, Connecticut, November, 1778. He was a seafaring man in the earlier part of his life, but afterwards purchased and conducted a large tannery, which is still standing near the bridge in Upper Mystic. The house which he occupied is also standing at the angle of the roads, opposite the site of the tannery, southeast of the church. Both he and his wife are buried in what is known as the Woodbridge Burying-Ground, upon a portion of the old Ephraim Woodbridge estate, and not far from his old homestead.

Captain Paul Woodbridge married, July 5, 1737, Sarah Goodridge, of South Kingston, Rhode Island.

Children: 1. Mary, born June 12, 1738, died young. 2. Ephraim, born July 12, 1740, died young. 3. Hannah, of whom further. 4. Ephraim, born June 20, 1746. 5. Sarah, born November 26, 1749. 6. Paul, Jr., born April 13, 1751. 7. Timothy, born April 1, 1753. 8. James, born May 14, 1756. 9. Richard, born July 20, 1759. 10. Ashbel, born November 7, 1762.

V. *Hannah Woodbridge*, daughter of Captain Paul and Sarah (Goodridge) Woodbridge, was born in Upper Mystic, Connecticut, January 19, 1743, and died April 13, 1831. She married (first), January 10, 1761, Samuel Walworth, son of John and Sarah B. (Dunn) Walworth. (See Walworth III.) She married (second), March 16, 1775, William Avery. She married (third), August 28, 1800, Deacon Peter Avery.

Children by first husband: 1. Lieutenant Samuel, born March 7, 1762. 2. John, born January 12, 1765. 3. Hannah, born July 27, 1769. Child by second husband: 4. Sarah, born January 16, 1776.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(Dudley Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant, vert, double queued.

*Crest*—A lion's head erased.

*Motto*—*Nec gladio nec arcu.*

*Thomas Dudley*, Governor, the immigrant ancestor, was born about 1576, near Northampton, England. He was the son of Captain Roger Dudley, a military man who lived in the time of Robert Dudley, Queen Elizabeth's famous Earl of Leicester, and appears to have been one of his soldiers, sent by the Queen to aid Henry of Navarre to establish his throne, and to have fallen in the famous battle of Ivry. His mother was a kinswoman of Augustine Nicholls, of Faxton, in Northamptonshire, who was born at Ecton in that county in 1559, was judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Knight of the Bath, etc., keeper of the great seal to Prince Charles, and of a distinguished family. Governor Dudley's mother must have died when he was very young, and Mrs. Burefoy, a relative, took care of him. When a young boy he became a page in the establishment of the Earl of Northampton. It is said that he was "a man of high spirit, suitable to the family to which his father belonged." In 1597, when he was twenty-one, he was a volunteer when men were raised to help Henry of Navarre, and was given a captain's commission, raising a company of eighty in Northampton. He was assigned to Amiens in Picardy, but peace was declared before he saw service. He then became clerk for his kinsman, Judge Augustine Nicholls, until August, 1616, when the judge died and he became steward of the Earl of Lincoln; by shrewd management he cleared a debt of £100,000 on the earl's estate in a few years. He resigned this position in 1627, and moved to Boston, Lincolnshire, where Rev. John Cotton preached. The Earl of Lincoln soon wished his services again and there he remained until he came to this country.

In 1627 Thomas Dudley became interested in America, and in 1628, with other Puritans, procured a patent from the king for a plantation here. Others came before he did, but in April, 1630, with Winthrop and a party of four ships, he sailed for America, and was appointed assistant, and on March 23, 1629-30, at the last Court held in England, Deputy-Governor of the Colony. He came on the "Arbella," arriving June 12, 1630, and settled at Newtown, now Cambridge. He soon moved to Ipswich, and he had large grants at various times. He was one of the first four sign-

DUDLEY.

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant, vert, double queued.

*Crest*—A lion's head erased.

*Motto*—*Nec gladio nec arcu.*

LEETE.

*Arms*—Argent, on a fesse gules between two rolls of matches sable, fired proper, a martlet or.

*Crest*—On a ducal coronet an antique lamp or, fired proper.

JONES.

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant azure charged on the shoulder with a bezant, in chief two martlets sable.

EATON.

*Arms*—Or, a fret azure.

*Crest*—An eagle's head erased sable, in the beak an acorn slipped and leaved vert.

*Motto*—*Vincit omnia veritas.* (Truth conquers all things.)

AVERY.

*Arms*—Gules, a fess between three bezants.

*Crest*—Two lions' gambes or, supporting a bezant.







NEC GLADIO NEC ARCV

Budley



Lexte



Jones



VINCIT OMNIA VERITAS

Eaton



Avery



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ers of the covenant of the First Church at Charlestown, where he was then living, in July, 1630, but which moved to Boston a few months later. In May, 1634, he was elected Governor to succeed Winthrop, and was reëlected in 1640-1645-50; Deputy-Governor for thirteen years, and sometimes assistant. He was the first Governor chosen by the people at a general election. He was one of the twelve men appointed by the General Court to establish Harvard College in 1636, and when the charter of the college was granted in 1650, Thomas Dudley as Governor signed it. In 1644 he was sergeant-major-general of the Colony. He was in office four years, the first to hold this position. He died at Roxbury, July 31, 1653. Cotton Mather said of him: "He was a man of sincere piety, exact justice, hospitality to strangers and liberality to the poor." His will, dated April 26, 1652, additions, April 13, May 28, and July 8, 1653, was proved August 15, 1653.

Thomas Dudley married Dorothy, surname unknown, in England, who died at Roxbury, December 27, 1643, aged sixty-one. His second marriage was on April 14, 1644, to Catherine Hackburn, widow of Samuel Hackburn, whose maiden name was Dighton. She had two sons and two daughters by her first marriage. She married (third) Rev. John Allen, of Dedham, and she died August 29, 1671.

Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born about 1610, died February 10, 1683. 2. Anne, born about 1612, in England; married Governor Simon Bradstreet. 3. Patience, born in England. 4. Sarah, baptized July 23, 1620, in England. 5. Mercy, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 6. Deborah, born February 27, 1645. 7. Joseph, born September 23, 1647. 8. Paul, born September 8, 1650.

*II. Mercy Dudley*, daughter of Governor Thomas and Dorothy Dudley, was born in England, September 27, 1621. She married, in 1639, Rev. John Woodbridge, son of Rev. John and Sarah (Parker) Woodbridge. (See Woodbridge I.)

(Leete Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a fesse gules between two rolls of matches sable, fired proper, a martlet or.

*Crest*—On a ducal coronet an antique lamp or, fired proper.

The surname Leete has undergone various changes and modifications in spelling, such as Letie, Lete, Lety, Leet, Lette, Lytte and



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

similar forms with the preposition *de* and the article *le*. As early, however, as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Leete, of Oakington, used the present style, Leete, and his descendants have almost invariably followed his example in this respect. Some have spelled the name Leet. In 1273 we find a Roger de Leyt, of Lynton Parva, Cambridgeshire, and from that date the surname occurs in various counties of England. A history of the Leete family, including the American branch, was published in 1906 by Joseph Leete, first edition of the work published in 1881.

*I. Thomas Leete*, to whom the ancestry of this line is traced in England, lived at Oakington and Comberton, and was assessed to the subsidy for Cambridgeshire in 1522-23. He was buried at Oakington, July 9, 1564.

Thomas Leete married Alse (Alice), surname unknown, who was buried at Oakington.

*II. Thomas Leete*, son of Thomas Leete, married, November 12, 1568, at Oakington, ——— ———. He was assessed to the subsidy for Cambridgeshire in 1566-67 and 1571-72, and was buried at Oakington, February 4, 1582.

*III. Thomas Leete*, son of Thomas Leete, lived at Oakington, and was named in the Visitation of Huntingdonshire, in 1613. He was warden of the parish church at Oakington in 1598, and was buried there, November 12, 1616.

Thomas Leete married, June 2, 1574, Maria Slade, who was buried at Oakington, September 25, 1610, daughter of Edward Slade, of Rushton, Northamptonshire.

Children: 1. John, "the elder," of Dodington, of whom further. 2. John (giving two sons the same name was not uncommon), lived at Islington. 3. Richard, church warden of Oakington; married Elizabeth or Isabella Rogers. 4. Jane, married Richard Dale. 5. Rebecca, married Thomas Fowler.

*IV. John Leete*, son of Thomas and Maria (Slade) Leete, was of Dodington; was named in the Visitations of Hants in 1613 and 1649. He was baptized May 13, 1575, at Oakington, and died about December, 1648.

John Leete married Ann Shute, daughter of Robert Shute, one of the justices of the King's Bench in 1650.

Children: 1. Governor William, of whom further. 2. John, of Midlow Grange, Huntingdonshire; married Sarah Filbrig. 3. Anne, married Robert Raby.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in America).

I. *Governor William Leete*, son of John and Ann (Shute) Leete, of Dodington, was born in 1612 or 1613. "He was bred to the law and served for a considerable time in the Bishop's Court at Cambridge, where, observing the oppressions and cruelties then practiced on the conscientious and virtuous Puritans, he was led to examine more thoroughly their doctrines and practice, and eventually to become a Puritan himself and to give up his office." After his marriage he lived for a short time in Keyston, Huntingdonshire, and there his first child, Mary, was born and died. In the Visitation of Hants in 1684, the record signed by John Leete, brother of Governor Leete, reads:

"William Leete, eldest son, Governour of Harford in New England, now living 1684 as is supposed aet. 71."

William Leete came to New England with Rev. Mr. Whitfield's company and he was one of the signers of the Plantation Covenant on shipboard, June 1, 1639, arriving in New Haven about July 10, following. When they had agreed upon Guilford as a place to settle he was one of six chosen to buy the lands of the Indians, in trust, for the plantation, until their organization was effected. When the lands were laid out, William Leete received a lot opposite William Chittenden on the corner of what is now Broad Street and River. His outlying land, some two hundred and fifty acres, was located about three miles away and the locality was named for him, Leete's Island. His seal bearing the coat-of-arms described above has been preserved by his descendants. He figured prominently in public life. He was clerk of the plantation from 1639 to 1662. He was one of four to whom was intrusted the whole civil power of the plantation without limitation until a church was formed, June 19, 1643, and he was one of the seven pillars. He and Samuel Disborough were chosen to meet the Court at New Haven in 1643 when the combination of the plantations was made and a General Court established for the entire New Haven Colony. William Leete was a deputy from Guilford to this Court until 1650, and from 1651 to 1658 magistrate of the town. In 1658 he was chosen Deputy-Governor of the Colony and continued in that office until the union with Connecticut in 1664. Afterward he was assistant until 1669, when he was elected Deputy-Governor of the Connecticut Colony, holding the office until 1676 when he was chosen Governor, which he held by

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

reelection until his death in 1683. Upon his election as Governor he removed to Hartford. His tombstone is in the rear of the First Church of Hartford. "During the term of forty years," says Dr. Trumbull, the historian, "he was magistrate, deputy governor or governor of one or other of the colonies. In both colonies he presided in times of greatest difficulty, yet always conducted himself with such integrity and wisdom as to meet the public approbation." When two of the judges of Charles I, Goffe and Whalley, fled to New England for safety after the Restoration, Governor Leete secreted them in the cellar of his store and cared for them for several days.

William Leete married (first), at Hail Weston, Huntingdonshire, August 1, 1636, Anne Paine, daughter of Rev. John Paine, minister of Southoe, in County Hunts. She died in Connecticut, September 1, 1668. He married (second) Sarah Rutherford, widow of Henry Rutherford; she died February 10, 1673. He married (third) Mary Street, widow of Governor Francis Newman and of Rev. Nicholas Street; she died December 13, 1683.

Children, all by first wife: 1. John, born in 1639, died November 25, 1692; married, October 4, 1670, Mary Chittenden. 2. Andrew, born in 1643. 3. William, married Mary Fenn. 4. Abigail, of whom further. 5. Caleb, born August 24, 1651. 6. Gratiana, born December 22, 1653. 7. Peregrine, born January 12, 1658. 8. Joshua, born in 1659. 9. Anna, born March 10, 1661.

II. *Abigail Leete*, daughter of Governor William and Anne (Paine) Leete, married, October 26, 1671, Rev. John Woodbridge, son of Rev. John and Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge. (See Woodbridge II.)

(Morgan Line).

*Arms*—Or, a griffin segreant sable.

*Crest*—A reindeer's head couped or, attired gules.

*Motto*—Onward and upward.

The name Morgan is of Welsh origin, and is said by some authorities to mean "by the sea." Another authority attributes its origin to the Anglo-Saxon word *morgan* or *morgen*, meaning morning, the word itself denoting "an eastern light," or more accurately, perhaps, "a light or glow coming out from an eastern sea."

Lower in his "Dictionary of Family Names" says that Mor-



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

gan is a Welsh name of high antiquity, and then adds that the founder of the Pelagian heresy was a true Welshman, a monk of Bangor, named Morgan, which name means "by the sea," and was correctly Latinized as *Pelagius*. In Woodward's "History of Wales From the Earliest Times," accounts are given of several sovereign Welsh princes and petty kings of the name of Morgan, famous fellows in war in their day, and formidable barriers against Anglo-Saxon domination and encroachment; some of them living as far back as A. D. 400. To one of these ancient Kings, Morgan, of Gla-Morgan, about A. D. 725, is accredited the invention and adoption of the "trial by jury," which he called "the Apostolic Law," "for," said he, "as Christ and his twelve Apostles were finally to judge the world, so human tribunals should be composed of the King and twelve wise men." And this it is seen, was a century and a half prior to the realm of "Alfred the Great," who is generally accredited as the first founder of this form of trial.

I. *James Morgan* was born in Wales in 1607, and died in Groton, Connecticut, in 1685. His family removed from Wales to Bristol, England, a few years prior to 1636. In that year, 1636, James and two younger brothers, John and Miles, sailed from Bristol and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, in April, 1636. Record of him is found in Roxbury near Boston in 1640. He was made a Freeman in Roxbury, May 10, 1643, and was a freeholder there as late as 1650, the same year that he removed to Pequot (now New London, Connecticut), and had a house lot assigned to him. On December 25, 1656, he sold his homestead in New London and removed soon after, with several others, across the river, and settled upon large tracts of land previously granted to them by the town, upon the east side, now the south part of Groton. In Groton James Morgan was a large proprietor and dealer in lands; distinguished in public enterprise; often employed by the public in land surveys, establishing highways, determining boundaries, adjusting civil difficulties as a magistrate and ecclesiastical difficulties as a good neighbor and a Christian man, "in whom all appear to have reposed a marked degree of confidence and trust."

He was one of the "townsmen" or selectmen of New London for several years, and was one of the first "deputies" sent from New London plantations to the General Court at Hartford,



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

May Session, 1657, and was nine times afterwards chosen a member of that assemblage, the last time in 1670. He was an active and useful member of the church under Rev. Richard Blinman's ministry, and his name is prominent in every important movement or proceeding.

James Morgan married, August 6, 1640, Margery Hill, of Roxbury.

Children: 1. Hannah, born May 18, 1642. 2. James, born March 3, 1644. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Joseph, born November 29, 1646. 5. Abraham, born September 3, 1648. 6. A daughter, born November 17, 1650, died young.

*II. Captain John Morgan*, son of James and Margery (Hill) Morgan, was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, March 30, 1645, and died in Preston, Connecticut, in 1712. He lived in New London for a time, but removed to Preston in 1692. He was prominent in public affairs, serving as Indian commissioner and advisor; as deputy to the General Court in 1690 from New London; and in 1693-94 from Preston.

Captain John Morgan married (first) Rachel Dymond, daughter of John Dymond; he married (second) Widow Elizabeth (Jones) Williams, daughter of Lieutenant Governor William Jones, of New Haven. (See Jones II).

Children by first wife: 1. John, born June 10, 1667. 2. Samuel, born September 9, 1669. 3. Isaac, born October 24, 1670. 4. Hannah, born January 8, 1674. 5. Mercy, born May, 1675. 6. Sarah, born April 13, 1678. 7. James, born about 1680. Children of second marriage: 8. Elizabeth, born about 1690, died young. 9. William, of whom further. 10. Rachel, baptized April 19, 1694. 11. Andrea, baptized same day.

*III. William Morgan*, son of Captain John and Widow Elizabeth (Jones-Williams) Morgan, was born in Preston, Connecticut, in 1693, and died in Groton, Connecticut, in October, 1729.

William Morgan married, July 3, 1716, Mary Avery, daughter of Captain James Avery, of Groton. (See Avery III.)

Children: 1. Mary, born May 9, 1717. 2. Elizabeth, born February 1, 1719. 3. Margaret, born February 26, 1721. 4. William, of whom further. 5. Deborah, born June 26, 1726. 6. Prudence, born February 29, 1728.

*IV. Captain William Morgan*, son of William and Mary

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(Avery) Morgan, was born in Groton, Connecticut, June 17, 1723, and died in Groton, Connecticut, April 11, 1777. He resided in Groton throughout his life, and appears to have left no will, but his inventory amounting to 4,133 pounds was taken April 29, 1777, and his estate was settled by his widow and his son, Christopher, as administrators, in Stonington Probate Court.

Captain William Morgan married, July 4, 1744, Temperance Avery, daughter of Captain Christopher Avery, of Groton (New London), Connecticut. (See Avery V.)

Children: 1. William, born September 28, 1745. 2. Christopher, of whom further. 3. Temperance, born May 4, 1752. 4. William Avery, born November 24, 1754. 5. Israel, born July 22, 1757. 6. Mary, born January 8, 1760. 7. Simeon, born April 1, 1762. 8. Prudence, born October 27, 1764.

V. *Christopher Morgan*, son of Captain William and Temperance (Avery) Morgan, was born in Groton, Connecticut, October 27, 1747, and died in Groton, Connecticut, July 5, 1831.

Christopher Morgan married (first) Deborah Ledyard, daughter of Youngs and Mary (Avery) Ledyard. She died April 22, 1807. He married (second), April 3, 1808, Margaret Gates, daughter of Asahel Gates, of Groton.

Children by first wife: 1. Juliana, of whom further. 2. Youngs Ledyard, born January 13, 1772. 3. Polly Avery, born March 15, 1774. 4. Christopher, Jr., born October 15, 1777. 5. Lucinda, born March 5, 1780. 6. Pedy Ellery, born March 25, 1783. 7. Deborah Calibia, born June 17, 1785. 8. Henrietta, born August 2, 1790. Children by second wife: 9. William, born March 28, 1809. 10. Hamilton, born December 16, 1816.

VI. *Juliana Morgan*, daughter of Christopher and Deborah (Ledyard) Morgan, was born in Groton, Connecticut, December 31, 1769, and died in Cleveland, Ohio, March 3, 1853. She married (first), March 22, 1789, Judge John Walworth, son of Samuel and Hannah (Woodbridge) Walworth. (See Walworth IV.)

(Jones Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant azure charged on the shoulder with a bezant, in chief two martlets sable.

The name Jones, according to Bardsley in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," is derived from the baptismal name

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John, appearing first as John's, meaning the son of John, the surname being formed in a simple manner from the Christian or forename of the father in the genitive case, son being understood, thus John, Evan's son, became John Evans; Peter, John's son, became Peter Jones, etc. Lower in his "*Patronymica Britannica*," says that Jones is a genitive form of John, common everywhere in England, but superabundant in Wales.

The coat-of-arms described above is the early coat-of-arms of a London family of Jones.

I. *Lieutenant-Governor William Jones*, immigrant ancestor, was born in London, England, in 1624, and died in New Haven, Connecticut, October 17, 1706. He was a lawyer in England, and came to America on the same ship which brought over the celebrated regicides, Whalley and Goffe, arriving in Boston, Massachusetts, July 27, 1660. He took the "Oath of Fidelity" at New Haven at the meeting of the Court, May 23, 1662, with this following caution: "That whereas the King hath been proclaimed in this Colony to be our Sovereign and we his loyal subjects, I do take the said oath with subordination to his Majesty, hoping his Majesty will confirm the said government for the advancement of Christ's gospel, Kingdom and ends, in this Colony, upon the foundations already laid; but in case of alteration of the government in the fundamentals thereof, then to be free from said oath." He was admitted Freeman and took the charge belonging to the Freeman on the same day. Also he was nominated to be propounded at the Court of Electors for a magistrate on the same day. He was elected Deputy-Governor, May 25, 1664; was intrusted with "Magisterial Power," November 19, 1664; and at a General Court held at New Haven, May 22, 1665, it was voted that he should have full power, upon town occasions, to call the town together and to be moderator in town meetings. In February, 1668, he, along with Captain John Nash, James Bishop, John Cooper, Jr., and John Brochett, or in his absence, Mr. William Tuttell, was appointed a committee to meet with Wilford men, and some others appointed by the General Assembly to confer about the line between Milford and New Haven. On October 31, 1670, he, Mathew Gilbert, Captain John Nash, and the townsmen were appointed auditors to audit the town treasurer's accounts for the year 1669. In April, 1677, he was among those chosen as townsmen. He served as assistant in 1678.



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

William Jones married, July 4, 1659, Hannah Eaton, of the Parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, London, youngest daughter of Governor Theophilus Eaton, of New Haven Colony. (See Eaton II.)

Children: 1. Theophilus, born October 2, 1661, died young. 2. Sarah, born August 17, 1662. 3. Elizabeth, of whom further. 4. Samuel, born June 20, 1666. 5. John, born October 4, 1667. 6. Deodat, born March 15, 1670, died young. 7. Isaac, born June 21, 1671. 8. Abigail, twin, born November 10, 1673, died young. 9. Rebecca, twin, born November 10, 1673, died young. 10. Susanna, born August 18, 1675.

II. *Elizabeth Jones*, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William and Hannah (Eaton) Jones, was born August 28, 1664. She married (second) Captain John Morgan. (See Morgan II.)

(Eaton Line).

*Arms*—Or, a fret azure.

*Crest*—An eagle's head erased sable, in the beak an acorn slipped and leaved vert.

*Motto*—*Vincit omnia veritas.* (Truth conquers all things.)

The surname Eaton is of Welsh and Saxon origin, a place name meaning hill or town near the water. In Welsh "Aw" means water, and "Twyn," a small hill; Awtyn, called "Eyton," means a small hillock near the water. In Saxon, "Ea" means water, and "Ton," town, the same significance, *viz.*: A town on a hill near the water. And from some place bearing this name the first of the family to use the surname took their home-town name, after a very common custom. The name of the family is spelled in various ways: Eaton, Etton, Eyton and Eaton by all authorities during the early days, but the latter spelling became generally used before the first emigrant came to America. The family is one of the most ancient in England, and its pedigree is authentically traced to the tenth century, A. D. The Eaton family figures largely in American history, celebrities of the name including Amos Eaton (1776-1842), a noted botanist; Amos Beebe Eaton (1806-1887), major-general, United States Army; Benjamin Harrison Eaton (1833-1904), Governor of Colorado; Edward Dwight Eaton (1851), president of Beloit College; George Washington Eaton (1804-1872), president of Madison University, Hamilton, New York; Horace Eaton (1804-1855), Governor of Vermont; and one of the first who distinguished the name in this country, *Governor Theophilus Eaton*, of whom further.

I. *Governor Theophilus Eaton*, the first Governor of New



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Haven Colony, Connecticut, was born in Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire, England, in 1590, son of Rev. Richard Eaton. It was the hope of his friends that he would study theology, but his preference being for a mercantile life, he became a merchant in London. Here he arose to opulence, and attracted the notice of the Government and was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Court of Denmark, where he remained several years, and on his return to London again engaged in mercantile life, gaining high reputation.

Theophilus Eaton was a parishioner in Rev. John Davenport's church in London, where he was closely associated with Pastor Davenport, and when the latter formed a company for emigration to America, he became one of its members. He was also accompanied by his stepson, Elihu Yale, patron of Yale College. On their arrival in Massachusetts, the planters of that Province vainly tried to retain the party in their midst, but they decided to emigrate further. Accordingly, in the fall of 1637, Theophilus Eaton, with a few friends, explored the Connecticut coast, and in March, 1638, planted a colony at a place called by the Indians, Quinnipiac. The colonists purchased of the Indians a tract of land that comprises seven townships, the price being thirteen English coats, and the new settlement was named New Haven.

Theophilus Eaton was one of the "seven pillars" that formed a government for the Colony, was chosen the first Governor and continued in that office until his death, January 7, 1658. He was one of the commissioners that formed the United Colonies of New England, and in 1646 proposed to Governor Kieft, of the Province of New Amsterdam, to settle all differences with him by arbitration; the Dutch Governor soon after this was displaced by Peter Stuyvesant, and nothing came of his suggestion.

Governor Eaton was accompanied on his voyage to America by two brothers: Samuel became assistant pastor to John Davenport, but, differing with his colleague, he returned to England; Nathaniel was the first master of the school afterward called Harvard College. On his arrival in New Haven, Governor Eaton attempted to carry on his old mercantile pursuits, but soon abandoned them for agriculture. In person he was handsome and of commanding figure, and, although strict and severe in religious matters, he was affable and courteous.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Theophilus Eaton married (first), December 3, 1622, Grace Hiller. She died in February, 1626. He married (second) Ann Yale, widow of David Yale. Among the children of the second marriage was Hannah, of whom further.

II. *Hannah Eaton*, daughter of Governor Theophilus and Ann (Yale) Eaton, was baptized October 6, 1632. She married Lieutenant-Governor William Jones (see Jones I), and among their children was Elizabeth, of whom further.

III. *Elizabeth Jones*, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William and Hannah (Eaton) Jones, married Captain John Morgan. (See Morgan II.)

(Avery Line).

*Arms*—Gules, a fess between three bezants.

*Crest*—Two lions' gambes or, supporting a bezant.

Avery is a name which is connected with several of the most distinguished families in the country including that of John D. Rockefeller, whose grandfather, Godfrey Rockefeller, married Lucy Avery; and the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States.

I. *Christopher Avery*, emigrant ancestor, was born in England about 1590. The family is said to have been native to Cornwall. It is not known where he made his landfall or when, but he was selectman of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1646-52-54, and he took the oath of allegiance and fidelity, June 29, 1653. Also he was constable and clerk of the market. He was fined twenty pounds at Ipswich Court for living apart from his wife, whom he had left in England. Upon his petition to the Court, being aged and poor and having no means to procure his wife hither, his fine was remitted. In 1658 he sold land in Gloucester and removed to Boston, where he purchased real estate in what is now the center of the city, the deed being acknowledged before Governor Endicott. For this he paid forty pounds and its location was where the present post office building stands and near what was afterwards the birthplace of Benjamin Franklin. He removed to New London, Connecticut, with his son James, and died there March 12, 1679. He married, at Ipplepen, Devonshire, England, about August 26, 1616, Margery Stephens.

II. *Captain James Avery*, only son of Christopher and Margery (Stephens) Avery, was born in England in 1620, and died in

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New London, April 18, 1700. He was granted land, October 19, 1650, a town lot on Cape Ann Lane and in addition "Little Owle Meadow." In 1652 he was granted land in South Groton, Connecticut, and in 1653 secured a farm on the "Pocketannock Grants" on the River Thames. In 1684 he brought the "Unadorned church and watch-tower of the wilderness," out of the timber of which he constructed a dwelling, and it was standing until about 1902, when it was destroyed by fire. He was active in military affairs. This part of Connecticut was the seat of the Pequot War and in this strife he took a prominent part. In 1665 he was made lieutenant of "ye train band." He was one of the commission to lay out a reservation for the Coassotuck Indians, and for this service he was allowed five pounds. In 1668 he was chosen one of a committee to settle the boundary line with the Uncas. When danger was apprehended from the Dutch along the Connecticut coast, Captain Avery was ordered to prepare for the defense. During King Philip's War, he had charge of the towns of New London, Stonington and Lyme, and also the friendly Pequots. In the stubborn fight at South Kingston, Rhode Island, on Sunday, December 19, 1675, against the desperate Narragansetts, Captain Avery commanded the Pequot contingent. At a later engagement the chief sachem, Canonchet, was captured and the power of the mighty tribe which had long terrorized the community was humbled and permanently broken. In these culminating events of a great war drama, Captain Avery acted a foremost part. No enemy ever saw his back; he faced the foe in every emergency. As a civilian, he was equally prominent, serving as selectman for twenty years. One of the acts of his official life deserves especial mention, inasmuch as he ordered "that for the good of after posterity, the town book be kept with an Alphabet where all acts passed shall hereafter be recorded, and we agree that all old books be searched into what is material concerning the public good be drawn." In 1663 he was appointed by the General Court a commissioner of the peace to try petty offences, an office corresponding to a justice of the peace, and he was twelve times elected a member of the General Court. His tax rate was two hundred and thirty-six pounds. Likewise he was very active in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1677 he was one of the building committee for erecting a new church in place of the outgrown Blinman Church, and in 1683 he was on a committee to send a letter to the Rev. Mr. Mather for advice in re-



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gard to a successor to the Rev. Mr. Bradford. Captain James Avery was a very remarkable man, eminent in all the relations of life.

James Avery married, November 10, 1643, Joanna Greenshade, of Boston, who died in 1714.

Children: 1. Hannah. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Mary. 4. Thomas. 5. John. 6. Rebecca. 7. Jonathan. 8. Christopher. 9. Samuel.

*III. Captain James Avery*, eldest son of Captain James and Joanna (Greenshade) Avery, was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, December 16, 1648, and died in Groton, Connecticut, August 22, 1748. He was a man of affairs in his township, being deputy for the General Court at Hartford for New London six times, commissioner of peace, captain of the train band and advisor and counsellor of the Pequot Indians. Also he was on a committee on boundary disputes between his town and the adjoining one, and on the location of public lands. He and his wife joined the Church of Christ in 1672. He appeared before the General Court in 1696 in behalf of the inhabitants on the east side of New London River to establish a church. This was the beginning of the church at Groton. The tombstone of himself and wife in a very good state of preservation stands near the center of the west burying grounds at Poquonoc.

James Avery married, February 18, 1669, Deborah Stallyon, who died March 27, 1729, daughter of Edward Stallyon. (See Stallyon II.)

Children: 1. Margaret. 2. Edward. 3. Ebenezer. 4. Christopher, of whom further. 5. Jonathan. 6. Mary. 7. Hannah. 8. Sarah. 9. Joseph. 10. Benjamin. 11. Mary, who married, July 3, 1716, William Morgan, son of Captain John Morgan. (See Morgan III.)

*IV. Captain Christopher Avery*, son of Captain James and Deborah (Stallyon) Avery, was born in New London (Groton), Connecticut, January 23, 1679, and died in Groton, January 20, 1753.

Captain Christopher Avery married (first), December 9, 1704, Abigail Parke, daughter of Captain John Parke. She died February 12, 1713. He married (second), April 1, 1714, Prudence (Payson) Wheeler, widow of Richard Wheeler. He married (third), January 1, 1735, Mrs. Esther Prentice, who died in 1753, daughter of Nathaniel Hammond. He married (fourth) Susanna Stoddard,



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who survived him and is mentioned in his will. Captain Christopher Avery had four children by his first wife and five by his second wife: 1. John, born August 26, 1705, died August 21, 1790. 2. Abigail, born July 16, 1707. 3. Christopher, born November 16, 1709. 4. Nathan, born March 10, 1712, died September 7, 1780. 5. Priscilla, born April 29, 1715; married Joseph Breed. 6. Isaac (or Jabez), born March 26, 1717, died before 1726. 7. Hannah, born February 10, 1719. 8. Jacob, born August 25, 1721, died May, 1792. 9. Temperance, of whom further.

V. *Temperance Avery*, daughter of Captain Christopher and Prudence (Payson-Wheeler) Avery, was born September 14, 1725. She married, July 4, 1744, Captain William Morgan, son of William and Mary (Avery) Morgan. (See Morgan IV.)

(Dunlop-Dunlap Line).

*Arms*—Argent, a two-headed eagle displayed gules.

This family is of Scotch origin, and according to Bardsley was originally of Ayrshire. The name is recorded as of Dunlop of Ayrshire and of Gankirk, and Burke in his "General Armory" records three variations of the above armorial bearings which are the original armorials of Dunlop of Ayrshire. The form Dunlap is common in this country.

Some fabulous theories regarding the origin of the name "Dunlop" obtained currency in olden times, but competent authorities nowadays agree that the patronymic of this old family, like many others in Scotland, is derived from locality. Chalmers avers that the name "Dunlop" has its root in the Celtic word "dunlaib," signifying "the hill at bending or winding." There is a hill or "dun" in the vicinity of Dunlop, near which a small stream called the Glazert describes such a bend, "as if to render the place still characteristic of its etymology." The first of the name "Dunlop" of whom we have reliable evidence is Dom Guilielmus de Dunlop, who appears in a notorial copy (now in the charter chest of the Burgh of Irving), of an inquest in a cause betwixt the Burgh and Dom Godfrey De Ross in 1260. The next of the name is Neil Fitz-Robert de Dunlap, who appears in the Ragman's Roll of 1296. Since then the name of Dunlop and Dunlap has been an established one.

(The Family in America).

I. *Archibald Dunlap*, immigrant ancestor, was born in Ireland, and died in Chester, New Hampshire. He came from Ireland

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and lived on Neal's Homestead, Home Lot No. 26, in Chester, New Hampshire, and is mentioned as being a collector of the Presbyterian Parish in Chester. His name is found in an invoice of men's estates taken in Chester, New Hampshire, in 1741.

Archibald Dunlap married, in 1741, Martha Neal, daughter of Joseph Neal.

Children: 1. Joseph, born in 1742. 2. James, born in 1744. 3. John, born in 1746. 4. Mary. 5. William, of whom further. 6. Sarah. 7. Samuel. 8. Martha.

*II. William Dunlap*, son of Archibald and Martha (Neal) Dunlap, was born in Chester, New Hampshire, and died in Schenectady, New York. He lived for a time in Chester, New Hampshire, with his parents and finally removed to Schenectady, New York.

William Dunlap married Mary Boyes (or Boice).

Children: 1. Sarah, born in 1775. 2. Elizabeth, born in 1785. 3. Nancy, born in 1793. 4. Mary Ann, of whom further.

*III. Mary Ann Dunlap*, daughter of William and Mary (Boyes or Boice) Dunlap, was born in Schenectady, New York, in 1797, and died in Cleveland, Ohio. She married, in 1820, Ashbel W. Walworth, son of Judge John and Juliana (Morgan) Walworth. (See Walworth V.)

(Rayce-Race Line).

*Arms*—Argent, three spearheads gules; a chief azure.

*Crest*—Out of a ducal coronet a phoenix's head in flames, and holding in the beak a palm branch.

Race or Rayce as a patronymic is not common, either in England or in this country. That it is of English origin is indicated by the fact that it is recorded by Burke in his "General Armory," where the coat-of-arms blazoned herewith is recorded for Rayce without designation of locality.

*I. Nicholas Race*, born December 24, 1739, died in Egremont, Massachusetts, May 28, 1827. (History of Hillsdale says January 26, 1834.) His brother, William Race, was early associated in his interests with Robert Noble, of Hillsdale, New York, and lost his life in one of the border conflicts, and thereupon his brother Nicholas pitched upon and became owner of a larger portion of what is now North Egremont.

Nicholas Race married, at Linlithgo, New York, December 10,

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1767, Gesia Spoor, born December 12, 1744, died January 26, 1834, daughter of Derrick and Christina Bresie (Van Alstyne) Spoor, of Sheffield, Massachusetts, and of Linlithgo, New York. Both are buried in the cemetery at South Egremont.

Children of Nicholas and Gesia (Spoor) Race: 1. Andrew, born October 10, 1768. 2. Derrick, born June 24, 1770. 3. Stephen, born January 6, 1772. 4. Christeen, born November 4, 1773, died February 1, 1790. 5. John, born March 28, 1775. 6. Abraham, born March 3, 1777. 7. Isaac, born September 20, 1779; married ———; children: i. Louisa, married ——— Kellogg, son of Dwight Kellogg. ii. ———, married ——— Prindle, son of Isaac Prindle. ii. Abraham. 8. Rebecah, born September 1, 1781; married Charles Tullar. 9. Jacob, born November 26, 1783, died January 24, 1785. 10. William Nicholas, of whom further.

*II. William Nicholas Race*, son of Nicholas and Gesia (Spoor) Race, was born October 25, 1786, and died January 16, 1847.

William N. Race married, May 24, 1809, Vienna Joyner, born November 2, 1790, died September 15, 1874, daughter of Octavius and Esther (Hollenbeck) Joyner. (See Joyner III.)

Children: 1. Esther, born March 12, 1810; married, February 12, 1831, Josiah A. Harris; died 1902. 2. Lucretia, born January 23, 1812, died June 20, 1815. 3. Sylvenus, born February 28, 1814, died December 2, 1895; married, May 6, 1841, Sarah Van Norman. 4. Joyner, born November 15, 1816, died April 30, 1897; married (first), April 14, 1841, Amelia B. Humphrey; (second), October 9, 1847, Susannah Wellington. 5. Jane, born March 24, 1819, died July 2, 1820. 6. Bradford, born October 7, 1821, died September 1, 1896; married (first), November 24, 1846, Belinda Beebe. She died October 20, 1861. He married (second), November 14, 1865, Lydia Ann Ball, who died January 1, 1917. 7. Seymour, born November 21, 1823, died October 6, 1906; married Maria Curtis. 8. Malenda Amelia, born November 6, 1826, died January 11, 1847. 9. Mary Rocelia, of whom further. 10. Lois Vienna, born July 31, 1831, died July 29, 1881; married, November 1, 1853, George A. Ingersoll.

*III. Mary Rocelia Race*, daughter of William Nicholas and Vienna (Joyner) Race, was born in Massachusetts, October 15, 1828, and died January 3, 1911, having survived her husband eleven years. In 1829 she was taken by her parents to a farm at Ridgeville, about three miles from Elyria, Ohio. She married, May 22,



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1851, John Walworth, son of Ashbel W. and Mary Ann (Dunlap) Walworth. (See Walworth VI.)

(Joyner Line).

*Arms*—Azure, on a bend argent an eagle displayed sable.

*Crest*—A dexter arm embowed in armour, holding in the gauntlet a battle axe, handle or, headed argent.

The first record of the Joyner family in this country is found about 1740, when Robert, Edward and William, presumably brothers, are on record in Massachusetts. William Joyner and probably both brothers were first at Sudbury, Middlesex County, where he married, March 18, 1745, Hannah Bowker, and had one son, John, born January 20, 1746, and daughter, Sarah, born March 31, 1749. He was later of Ashburnham and appears to be the William who went with Robert to Egremont about 1750. He was an officer in the French and Indian War and the hardship he suffered in the service was the cause of his death after he returned. He was buried on the Frank Baldwin farm and his epitaph reads: "Here lies interred ye body of Lieutenant William Joyner who died December ye 15, 1760, in ye 42 year of his age. Our Gide is gone. We are left alone but on this stone we make our mou—Hail Happy Offspring do not Syth this Britain died for liberty." This is the best evidence that the family came from England. Margaret, a sister, married, November 28, 1745, at Sudbury, Tristram Cheney, and Susanna, another sister probably, married, at Sudbury, October 8, 1731, Philip Ralley.

Edmund Joyner settled at Deerfield, Massachusetts, and according to the history of that town was a Welshman or Jerseyman. He was of Sudbury also in 1740, and of Charlestown in 1746, of Leominster, Worcester County, in 1762, and came to Deerfield in 1766. He was a mechanic and had a shop on the main street in 1774. He was a soldier in the Indian War in 1742. Edward Joyner died at Deerfield, in May, 1796. His wife died June 8, 1803, aged ninety-three years. He married, at Charlestown, Anna Bathrick, June 17, 1736.

Children: 1. Edward, who lived at Deerfield. 2. Elizabeth. 3. William, of Deerfield. 4. Anna, baptized at Charlestown, January 11, 1746-47. 5. John, baptized at Charlestown, December 10, 1749. His sons, Edward and William, were in the Revolution from Deerfield.



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I. *Robert Joyner*, born probably in Jersey or Wales, is said to have removed in 1725 from Cornwall, Connecticut, to Egremont, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, with his brother William. He was probably at Cornwall but a short time, and settled, about 1750, instead of 1740, at Egremont. He was the first captain of Egremont, and during the Revolution served in Captain Ephraim Fitch's company, Colonel Hopkin's Berkshire County regiment, in 1777; also in Captain Ephraim Fitch's company, Colonel Ashley's regiment, from Berkshire County in 1777. His son, Robert Joyner, Jr., was in Lieutenant Andrew Loomis' company, Colonel Ashley's regiment, in 1780. Robert Joyner died at Egremont, November 11, 1802, aged seventy-seven; Lucy, his wife, February 8, 1801, aged seventy. Both are buried in the Town Hill Cemetery.

Children: 1. Robert William. 2. Octavius, of further mention. 3. William, his son or nephew, of Egremont, was also a soldier in the Revolution, and joined the church about 1770. He had then three males over sixteen, three under that age, and four females in his family.

II. *Octavius Joyner*, son of Robert and Lucy Joyner, was, according to the history of Egremont, the progenitor of the Joyners of that town. He was captain of militia, and representative to the General Court.

Octavius Joyner married Esther Hollenbeck, born in 1763, died October 16, 1847.

Children: 1. Philo, born November 8, 1784, died December 8, 1871; married Mary Church, who died in 1839, aged fifty-four years. 2. Tabitha, born April 21, 1786, died May 20, 1787. 3. Dimiris, born September 16, 1787; married Richard Van Wormer, and had children: Octavius, Jeremy, Lucretia, Lawrence and Esther. 4. Tamiziu, born March 1, 1789. 5. Vienna, of whom further. 6. Gurdon, born October 7, 1792, died in 1854; married Nancy, surname unknown, who died in 1884, aged ninety years. 7. Seymour, born October 6, 1794, died in 1868; married Lois Abbott, who died in 1871, aged seventy-five years. 8. Orpha, born August 2, 1796, died February 18, 1883; married Andrew Van Deussen, who died August 11, 1841, aged forty-six; children: Irene A., Roe C., David D., Rush L., Ralph H., Esther A., Ray L., Edmund O., Martin B., Don C. 9. Cornelia, born March 5, 1798, died in 1865; married Ira Newman, who died in 1880, aged eighty-four years; child, Emery.

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10. Mary, born January 18, 1800, died in 1883; married William Baldwin; children: Frank, James, Theodore, Edwin. 11. Edmund, born April 7, 1802, died in 1862; married Betsy Ann, surname unknown, who died in 1886, aged eighty. 12. Lucy, born January 3, 1804, died December 27, 1878; married John Holloy, who died in 1886, aged eighty-eight; children: i. Lucy, married ——— Wright. ii. Nelson Joyner, married Abbie, surname unknown. iii. James Baldwin, married Lydia Race. 13. Nelson, born February 7, 1807, died in 1877. 14. Admiral, born October 22, 1809, died October 22, 1809.

*III. Vienna Joyner*, daughter of Octavius and Esther (Hollenbeck) Joyner, was born November 2, 1790, and died September 15, 1874. She married, May 24, 1809, William N. Race, son of Nicholas and Gesia (Spoor) Race. (See Race II.)

A very interesting Royal Descent line follows. William Walworth, son of William Walworth, the progenitor of all the Walworths in America, married Mary Avery, who was a great-great-granddaughter of the Earl of Lincoln. William Walworth was an older brother of John Walworth through whom descended the Walworth family of Cleveland, Ohio. To find the connection of the Royal Descent to the Walworth genealogy see William Walworth, second son of William and Mary (Seaton) Walworth, the pioneer ancestor of all the Walworths in America.

(Royal Descent—Royal Descent from Egbert, King of West Saxons).

*I. Egbert*, King of West Saxons, of King of Wessex, reigned in 802, and died in 836. He conquered the lands south of the Thames, and by his great conquests became Lord of England up to the River Firth. He married the Lady Redburga, and had a son Ethelwulf, of whom further.

*II. Ethelwulf*, son of Egbert, and his successor to the Kingdom, was deeply honored by his subjects, his name meaning noble wolf. He married Osburga, and had four sons. 1. Ethelred. 2. Ethelbald. 3. Ethelbert. 4. Alfred, of whom further.

*III. Alfred* "the Great," son of Ethelwulf, was born in 849, and died in 901. He was King of Wessex, and is famous for founding the British Navy and for bringing culture and civilization to England. He broke the power of the Danes, and kept them subdued

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during his reign. He married Alswitha, and had Edward, of whom further.

✓ *IV. Edward*, "the Elder," son of Alfred "the Great," and King of Wessex, married Egesina and had several children: 1. Athelstan, King of Wessex. 2. Edmund, of whom further.

*V. Edmund*, son of Edward, "the Elder," died in 946. He married Elfgiva, and had a son, Edgar, of whom further.

*VI. Edgar*, son of Edmund, was chosen King of England in 959. He was called Edgar, "the Peaceful," and was one of the best kings of this period. He married Elfreda, and had: 1. Ethelred, of whom further. 2. Edward.

*VII. Ethelred*, son of Edgar, called "the Unready." He came to the throne on the murder of his brother Edward II. He married (first) Elfreda. He married (second) Emma, a daughter of the Duke of Normandy. He had a son Edmund, of whom further.

*VIII. Edmund*, "Ironsides," son of Ethelred, became King in 1016. He was perpetually at war with Canute, the King of the Danes, until finally it was agreed to divide the Kingdom. Edmund was murdered in 1017. He married Alghitha, and had a son, Edward, of whom further.

*IX. Edward*, "the Exile," son of Edmund, married Agatha, daughter of Henry II, Emperor of Germany, and they had a daughter, Margaret, of whom further.

*X. Margaret*, daughter of Edward, "the Exile," married Malcolm III, King of Scotland, and they had a daughter, Edith Matilda, of whom further.

✓ *XI. Edith Matilda*, of Scotland, daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret, married Henry I, son of William the Conqueror. Henry I reigned from 1100 to 1135, and was called a "fine scholar." He married (second) Adela, daughter of the Count of Louvain, in Flanders. Henry I and Edith Matilda had a daughter, Matilda, of whom further.

*XII. Matilda (Maud)*, daughter of Henry I and Edith Matilda, died in 1167. She was accepted as Queen by the barons of England, but owing to the dislike they felt towards her husband, they finally turned against her, electing Stephen King in her stead. She fought many battle for her rights, and is one of the heroines of romantic history.

She married (first) the Emperor Henry V. She married (sec-

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ond), in 1127, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou (see William the Conqueror III), and had a son, Henry Plantagenet, of whom further.

XIII. *Henry Plantagenet* (Henry II of England), son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, was born March 25, 1133, and reigned in England as Henry II until 1189. He married, in 1152, Eleanor, of Aquitaine, and had a son, John, of whom further.

XIV. *John Plantagenet* (King John of England), son of Henry Plantagenet, was born in 1167, and married Isabella Taillefer, of Angouleme. (See Taillefer IX and Edward III of England.) They had a son, Henry, of whom further.

XV. *Henry Plantagenet* (Henry III of England) married, in 1236, Eleanor, daughter of Raimond Berenger, IV, of Provence. (See Provence VII.) They had Edward, of whom further.

XVI. *Edward I*, King of England, son of Henry III, married (first) Princess Eleanor, of Castile. He married (second) Margaret, of France, and had Edward, of whom further.

XVII. *Edward II*, King of England, and son of Edward I and Eleanor, of Castile, reigned from 1307 to 1327. He was murdered in Berkeley Castle, near Bristol. He married Isabella, of France, and had four children, the eldest being Edward III, of whom further.

XVIII. *Edward III*, King of England, reigned from 1329 to 1377. He married Phillipa, of Hainault, the noted warrior and learned lady. (See Hainault X.) He had six sons, among them being: 1. Edward, "The Black Prince." 2. John, of Gaunt. 3. Lionel, of whom further.

XIX. *Lionel*, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III, married and had a daughter, Lady Phillipa Plantagenet, of whom further.

XX. *Lady Phillipa Plantagenet*, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Edmund Mortimer, and had a son, Roger, of whom further.

XXI. *Roger Mortimer*, son of Edmund and Lady Phillipa Mortimer, had a daughter, Lady Anne Mortimer, of whom further.

XXII. *Lady Anne Mortimer*, daughter of Roger Mortimer, married Richard Plantagenet, and had a son, Richard, of whom further.

XXIII. *Richard Plantagenet*, third Duke of York, and son of



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Richard and Lady Anne (Mortimer) Plantagenet, had a son, George, of whom further.

XXIV. *George Plantagenet*, son of Richard, Duke of York, had a daughter, Margaret, of whom further.

XXV. *Margaret*, daughter of George Plantagenet, married Richard Pole, and had a son, Henry, of whom further.

XXVI. *Henry Pole*, Baron Montague, son of Richard and Margaret Pole, had a daughter, Katherine, of whom further.

XXVII. *Lady Katherine Pole*, daughter of Henry Pole, married Francis Hastings, and had a daughter, Katherine, of whom further.

XXVIII. *Lady Katherine Hastings*, daughter of Frances and Lady Katherine (Pole) Hastings, married Henry Clinton, and had a son, Thomas, of whom further.

XXIX. *Thomas Clinton*, third Earl of Lincoln, and son of Henry and Lady Katherine (Hastings) Clinton, married Lady Elizabeth Knevitt, and had a daughter, Susan, of whom further.

XXX. *Lady Susan Clinton*, daughter of Thomas and Lady Elizabeth (Knevitt) Clinton, married John Humphrey, of Lynn, Massachusetts Bay Colony, and had a daughter, Ann, of whom further.

XXXI. *Ann Humphrey*, daughter of John and Lady Susan (Clinton) Humphrey, was born in England, in 1621. She married William Palmes, a gentleman of Munster, Ireland, and had a daughter, Susannah, of whom further.

XXXII. *Susannah Palmes*, daughter of William and Ann (Humphrey) Palmes, was born in 1665. She married, in Swansea, Massachusetts, in 1686, Samuel Avery, whose daughter Mary, married William Walworth. (See Walworth I.)

(Seaton Line).

*Arms*—Gules, a bend argent between six martlets or.

The Seaton family has for centuries been a distinguished family of England and of Scotland, especially in Scotland. The surname originated from a parish of Seyton or Sayton, and in the following family is probably of different origin from Seton of Scotland and the North of England, of whom John de Seton is recorded in the Placita Quo Warranto of County Cumberland, A. D. 1294, and John de Seton in the same for County Northumber-

SEATON

*Arms*—Gules, a bend argent between six martlets or.

DUNN.

*Arms*—Azure, a wolf rampant argent, charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lis gules.

SLADE.

*Arms*—Argent, three horses' heads, erased sable, a chief gules.

*Crest*—A horse's head erased sable.

STALLYON.

*Arms*—Sable, two bends or, on a canton azure a bezant.

*Crest*—A stag's head erased sable, charged on the neck with a bezant, in the mouth an acorn or, stalked and leaved vert.

BERENGER.

*Arms*—Or, a cross azure, over all a bend gules.

ANGOULEME.

*Arms*—D'azur a deux étoiles d'or, l'une sur l'autre. (Azure, two mullets in pale or.)

Richard and Lady Anne (Mortimer) Plantagenet, had a son, George, of whom further.

XXXV. George Plantagenet, son of Richard, Duke of York, had a daughter, Margaret, of whom further.

XXXVI. Margaret, daughter of George Plantagenet, married Edward IV, and had a son, Richard, of whom further.

XXXVII. Edward IV, Duke of York, had a daughter, Margaret, of whom further.

XXXVIII. Lady Katherine, daughter of Henry V, married Richard III, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XXXIX. Lady Katherine, daughter of Richard III, married Henry VII, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XL. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VII, married Henry VIII, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLI. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, married Philip II, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLII. Elizabeth, daughter of Philip II, married Henry II, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLIII. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II, married Richard I, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLIV. Elizabeth, daughter of Richard I, married John, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLV. Elizabeth, daughter of John, married Henry III, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLVI. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry III, married Edward I, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLVII. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, married Edward II, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLVIII. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward II, married Edward III, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

XLIX. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward III, married Richard II, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

L. Elizabeth, daughter of Richard II, married Henry IV, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

LI. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry IV, married Henry V, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.

LII. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry V, married Henry VI, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom further.



Seaton



Dunn



Glade



Stallyon



Herenger



Angouleme





## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

land. Seyton in County Rutland is in the Hundred of Wrangdike, and Robert de Toden held in it, then called Segetone, one hide and one bovat of land, in the reign of William the Conqueror. In the ninth year of Edward II (1316) John of Bellepage (or Beaufol) John, son and heir of Nicholas de Seyton (at that time under age), and William de Sanato Licio (St. Liz) were lords of Seyton and Thorpe. The following pedigree is of interest, in that it indicates the high standing and the social position of the family, the Mauduits, Verdens, etc., being with whom the Seatons married, being among the most powerful of their time.

*I. Sir Erasmus Seyton*, Lord of Seyton, Thorpe and other places in Rutlandshire, married Briget Mauduit, daughter of William Maudit, Lord Chamberlain of England.

*II. Sir Richard Seyton*, son and heir of Sir Erasmus and Briget (Mauduit) Seyton, married Alice Maidwell, daughter of Simon Maidwell, Lord of Maidwell.

*III. Sir John Seyton*, son of Sir Richard and Alice (Maidwell) Seyton, married Eleanor Wake, daughter of Baldwin Wake. They had five daughters and a son.

*IV. Sir Nicholas Seyton*, son of Sir John and Eleanor (Wake) Seyton, married Susan Verdon, daughter of Sir John Verdon. They had fourteen daughters and three sons, of whom Sir John, the heir, married Briget, daughter of Lord Basset.

(The Family in America).

*I. Mary Seaton*, born in 1669, came to New London, Connecticut, in 1689, at the same time and in the same ship with William Walworth, from the neighborhood of London, England. She was an orphan, the only surviving child of her parents. She married, in 1690, William Walworth, who died in 1703, at Groton, Connecticut. She died at New London, Connecticut, January 14, 1752, aged eighty-four. (See Walworth 1.)

(Dunn Line).

*Arms*—Azure, a wolf rampant argent, charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lis gules.

The family name Dunn, Dunne often originated from residence at the dun or down. Gilbert atte Dune, de la Dune, or Dunne, is in the Hundred Rolls of County Essex, A. D. 1273. Sometimes a nick-name, Robert le Dun (or brown), Hundred Rolls, Norfolk.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in America).

*I. Richard Dunn* came from England to Newport, Rhode Island, where he was made freeman; was deputy to the General Assembly in 1681; and died in 1690. He was married, but his wife's name is not known.

Children, born at Newport, Rhode Island: 1. Richard, Jr., of whom further. 2. Samuel, married (first), October 16, 1702, Sarah Bailey, daughter of Joseph Bailey; (second), November, 1718, Ann Clarke. 3. Nathaniel, born 1671, died February 28, 1735; married Elizabeth Lawton, born March 12, 1674, died May 19, 1741, daughter of Daniel and Rebecca Lawton.

*II. Richard Dunn, Jr.*, son of Richard Dunn, was born in Newport, Rhode Island. He was a freeman in 1690; a deputy, 1705, 1707-09, and 1711; and held the title of captain. He married Hannah (said to be) Bailey, born 1675, died December 28, 1734.

*III. Sarah B. Dunn*, only surviving child of Richard, Jr., and Hannah (Bailey) Dunn, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, about 1700, and died at Groton, Connecticut, November 5, 1778. She married, in November, 1718, John Walworth. (See Walworth II.)

(Slade Line).

*Arms*—Argent, three horses' heads, erased sable, a chief gules.

*Crest*—A horse's head erased sable.

The surname Slade was originated to designate a dweller at a slade or small strip of green in a wood. The name Nicholas de la Slade appears in the Writs of Parliament about 1300 A. D., and that of Henry atte Slade in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327.

*I. Edward Slade*, gentleman, died in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII (1546) possessed of certain lands and messuages in Rushton, with certain other lands and tenements, and a capitol messuage called Huntingdon-hall, formerly belonging to the dissolved priory of Huntingdon, as the lands in Rushton had formerly belonged to the convent of De La Pre near Northampton. Edward Slade was succeeded by John Slade, his son and heir, a minor nineteen years old. He had also a daughter Maria, of whom further.

*II. Maria Slade*, daughter of Edward Slade, of Rushton, was buried at Oakington, Cambridgeshire, September 25, 1610. She married, June 2, 1574, Thomas Leete, of Oakington, grandfather of

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Governor William Leete, Governor of New Haven Colony. (See Leete English Pedigree III.)

(Stallyon Line).

*Arms*—Sable, two bends or, on a canton azure a bezant.

*Crest*—A stag's head erased sable, charged on the neck with a bezant, in the mouth an acorn or, stalked and leaved vert.

The surname Stallon, Stalion, or Stallion, originated from Stalham Parish in County Norfolk. Nicholas de Stalham, Ralph Stalum, and Herbert Stalun are on record in the Hundred Rolls of County Norfolk, A. D. 1273. Jeffrey de Stalham was bailiff of Yarmouth, in 1336, and William de Stallon, bailiff of Norwich, 1367, both towns in County Norfolk, and Christopher Stallon or Stalham, was mayor of Norwich in 1694.

(The Family in America).

*I. Edward Stallon, Stallyon or Stolian*, was in New London, Connecticut, in 1650, at first a coasting trader, but later a farmer in North Groton, now Ledyard; and he was accidentally drowned by falling out of his canoe, May 14, 1703. His first wife, Margaret, died after 1680. He married (second), 1685, Elizabeth Miller, daughter of George Miller. He married (third), in 1693, Christian Chappell, widow of William Chappell. He lived at first on Town Street, New London.

Children by first marriage: 1. Deborah, of whom further. 2. Sarah, married, February 9, 1674, John Edgecombe. 3. Margaret, married, November 30, 1678, Pasco Foote. By second marriage: 4. Edward, living in Preston, Connecticut, 1720, with children. 5. A child, name not found.

*II. Deborah Stallyon*, daughter of Edward and Margaret Stallyon, was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1651, and died at Groton, Connecticut. She married James Avery. (See Avery III.)

(Berenger Line).

*Arms*—Or, a cross azure, over all a bend gules.

After the middle of the tenth century the Countship of Provence passed to William and Rouband (Rotbold), sons of Boso. A descendant of Rouband, named Douce, married Raimond Berenger III. (See Provence II.)



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(Angouleme Arms).

*Arms*—D'azur a deux étoiles d'or, l'une sur l'autre. (Azure, two mullets in pale or.)

### ANGOULEME.

Angouleme is a city of Southwestern France, capital of the Department of Charente, formerly the old Province Angoumois, of which also it was the capital. The Countship of Angouleme dated from the ninth century, the most important of the early counts being William Taillefer.

*I. Wolgrin*, Count of Perigord and Angouleme, died in 886. He married Rogerlinde, daughter of Bernard, Duke of Toulouse.

*II. Aldwin*, Count of Angouleme, died in 916, and was succeeded in the Countship of Angouleme by William Taillefer. (See Taillefer I.)

(Ancient Counts of Flanders Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules.

*Crest*—Between a pair of wings or, the lion affrontée sejant.

*Motto*—*Vlaandereen den leeuw.* (Flanders to the lion.)

The territorial name Flanders is derived from the Flemish *Vlaanderen*, and was originally applied only to Bruges and its immediate neighborhood, but in the eighth and ninth centuries it was gradually extended to the whole of the coast region from Calais to the Scheldt. In the Middle Ages it was divided into two parts, one with Bruges as capital, the other with Ghent as capital.

The ancient territory of Flanders comprised not only the modern provinces known as East and West Flanders, but the southernmost portion of the Dutch Province of Zeeland, and a considerable district in Northwestern France. In the time of Caesar it was inhabited by the Morini, Atrebates, and other Celtic tribes, but in the centuries that followed, the land was repeatedly overrun by German invaders, and finally became a part of the dominion of the Franks. On the break-up of the Carolingian empire, the River Scheldt was by the treaty of Verdun (843) made the line of division between the Kingdom of East Francia (Austrasia) under the Emperor Lothaire, and the Kingdom of West Francia (Neustria) under Charles the Bald. In virtue of this compact Flanders was henceforth attached to the West Frankish monarchy (France). It thus acquired a position unique among the provinces of the territory known in later times as the Netherlands, all of which were included in that north-

#### ANCIENT COUNTS OF FLANDERS.

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules.

*Crest*—Between a pair of wings or, the lion affrontée sejant.

*Motto*—*Vlaandeeren den leeuw.* (Flanders to the lion.)

#### ANCIENT COUNTS OF ANJOU.

*Arms*—Per fess argent and gules, over all an escarbuncle knobbed and flory or.

#### AQUITAINE.

*Arms*—D'or a l'aigle de sin.; a la bord. d'azur semée de fleurs-de-lis du champ. (Or, an eagle vert; a bordure azure semée of fleurs-de-lis of the field.)

#### TAILLEFER.

*Arms*—Azure, six bendlets indented argent.

#### ANCIENT COUNTS OF PROVENCE.

*Arms*—D'or au chev. d'azur acc. de trois batons écotés de gu. (Or, a chevron azure between three batons raguly gules.)

#### ANCIENT COUNTS OF HAINAULT.

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules.

*Crest*—A conical hat barry per pale gules and argent counterchanged, surmounted by cock plumes sable.

*Cry*—*Haynault au noble comte.* (Haynault to the noble count.)

ANALYTICAL CHEMISTS

## JULIA C. TAYLOR

1. The first step is to identify the problem. In this case, the problem is that the company is not meeting its sales targets. The second step is to analyze the data. The third step is to develop a plan. The fourth step is to implement the plan. The fifth step is to evaluate the results.

## 1997-1998

## T. J. A.

1. The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the results of the analysis are not always clear. The system is not a simple one, and the results of the analysis are not always clear.



Ancient Counts  
of  
Flanders



Ancient Counts  
of  
Anjou



Aquitaine



Flanders



Ancient Counts  
of  
Provence



Ancient Counts  
of  
Hainault





## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ern part of Austrasia assigned on the death of the Emperor Lothaire (855) to King Lothaire II, and from his name called Lotharingia or Lorraine.

*I. Baldwin I*, Count of Flanders (858-879), the first ruler of Flanders of whom history has left any record, was known as Baldwin Bras-de-fer (Iron-arm). This man, a brave and daring warrior under Charles the Bald, fell in love with the King's daughter, Judith, the youthful widow of two English kings, married her, and fled with his bride to Lorraine. Charles, though at first very angry, was at last conciliated, and made his son-in-law margrave (Marchio Flandriae) of Flanders, which he held as an hereditary fief. The Northmen were at this time continually devastating the coast lands, and Baldwin was entrusted with the possession of this outlying borderland of the West Frankish dominion in order to defend it against the invaders. He was the first of a line of strong rulers, who at some date early in the tenth century exchanged the title of margrave for that of count. He married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald (see descent from Charlemagne), and they were the parents of Baldwin II.

*II. Baldwin II*, Count of Flanders, from his stronghold at Bruges maintained, as did his father, a vigorous defense of his lands against the incursions of the Northmen, and took an active part in the struggles in Lorraine between the Emperor Otto I and Hugh Capet. He married Aelfthryth, daughter of Alfred the Great, and on his death, in 918, his possessions were divided between his two sons: 1. Arnulf the Elder, of whom further. 2. Adolphus.

*III. Arnulf I*, son of Baldwin II and Aelfthryth, inherited, after the death of Adolphus, the whole of his father's possessions.

*IV. Baldwin III*, son of Arnulf I, died in 962, when the countship reverted to his father for a short time and then passed to the son of Baldwin III.

*V. Arnulf II*, son of Baldwin III, held the countship from 965 to 988, when the title passed to his son, Baldwin IV.

*VI. Baldwin IV*, son of Arnulf II, was Count of Flanders from 988 to 1036. He was called Barbatus, or the Bearded. He fought successfully both against the Capetian King of France and the Emperor, Henry II, from the latter of whom he received the Valenciennes in fief, the burgraveship of Ghent, the land of Waes, and Zeeland. The Count of Flanders thus became a feudatory of

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the Empire as well as of the French Crown. The French fiefs are known in Flemish as Crown Flanders (Kroon-Vlaanderen), the German fiefs as Imperial Flanders (Rijks-Vlaanderen).

*VII. Baldwin V* (1036-1067), son of Baldwin IV, was known as Debonnaire. He was an active, enterprising man, and greatly extended his power by wars and alliances. He obtained from the Emperor Henry IV the territory between the Scheldt and the Dender as an imperial fief, and the margraviate of Antwerp. He married Adela, daughter of Robert of France. (See House of Capet II.)

(Ancient Counts of Anjou Line).

*Arms*—Per fess argent and gules, over all an escarbuncle knobbed and flory or.

Anjou is the old name of a French territory, the political origin of which is traced to the ancient Gallic state of the Andes, on the line of which was organized, after the Conquest by Julius Caesar, the Roman civitas of the Andecair. This was afterwards preserved as an administrative district under the Franks with the name first of Pagus, then of Comitatus, or Countship of Anjou. It occupied the greater part of what is now Maine-et-Loire, and included other territory to the North, South, and East.

*I. Fulk the Great*, Count of Anjou, being stung with remorse for some wicked action, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was scourged before the Holy Sepulchre with broom twigs, plante-de-genet. Thereafter the family used the name Plantagenet.

*II. Fulk the Red*, died in 938.

*III. Fulk II*, surnamed "The Good," married Gerverga, surname unknown.

*IV. Geoffrey I* received for gallant services a grant from King Robert of the offices of Seneschal of France. He married Adelais, of Vermandois, daughter of Robert, Count of Troyes.

*V. Fulk III*, surnamed "The Black," Count of Anjou.

*VI. Ermengard*, daughter and heiress of Fulk III, married Geoffrey, Count of Gastinois (surnamed Ferole).

*VII. Fulk IV*, son of Ermengard and Geoffrey, Count of Gastinois, succeeded as Count of Anjou.

*VIII. Ermengard*, daughter of Fulk IV, married (first) William, Duke of Aquitaine; (second) Alan, Count of Bretaign.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IX. *Fulk V*, son of Ermengard, became Count of Anjou. He married (first) Ermengard, daughter of Helias, Count of Maine.

X. *Geoffrey*, Count of Anjou, married, in 1127, Maud (some records say Matilda), daughter and heiress of Henry I. (See Royal Descent XII.)

(Aquitaine Line).

*Arms*—D'or a l'aigle de sin.; a la bord. d'azur semée de fleurs-de-lis du champ. (Or, an eagle vert; a bordure azure semée of fleur-de-lis of the field.)

The name Aquitaine is probably a form of Auscetani, which in turn is a lengthened form of Ausces and is thus cognate with the words Basque and Wasconia (Gascony). The extent of this ancient Province of France has varied considerably. About the time of Julius Caesar Aquitaine comprised that part of Gaul lying between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, but during the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus it included the whole of Gaul south and west of the Loire and the Allier. Parts of it were held by the Visigoths for a time, but the Frankish Clovis took possession in 507. In 781 Charlemagne gave Aquitaine (then referred to as a kingdom) to his young son Louis. When Louis became emperor he gave Aquitaine to his son Pepin. A little before 845 the title Duke of Aquitaine was revived, and in 893 King Charles III ordered that Count Rainulf II, who then held Aquitaine, should be poisoned, after which the king bestowed the duchy upon William the Pious, Count of Auvergne, founder of the Abbey of Cluny. He was succeeded by his nephew, Count William II, in 918, and there followed a long line of dukes, among whom William IV fought against Hugh Capet, King of France; William VI added Gascony; and William IX became famous as a crusader and a troubadour.

William X, who died in 1137, had a daughter Eleanor, who married (first) Louis VII, King of France, from whom she was divorced. She married (second), in 1152, Henry II, of England. (See Royal Descent XIII.)

(Taillefer Line).

*Arms*—Azure, six bendlets indented argent.

Taillefer was the surname of a bard and warrior of the eleventh century who accompanied the Norman Army to England in 1066, and obtained permission from William to strike the first blow at the battle of Hastings. He fought valiantly and was killed



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in the battle. Some of his valorous deeds are depicted on the Bayeux tapestry. The family were early Counts of Angouleme. (See Angouleme.) The Taillefer mentioned above was William, son of Geoffrey, fourth in the pedigree given below.

*I. William Taillefer* succeeded Aldwin as Count of Angouleme. He was succeeded by his son Armand. (See Angouleme II.)

*II. Armand Taillefer*, son of William Taillefer, was Count of Angouleme. He married Hildegarde.

*III. William Taillefer*, Count of Angouleme, who is said to have built the Chateau de Taillefer, died in 1028. He married Girberge or Gilbergue, daughter of the Count of Anjou.

*IV. Geoffrey Taillefer*, son of William Taillefer, died in 1040. He married Petronille d'Archiac.

Children: 1. William, called Chassard or Le Chauser. He accompanied William the Conqueror to England and was given permission to strike the first blow at battle of Hastings. He was killed in that battle. 2. Foulques, of whom further.

*V. Foulques Taillefer*, Count of Angouleme, was living in 1089. He married Condo.

*VI. William Taillefer*, son of Foulques Taillefer, Count of Angouleme, died in 1120. He married ——— de Vitapoi.

*VII. William Taillefer*, Count of Angouleme, died in 1178. He married (first) Emma, surname unknown; married (second) Margareta, surname unknown.

*VIII. Adomar (or Aymer) Taillefer*, son of William Taillefer, by his first wife, was Count of Angouleme. He married Alix, surname unknown.

*IX. Isabella Taillefer*, daughter of Adomar (or Aymer) Taillefer, married King John of England. (See Royal Descent XIV.)

(Ancient Counts of Provence Line).

*Arms*—D'or au chev. d'azur acc. de trois batons écotés de gu. (Or, a chevron azure between three batons raguly gules.)

The name Provence was applied to a province in the south-eastern part of ancient France, and dates back to the first entrance of the Romans into Gaul in B. C. 125, when after the Roman Conquest the territory between the Alps, the sea, and the Rhone, with the Province of Narbourne on the right bank of the river, were formed into the "Provincia Romana." Later, when part of this

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

section was added to other provinces, the name Provence remained with the territory between the Dauphine, the Rhone and Lanquedoc, the Alps and the Mediterranean. It was attacked by the Visigoths at the beginning of the fifth century, conquered by the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century, later came under Frankish rule, and at the time of the partition of Charlemagne's Empire (843), fell to the share of Lothaire I, from whom it passed to Emperor Louis II, who was also King of Italy. At his death (875), Provence passed to Charles the Bald. From Charles the Bald it passed to his brother-in-law, Duke Boso. After the middle of the tenth century the Countship of Provence passed to William and Rouband (Rotbold), sons of Boso. A descendant of Rouband was Douce, who married Raimond Berenger III, son of Raimond Berenger II, of further mention.

*I. Raimond Berenger II*, of Barcelona, married Matilda Guiscard, daughter of Robert Guiscard.

*II. Raimond Berenger III* died in 1130. He married Douce, heiress of Provence. (See Berenger.)

*III. Raimond Berenger IV*, of Barcelona, died in 1162. He married Petronilla, of Aragon.

*IV. Alfonso II*, of Aragon, married Sancia, daughter of Alfonso VIII, of Castile.

*V. Alfonso II*, of Provence, 1196-1209.

*VI. Raimond Berenger IV*, of Provence (1209-1245), married Beatrix, daughter of County of Savoy.

*VII. Eleanor*, of Provence, married Henry III, of England. (See Royal Descent XV.)

(Ancient Counts of Hainault Line).

*Arms*—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules.

*Crest*—A conical hat barry per pale gules and argent counterchanged, surmounted by cock plumes sable.

*Cry*—*Haynault au noble comte*. (Haynault to the noble count.)

The medieval Countship of Hainaut or Hainault is now included in Belgium and France. It passed to Burgundy in 1433, and afterwards shared the fortunes of the Belgian Netherlands. The parts acquired by France, in 1569 and 1678, are now included in the Department of Nord.

*I. Baldwin II*, of Hainault, 1070-1126.

*II. Baldwin III*, of Hainault, 1126-1133.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. *Baldwin IV*, of Hainault, 1133-1171; married Alice, surname unknown.

IV. *Baldwin V*, of Hainault, and VIII, of Flanders, 1171-1195; married Margaret, surname unknown.

V. *Baldwin IX*, of Eastern Empire, 1195-1205; married Mary, daughter of Count of Champagne.

VI. *Margaret*, second daughter, held Hainault from 1244 to 1272; married (first) Burchard, of Avesnes.

VII. *John I*, of Hainault, 1246-1257; married Adelaide, a descendant of the Counts of Holland and Namur.

VIII. *John II*, of Holland and Hainault, 1257-1304.

IX. *William I*, of Hainault and Holland, 1304-1337. Under Count William III and his successor.

X. *Phillipa*, married King Edward III, of England. (See Royal Descent XVIII and Edward III Line IX.)

(William the Conqueror and Henry I of England Line).

*Arms*—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

I. *William of Normandy*, later known as William the Conqueror, was born in 1027 or 1028, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, sometimes called Robert the Devil, and of Arietta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; and grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034 Robert of Normandy induced his barons to acknowledge William as his successor. The following year he died on the return journey from Jerusalem, and the barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy William. The conquest of England in 1066 and the years immediately following gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I of England. Recent authorities state that though in England many legends survive of arms borne by the Conqueror and his companions, nothing is more certain than that no armorial bearings appeared on either side of the battle of Hastings. The arms described herewith are as recorded by Burke in his "Royal Armory."

William I married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders, who traced descent in the female line from Alfred the Great.

II. *Henry I*, fourth and youngest son of William I and Matilda of Flanders, was known as Beauclerc. He is recorded in Burke's "Royal Armory" as bearing arms identical with those of his father.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR—HENRY I OF ENGLAND.

*Arms*—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

HENRY II OF ENGLAND.

*Arms*—Gules, three lions passant guardant or.

EDWARD III OF ENGLAND.

*Arms*—Quarterly, first and fourth (France) azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or; second and third (England) gules, three lions passant guardant or.

*Crest*—Upon a chapeau gules, turned up ermine, a lion passant guardant crowned or.

ANCIENT ARMS OF CASTILE.

*Arms*—Gules, a tower triple towered or.

*Crest*—The tower.

ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF PORTUGAL.

*Arms*—Argent, five inescutcheons azure, one, three and one, each charged with five plates, two, one and two, a bordure gules, charged with seven towers or, doors and windows azure.

*Helmet*—Affronte or, crowned of the same.

*Crest*—A dragon issuant, wings displayed or.

*Supporters*—Two winged dragons vert, each holding a banneret; the dexter argent, charged with the five inescutcheons of the arms. the sinister gules, with seven towers or, two, two, two and one, doors and windows azure.

ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF FRANCE.

*Arms*—Azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or.



THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LONDON

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LONDON, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH NATIONS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JOHN STOW, AN Eminent Antiquary, and Author of the Survey of London.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED, BY JOHN STOW, JUNIOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LONDON, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH NATIONS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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William the Conqueror  
HENRY I., OF ENGLAND



Henry II..  
OF ENGLAND



Edward III..  
OF ENGLAND



Castile  
ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS



ROYAL ARMS OF  
Portugal



ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF  
France



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He married (first), in 1100, Edith Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland. He married (second), 1121, Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvain. No issue by second marriage.

III. *Matilda (Maud)*, daughter of Henry I and Edith Matilda, of Scotland, died in 1167. She married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. (See Royal Descent XII and Anjou X.) They were the parents of Henry II (q. v.).

(Henry II of England Line).

*Arms*—Gules, three lions passant guardant or.

A son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, Henry II, of England, was born at Le Mans, March 25, 1133, and died at Chinon, July 6, 1189. He at first bore arms the same as those of his grandfather and his great-grandfather. After his marriage to Eleanor, of Aquitaine, in 1152, he adopted a third lion. He was the first monarch who used a badge, adopting for that purpose, first, an escarbuncle of gold, an ancient mark of his paternal house of Anjou. Later, he introduced the sprig of broom plant of *planta genesta*, from which the surname Plantagenet was derived. He is also said to have borne a jennet between two sprigs of broom. Burke's "Royal Armory" records the coat-of-arms blazoned herewith. (See Royal Descent XIII.)

(Edward III of England Line).

*Arms*—Quarterly, first and fourth (France) azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or; second and third (England) gules, three lions passant guardant or.

*Crest*—Upon a chapeau gules, turned up ermine, a lion passant guardant crowned or.

V. The bearings of King John, son of King Henry II (q. v.) and Eleanor, of Aquitaine (see Royal Descent XIV), prior to his elevation to the throne, were only two lions, as his father's had been. After his accession, he assumed the arms of his brother and predecessor, Richard, and of his father. The badge of King John was the crescent surmounted by a star, this having been a badge of King Richard, as was also the motto "Dieu et mon droit" (God and my right hand).

King John married Isabella, of Angouleme, and they were the parents of King Henry III, of whom further.

VI. *King Henry III* (reigned 1216-1272) son of King John and Isabelle, of Angouleme, bore arms as those of his father. He



## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

married Eleanor, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV, of Provence. They were the parents of King Edward I.

*VII. King Edward I* (reigned 1272-1307), son of King Henry III, bore the same arms as his father. He married Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile. (See Castile VIII.) They were the parents of Edward II.

*VIII. Edward II*, son of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile, reigned in England from 1307 to 1327. He bore the same arms as his father. He married Isabella, daughter of Philip IV of France. (See Capet XV.) They were the parents of King Edward III.

*IX. Edward III*, son of Edward II and Isabella of France, reigned as King of France and England from 1327 to 1377. He married Phillipa, daughter of William I of Hainault. (See Hainault X.) He bore the combined arms of England and France as blazoned herewith and was the first English king to bear a crest.

(Ancient Royal Arms of Castile Line).

*Arms*—Gules, a tower triple-towered or.  
*Crest*—The tower.

An ancient kingdom of Spain, Castile is said to have derived its name from the numerous frontier forts (castillos) erected in the Middle Ages as a defence against the Moors. The transformation of Castile from a small county in the north of what is now old Castile into an independent monarchy was one of the decisive events in the re-conquest of Spain from the Moors. Ferdinand I of Castile (1035-1065), by his marriage with Sancha (Sancia), widow and heiress of the last king of Leon, was enabled to unite Leon and Castile in a single kingdom with its capital at Burgos. The arms described herewith are the ancient royal arms of Castile.

*I. Ferdinand I* married Sancha, heiress of Leon. They had a son Alphonso, of whom further.

*II. Alphonso VI*, son of Ferdinand I and Sancha, reigned in Castile from 1065 to 1109. He married Constance, daughter of Robert, Duke of Burgundy.

*III. Urraca*, daughter of Alphonso VI and Constance, married (second) Alfonso I of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon. They were the parents of Alfonso, of whom further.

*IV. Alfonso VIII*, son of Alfonso I of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon, and of Urraca, reigned in Castile from 1126 to 1157.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He married Berengaria, daughter of Raymond of Barcelona. They were the parents of Ferdinand II, of whom further.

*V. Ferdinand II*, son of Alfonso VIII and Berengaria, reigned from 1157 to 1188. He married Urraca, daughter of Alfonso I of Portugal. (See line of Portugal VI.) They were the parents of Alfonso IX, of whom further.

*VI. Alfonso IX*, son of Ferdinand II and Urraca of Portugal, reigned in Castile from 1188 to 1230. He married Berengaria, surname unknown.

*VII. Ferdinand III*, of Castile, son of Alfonso IX and Berengaria, reigned from 1230 to 1252. He married (second) Joanna, daughter of Count of Aumale and Ponthieu. They were the parents of Eleanor, of whom further.

*VIII. Eleanor*, daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, and Joanna, married King Edward I of England. (See Royal Descent XVI.)

(Ancient Royal Arms of Portugal Line).

*Arms*—Argent, five inescutcheons azure, one, three and one, each charged with five plates, two, one and two, a bordure gules, charged with seven towers or, doors and windows azure.

*Helmet*—Affronte or, crowned of the same.

*Crest*—A dragon issuant, wings displayed or.

*Supporters*—Two winged dragons vert, each holding a banneret; the dexter argent, charged with the five inescutcheons of the arms, the sinister gules, with seven towers or, two, two, two and one, doors and windows azure.

The origin of Portugal as a separate state was an incident in the Christian re-conquest of Spain from the Moors. Towards the close of the eleventh century crusading knights came from every part of Europe to aid the kings of Northern and Central Spain in driving out the Moors. Among these adventurers was Count Henry of Burgundy, an ambitious warrior, who married Theresa, natural daughter of Alfonso VI. The County of Portugal, which had already been won back from the Moors (1055-1064), was included in Theresa's dowry. His line is traced as follows:

*I. Robert*, King of the Franks or of France.

*II. Robert*, Duke of Burgundy, son of Robert, King of France.

*III. Henry*, died 1066; married Sibylla.

*IV. Henry*, Count of Burgundy and later of Portugal, son of Henry and Sibylla, held the countship from 1093 to 1112. He married, in 1095, Theresa, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile, who was also King of Leon. They were the parents of Alfonso I of Portugal.

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. *Alfonso I*, of Portugal, son of Henry, Count of Portugal, and Theresa, was born in 1112, and died in 1185. He became King of Portugal in 1139. He married Matilda, daughter of Amedus of Maurienne.

VI. *Urraca*, daughter of Alfonso I and Matilda, married Ferdinand II of Castile. (See Castile V.)

(House of Capet Line).

*Arms*—Azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or.

For nearly nine centuries the kings of France and many of the rulers of the most powerful fiefs in that country belonged to the family of Capet, which mingled with several of the other royal races of Europe. The original significance of the name remains in dispute, but the first of the family to whom it was applied was Hugh, who was elected King of the Franks in 987. The real founder of the house, however, was Robert the Strong, who received from Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, the countships of Anjou and Blois, and who is sometimes called duke, as he exercised some military authority in the district between the Seine and the Loire. According to Aimoin of Saint German-des-Pres, and the chronicler, Richer, he was a Saxon, but historians question this statement. Descent is traced as follows:

I. *Robert the Strong*, Count of Anjou and Blois, sometimes called Duke of Anjou and Blois.

II. *Robert*, second Count or Duke of Anjou and Blois also King Robert I of France, or, more accurately, King of the Franks, was the younger son of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, and the brother of Odo (or Eudes), who became King of the Western Franks in 888. He was himself crowned King of the Franks at Rheims, June 20, 922, but Charles III marched against him, and he was killed in a battle near Soissons, June 15, 923.

III. *Hugh the Great*, son of Robert I, became Duke of France and Burgundy, his domain extending from the Loire to the frontiers of Picardy. He married Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I of Germany. He had a son Hugh, of whom further.

IV. *Hugh Capet*, son of Hugh the Great, was crowned King of the Franks at Rheims, in 987, reigned to 996. The house of Capet continued to rule in France from 987 to 1328.

V. *Robert II*, King of France, was a son of Hugh Capet, born

## WALWORTH AND ALLIED FAMILIES

at Orleans, and educated at Rheims. He reigned from 996 to 1031. He married (first) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy.

VI. *Henry I* reigned from 1031 to 1060. He married Anne of Russia.

VII. *Philip I* reigned from 1060 to 1081. He married Bertha, daughter of the Count of Holland.

VIII. *Louis VI* reigned from 1081 to 1137. He married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert II, Count of Maurienne.

IX. *Louis VII* reigned from 1137 to 1180. He married (third) Alice, daughter of Theobald, Count of Champagne.

X. *Philip II* reigned from 1180 to 1223. He married (first) Isabella, daughter of Count of Hainault.

XI. *Louis VIII* reigned from 1223 to 1226. He married Blanche, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile.

XII. *Louis IX* reigned from 1226 to 1270. He married Margaret, daughter of Count of Provence.

XIII. *Philip III* reigned from 1270 to 1285. He married (first), 1262, Isabella, daughter of James I, King of Aragon. He married (second), in 1274, Mary, daughter of Henry III, Duke of Brabant.

XIV. *Philip IV*, son of Philip III and Isabella, reigned from 1285 to 1314. He married Jeanne, heiress of Champagne and Navarre.

XV. *Isabella*, married Edward II of England. (See Edward III of England VIII and Royal Descent XVII.)

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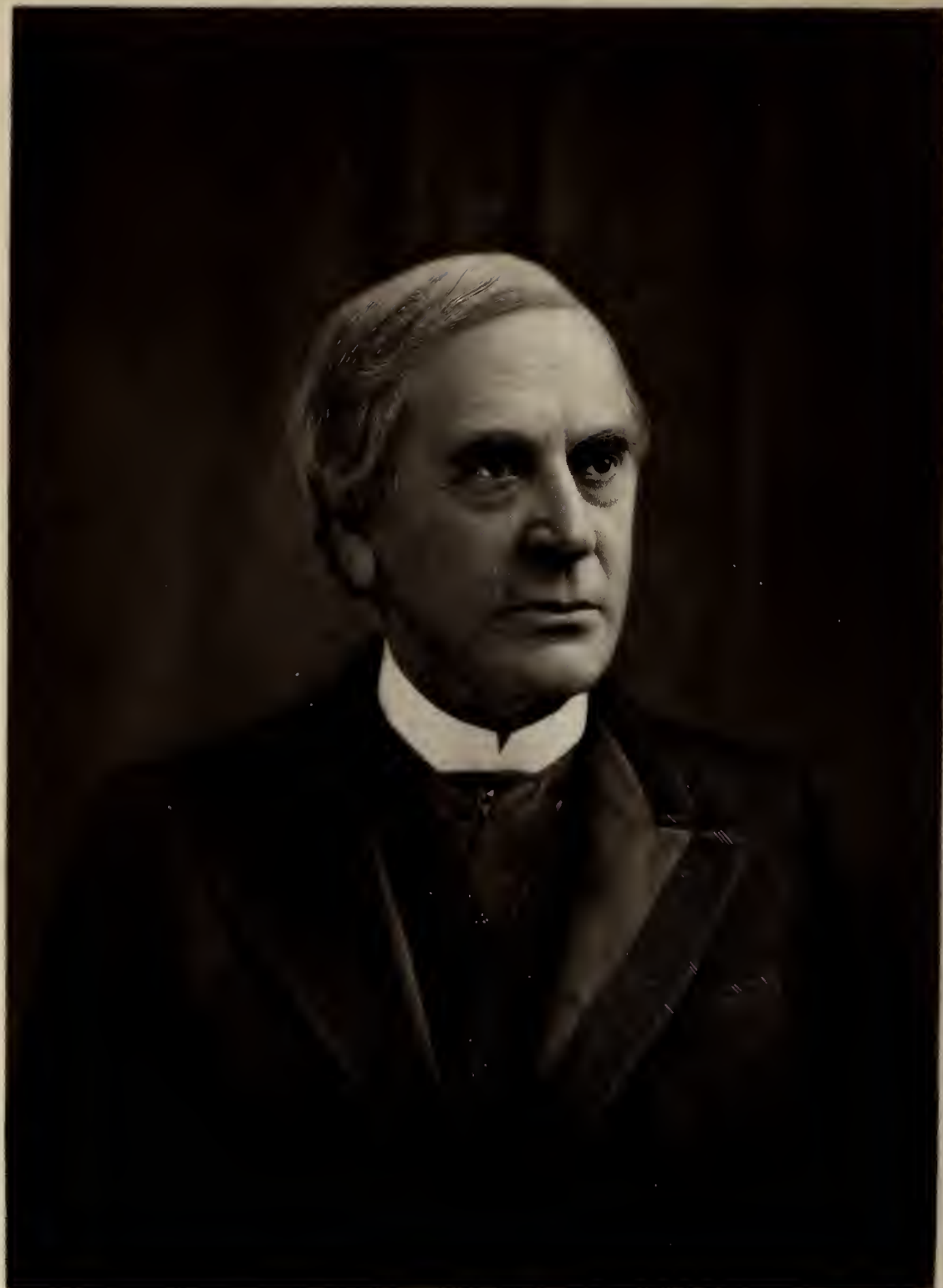


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*Yours truly*  
*Geo H. Corliss.*

## George Henry Corliss

By E. C. FINLEY, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



AMONG those who have rendered invaluable service both to their own day and generation and to those who live after them, the name of George Henry Corliss should be carefully and lovingly memorialized. Rising as he did by sheer ability and courage, and giving to the world the rich harvest of his mechanical and inventive genius, his was one of those rarely gifted natures which combine with idealism, imagination, and creative genius the practical ability to put foundations under "castles in Spain" and to make dreams come true.

The Corliss steam engine and the Corliss Steam Engine Company are convincing memorials to the achievements of Mr. Corliss as an inventor and as a captain of industry, and these have carried his name and his fame literally throughout the civilized world. Though his death in 1888 brought to a close an active life which had passed its seventieth year, it removed from Providence, Rhode Island, one of its most prominent and highly honored citizens, and from the world-at-large one of its acknowledged benefactors, the results of whose labors remain. Mr. Corliss was a descendant of one of New England's oldest families, tracing lineage from George Corliss, as follows:

(1) *George Corliss*, the founder of the family in this country, was born in Devonshire, England, in 1617, a son of Thomas Corliss. Before he attained his majority he, like many others of his time, turned hopeful eyes toward the opportunities of the great new Western World. Like his famous descendant in the seventh generation, he knew how to make dreams come true, so in 1639 he embarked on his great adventure, and came to New England, where he settled first in Newbury, Massachusetts, but soon after removed to Haverhill, settling in 1640 in the West Parish, on a farm later known as the Poplar Lawn Farm. The remainder of his life was spent in Haverhill, where he was one of the earliest settlers, and where his name appears on a list of freemen in 1645. He was selectman in 1648-52-57-69-79, and constable in 1650. His will was dated



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October 18, 1686, and he died on the following day. He became the owner of a fine farm at Haverhill, and it was here that several generations of the family successfully carried on the occupation of farming and finally died, George Corliss and his son and grandson, by a strange coincidence, being claimed by death while sitting in the same chair. George Corliss married, October 26, 1645, at Haverhill, Joanna Davis, daughter of Thomas Davis.

(II) *John Corliss*, son of George and Joanna (Davis) Corliss, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 4, 1648, and died February 17, 1698. He inherited the homestead from his father, and his name is among those who took the oath of allegiance at Haverhill, November 28, 1677. He was also among those soldiers paid by the town, August 24, 1676, for serving in the Indian wars. He died intestate, February 17, 1698, and the inventory of his estate was filed August 1, 1698. He married Mary Wilford, born November 18, 1667, daughter of Gilbert Wilford, of Haverhill, and she married (second) William Whittaker, of Haverhill.

(III) *John (2) Corliss*, son of John (1) and Mary (Wilford) Corliss, was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 14, 1686, and died in 1766. He resided on the old homestead, which he willed to his son, but he outlived his son, and the estate was eventually inherited by his grandsons. We are told that in appearance he was finely proportioned, and more than six feet in height, possessing a very powerful voice, and remarkable health until after he reached the age of seventy-five years. His children were all well educated and liberally provided for by him. He married, in 1711, Ruth Haynes, who was born February 7, 1691, and died in 1787.

(IV) *John (3) Corliss*, son of John (2) and Ruth (Haynes) Corliss, was born September 12, 1715, on the Corliss farm at Haverhill, and died there November 15, 1753. He was a prosperous farmer in Haverhill all his life. His estate was settled in June, 1754, by his widow, Abiah Corliss, and Joseph Haynes, of Haverhill. The inventory of the estate was dated December 29, 1753, and in it is mentioned a negro girl valued at forty pounds, whom Joseph Haynes, above mentioned, received from the estate and presented to his wife in 1739. John Corliss married (first), November 30, 1737, Abigail Mitchell, born May 22, 1720, died January 4, 1753, daughter of James and Martha Mitchell, of Haverhill. He married (second), September 13, 1753, Abiah Whittier.

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(V) *Captain John* (4) *Corliss*, son of John (3) and Abigail (Mitchell) Corliss, was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, May 8, 1747, and died at Easton, New York, May 27, 1822. He lived at Haverhill, Massachusetts, and Haverhill, New Hampshire, until about 1790 or 1793, and then removed to New York State, starting for what is now Galway in Saratoga County. When he reached the place now known as Schuylerville, he found the Hudson River frozen over, but the ice was too thin to cross on, so he changed his plans, settling instead in Easton, Washington County, New York, where his youngest son was born. Before he moved to New York State he had been a prosperous farmer. The depreciation of currency after the Revolution made a great difference in his fortunes, and that which followed the War of 1812 proved another blow, but through indomitable perseverance he was able, with the help of his sons, to make good his losses and place his finances again on a sound basis. After some years he gave the care of his New York farm to his sons, Mitchell and John, who during the War of 1812 purchased about six hundred acres of land on the west side of the town of Saratoga, in addition to the land owned on the east side of the river. Part of this land belonged to the Van Vechtens, an old Knickerbocker family. The sons were engaged in lumbering, in addition to farming.

In appearance, Captain John Corliss was of large stature, heavy and powerful; in manner dignified and courtly. He was a gentleman of the finest principles, and noted for a fine sense of honor. He was an unusually fine horseman, and an imposing figure on horseback. He served with distinction in the American Revolution, from July 15, 1780, to October 10, 1780, as a member of Captain Jonathan Ayer's company, Colonel Nathaniel Wade's regiment. His wife was Lydia (Haynes) Corliss, of Haverhill, who was born January 3, 1750, and died July 8, 1823.

(VI) *Dr. Hiram Corliss*, son of Captain John (4) and Lydia (Haynes) Corliss, was born at Easton, New York, October 21, 1793. He was a physician, and became a very prominent figure in Easton and the surrounding region, where he practiced medicine until he was over eighty years old. He married (first) Susan Sheldon, born May 28, 1794, died April 5, 1843. He married (second) Alma H. Sampson, born in 1804, died June 5, 1858. He married (third) Maria Cowan, born August 12, 1811.

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(VII) *Hon. George Henry Corliss*, son of Dr. Hiram and Susan (Sheldon) Corliss, was born at Easton, New York, June 2, 1817, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, February 21, 1888. His early educational advantages were such as could be obtained in the village school, where the quick eager mind of the future inventor and captain of industry quickly absorbed and assimilated all that was to be obtained, and he was but fourteen years of age when he turned from his studies and began his business career. Like so many of the great Americans, Mr. Corliss made his beginning in the general store as a clerk at Greenwich, where for some three years he remained, gaining experience, meeting his immediate financial needs, and dreaming of the future. As he grew older he came to feel more and more the great need for further study, and with characteristic energy and directness determined to achieve this goal in spite of every obstacle. Accordingly, in 1834, he gave up his position in the store and entered an academy in Castleton, Vermont, where he remained the full four years and proved himself a student of intelligence and a scholar of attainments. As yet, however, the line of work in which he was later to become so famous was entirely in the future, and with the exception of a youthful exploit in the planning and building of a temporary bridge across Batten Kill, he had displayed no talent in that direction. His sane judgment and practical directness, as well as his general initiative, were at once displayed, however, for upon completing his studies at the academy, having then attained his majority, he returned to the business with which he was already familiar, only this time as an independent enterprise, and established early in 1838 a general store of his own at Greenwich, New York. For nearly three years he continued in this line with considerable success and actually passed his twenty-fourth birthday without ever having seen the inside of a machine shop. In these years, however, he had begun to come to a more definite knowledge of himself, and his tastes and opinions began to form and crystallize. More and more the mechanical side of every question interested him and he found himself solving mechanical problems and devising mechanical contrivances almost spontaneously. Finally, about 1841, he decided to devote his time to the line of activity which was so obviously his bent, and in spite of the very uncertain character of the returns which a young and unknown inventor can count upon, gave his



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whole attention to his new tasks. His work during the better part of the following four years was upon the invention and perfection of a machine for sewing boots, shoes and heavy leather of all kinds. But Mr. Corliss was laboring under the disadvantage that has beset so many young inventors, that of not having sufficient capital to place his device upon the market at the outset, and so it was that, although the machine itself was both ingenious and practical, he abandoned it and turned his attention to other things. How great a disappointment such seeming failure is, how it operates to discourage in spite of the knowledge that in the essential matter one has succeeded, no one can judge who has not passed through this experience, but Mr. Corliss' courage was not of the kind to fail him, and he immediately set to work upon another matter which had long attracted his attention, namely, the improvement of the steam engine. Fortunately, he possessed a faculty even rarer than courage, and in the matter of material success not less valuable, that is, he was able to persuade his fellows of the thing of which he was himself convinced and so enlist their sympathy and aid.

In the year 1844 he came to Providence, Rhode Island, to live, the city which remained his home from that time up to the time of his death. His intention in coming to Providence, then, as now, an important manufacturing center, was to seek for an opportunity to develop his sewing machine and, if possible, interest capital to exploit it. In the engineering firm of Fairbanks, Bancroft & Company, he accepted employment as draftsman and designer of machinery, and thus discovered the need of improvements in steam engines. His inventing was always done to supply a felt want or need, and from that time on he gave his thoughts to the steam engine. Here he associated himself with two gentlemen, John Barstow and E. J. Nightingale, who felt so much confidence in his ability that a partnership was formed under the firm name of Corliss, Nightingale & Company, and for the following four years Mr. Corliss worked indefatigably on his inventions. In 1848 these were practically complete and he was able to construct and operate an engine which, save for some minor improvements in application and finish, was essentially the famous Corliss engine of later years.

Feeling now that the task was consummated and that all that remained was to reap the fruits of his endeavors, Mr. Corliss and his associates began the erection of the works of the Corliss Steam



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Engine Company on a scale, however, that gave but little indication of their later huge proportions. These works were sufficiently progressed for the production of the new engine by the early months of the year 1849, and on March 10 of that year patents were granted by the United States Government covering the improvements made. The engine was then placed upon the market, and from that time until after his death held a foremost place in the engineering world. In 1856 the Corliss Steam Engine Company was incorporated with Mr. Corliss as president, and his brother, William Corliss, as treasurer. A modest factory at the time of its erection, the Corliss works grew rapidly until, at the time of the founder's death, in 1888, the floor space included in the buildings amounted to above five acres, and over a thousand hands were employed there. The works grew in response to the great increase of the market for these remarkable engines, which in a few years had spread all over this country and reached to Europe. Indeed, Europe eventually became a great purchaser of the Corliss engine, and it was copied by engine builders who placed upon their imitations the name of the American maker.

The first great international triumph of Mr. Corliss, when his success began to be recognized upon something like the scale that it deserved, was at the World's Exposition held at Paris, France, in the year 1867, when he won the highest award that was granted in that department, the first prize in a competition of one hundred of the most famous engine builders in the world. The words of J. Scott Russell, the designer and builder of the huge steamship, "Great Eastern," that afterwards laid the Atlantic cable, and who was sent by the English Government as one of its commissioners to the exposition, deserve quotation, written by him, as they were, in the report sent by him to his Government. Speaking of the valve gear of the Corliss engine Mr. Russell said:

A mechanism as beautiful as the human hand. It releases or retains its grasp on the feeding valve, and gives a greater or less dose of steam in nice proportion to each varying want. The American engine of Corliss everywhere tells of wise fore-thought, judicious proportions and execution and exquisite contrivance.

On January 11, 1870, just one hundred years after Watt had patented his steam engine, Mr. Corliss was awarded the Rumford medals, and it was upon this occasion that Dr. Asa Gray, the president of the academy that awarded the medals, remarked that "no invention since Watt's time has so enhanced the efficiency of the

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steam engine as this for which the Rumford medal is now presented." In 1872 the State of Rhode Island appointed Mr. Corliss its commissioner to take charge of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and he was chosen one of the executive committee appointed to look after the preliminaries. Upon the great task of arranging the exhibition he worked with his usual indefatigable energy, and it was his suggestion that the Centennial Board of Finance be organized, a body which had not a little to do with the insurance of the financial success of the exhibition. It was also in his own department as engineer that Mr. Corliss contributed largely to the success of the great fair, and it was he that supplied, after the plans of all the other competitors proved inadequate, the great fourteen hundred horse power engine which supplied the power used in Machinery Hall. This engine, unequalled in size at that time, was installed by Mr. Corliss at the cost of \$100,000 to himself and without additional expenditure to the exposition. The great engine was afterward used to operate the Pullman Car Works at Chicago. The Corliss Company supplied the United States Government with machinery during the Civil War. When the "Monitor" was being constructed it was found that a large ring must be made, upon which the turret of the "Monitor" could revolve, and the Corliss Engine Works was found to be one of the very few plants in the country that had the necessary machinery large enough to "turn" up the large ring. When Mr. Corliss found out what the work was for, he put aside other work, worked his plant day and night to get this important ring completed, which was done on time, sent to New York, placed on the "Monitor," enabling the now famous ironclad to meet the "Merrimac" in the naval fight which now forms one of the most stirring chapters of our National history. Mr. Corliss always took pride in the fact that he was in no small measure responsible for the successful outcome of this historic encounter.

The practice, already noted, among some European manufacturers of imitating the Corliss engine in their own shops and then placing the name of the American inventor on them, led to a remarkable and somewhat amusing event which redounded greatly to the honor of Mr. Corliss, who in 1873 was awarded the Grand Diploma of Honor by the Vienna Exposition, at Vienna, although he was not even an exhibitor. This surprising action was explained

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by the fact that the European manufacturers, above mentioned, exhibited their engines with the Corliss name upon them, and displayed so great a superiority over all their competitors that the authorities held it to be fitting that the original designer should get the benefit of genius. Another honor, perhaps the greatest of all done to Mr. Corliss, was the conferring upon him by the Institute of France by public proclamation, March 10, 1879, of the Montyon prize for the year 1878, the most coveted prize for mechanical achievement awarded in Europe. He received this honor by a peculiar coincidence, on the thirtieth anniversary of the granting of his first patent.

Although it might well be supposed that the demands made upon his time and energies by the inventive work, the superintendence of the great industrial works, and the business with every part of the World, would have been so exacting as to have precluded the possibility of Mr. Corliss taking part in any other activity, yet, as a matter of fact, he was keenly alive to everything that was going on in his adopted city and State and took a leading part in many movements undertaken here. Especially was this true in the case of politics, in which he was a leader in the Republican party, of the principles and policies of which he was a strong supporter. He was elected three consecutive times to the Rhode Island General Assembly as representative from North Providence, his term of service including the three years, 1868-69-70. In 1876 he was chosen presidential elector, casting his vote for President Hayes. In the matter of his religious belief he was a Congregationalist, and attended the Charles Street Church in Providence from the time of its organization. He was keenly interested in the cause of religion and gave liberally both to his own and other churches.

Beyond doubt the service done by Mr. Corliss for the material advancement of his fellows was a great one; for the material advancement directly, and indirectly for the intellectual and spiritual advancement, for all material progress reacts upon the mind and spirit, particularly such as to tend to bring the ends of the earth into communication and teach strange peoples tolerance first, and then love for each other. And truly there are few of the devices of men that have done more to bring this about than the steam engine. Those men, therefore, who have labored at the perfection of



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this and other wonderful contrivances of the great scientific epoch of history may certainly lay claim to much of the credit for the growth of sympathy and understanding among people that has taken place during the same period. Of these Mr. Corliss deserves to stand high in our regard.

But there was another manner in which the influence of Mr. Corliss was effective, namely, through the subtle medium of personality. No one could look into the well marked, expressive face without feeling himself in the presence of a man of strength, of one who had fought and mastered difficulties which might have overcome another man, or without perceiving the still rarer quality of tolerance and charity for all men. In his relations with his fellows was realized the earthly part of the message to the waiting shepherds—peace and good will toward men. It has already been mentioned that he possessed the power of persuasion, but this was by no means confined to the realm of business, extending rather into every department of life so that others harkened unto and believed him with an instinctive dependence upon his wisdom and honor.

Mr. Corliss died at his home in Providence, Rhode Island, February 21, 1888. Of him a local publication said, immediately after his death, that:

The community loses one of its master minds and a man who has done more for the development of the steam engine than anyone who has yet lived in this country. His fame was world-wide, and his years were devoted to the very end to the one purpose of his life. To say that he has left a void which it is impossible to fill is simply to reveal the poverty of language in the presence of an irreparable loss.

Mr. Corliss married (first), in January, 1839, Phebe F. Frost, a native of Canterbury, Connecticut, and a daughter of Daniel and Louisa (Clark) Frost. Mrs. Corliss died March 5, 1859. In December, 1866, Mr. Corliss married (second) Emily A. Shaw, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Mr. Corliss was the father of two children, both of whom were born to his first wife. They are: Maria Louisa Corliss, of Providence, Rhode Island, and George Corliss, who makes his home in Nice, France.

References: Corliss "New England Families," Vol. I, pp. 177-182.



## Editorial

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### AN AMERICAN CENTENARY

Now and again we of the United States have our attention called to the fact that we have no monopoly of the term "American," despite our assumption of it as a rightful designation. A forceful reminder of this comes in the "Bulletin of the Pan American Union," describing plans for the celebration of a notable centenary which will be celebrated in Panama as this issue of "Americana" goes to press. The plan of this anniversary, coinciding with our own sesqui-centennial, is outlined below. The heartiest good wishes of northern neighbors attend this laudable project, from which only good can result.

"When, after a hundred centuries, posterity shall search for the origin of our public law, and shall recall the compacts that unified its destiny, they will handle with respect the protocols of the Isthmus. . . . Where, then, shall the Isthmus of Corinth be, in comparison with the Isthmus of Panama?" With these memorable words Bolivar closed his letter, dated December 7, 1824, inviting the American Republics to send plenipotentiaries to a Congress to be held in Panama for the purpose of forming a confederation "that should act as a council of appeal in times of conflicts and common danger, and which, moreover, would be a faithful interpreter of public treaties when difficulties should arise, and, in short, a conciliator in all our differences"—objectives which are ideals in the statesmanship of today.

Mindful of its historical heritage as the scene of the famous Congress which, in response to the letter quoted, assembled June 22, 1826, the Republic of Panama has invited the Republics of the New World to join with her in a congress commemorative of that first centenary which was the "genesis of all later Pan American conferences held in various countries with the object of achieving a closer Inter-American understanding," to quote the text of the law passed by the National Assembly of Panama ordaining the celebration of this anniversary.

Arrangements for this Congress, which will be in session in the city of Panama from June 18 to June 25, 1926, are already well advanced. By executive decree of February 5, 1925, President Chiari

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appointed an organizing committee of three eminent citizens: Dr. Octavio Méndez Pereira, actual Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Samuel Lewis and Licentiate Fabian Velarde, and Señor Victor M. Villalobos C. as Secretary. By decree of June 25, 1925, the original committee was authorized to add to its number if it so desired and to appoint a secretary general. The following important paragraphs are quoted from this decree:

ART. 5. The duties of the Organizing Committee are:

(a) To make all arrangements for the congress commemorative of the first centenary of the Congress of Panama, and for the participation therein of all the Latin-American nations and of the universities and scientific and learned societies of those countries.

(b) To appoint in the respective capitals of the Latin-American nations committees which shall cooperate in arranging for the Congress by listing institutions and persons to be invited to take part in the labors thereof, by securing representative delegations from their respective countries, and by proposing the questions which by reason of their importance should be submitted to the Congress.

ART. 7. The member of the Congress shall be:

(a) Official delegates of the nations represented.

(b) Representatives of the universities, institutions, societies and scientific bodies of the American nations, and the citizens of the countries participating in the congress and foreigners there resident who may be invited by the Organizing Committee.

(c) The authors of papers presented to the Congress and accepted by the committee.

ART. 9. All members of the Congress will be entitled to attend its sessions, take part in discussions, and receive a copy of the publications issued by the Organizing Committee.

ART. 10. Citizens of American countries who are noted for their learning may be made honorary members of the Congress Commemorative of the First Centenary of the Pan American Congress convened in Panama, June 22, 1826, provided the Congress deems it advisable to confer this honor.

ART. 11. Within three days prior to the official inauguration, the Congress shall assemble for a preliminary session to elect its governing board, honorary presidents and vice presidents, and to designate its honorary members.

The officers of the Organizing Committee shall preside over this session.

ART. 12. The Congress shall hold plenary sessions, the opening and closing sessions to be marked with appropriate ceremony.

ART. 13. Papers for the Congress will be received prior to and including June 10, 1926. Authors unable to send their papers by

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this date should send to the General Secretariat the title and outline thereof.

ART. 14. The official languages of the Congress will be Spanish, English, and Portuguese.

ART. 15. When the Congress opens, an executive committee shall be constituted, composed of the president of the Congress, the secretary general, and the presidents of the official delegations of the nations represented in the Congress, or such other persons as may be designated by said presidents as their representatives.

ART. 16. The Executive Committee, with the advice of the presidents of delegations, shall propose the conclusions to be submitted to the vote of the Congress.

ART. 17. The committee shall take action by majority vote, each country having one vote.

ART. 18. The committee may appoint subcommittees from its members and shall submit a final report to the Congress for its adoption, this report to be accompanied by an explanatory statement prepared by the secretary general.

In the fulfillment of its duties as prescribed by the foregoing resolutions, the Organizing Committee has suggested for the deliberations of the Congress the following list of subjects:

1. Genesis and history of Bolivar's Congress (the so-called "Congress of Panama").

2. Outline of a league in accord with Bolivar's Pan American concepts.

3. Organization of the future Bolivarian Pan American University.

4. Organization of the central bureau of bibliography and scientific and literary unification recommended by the Third Pan American Scientific Congress.

5. Organization of the Gorgas Institute of Tropical Medicine.

6. Panama as the chief center of Pan American interchange.

7. Influence of the Congress of Bolivar on the development of international law. Influence of the Congress of Panama on the Pan Americanism of today.

8. A practical method of obtaining more effective study of the principal languages spoken on the American continent.

9. Plan for diffusing a knowledge of the most important literary and scientific works by Pan American authors in schools and colleges.

10. How to convert Panama into a continental center of science and commerce, thus fulfilling Bolivar's prophecy with regard to the Isthmus.

11. Influence of the Panama Canal on the development of America:

- (a) From the commercial point of view.



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- (b) From the political point of view.
- (c) From the social point of view.
- (d) From the health point of view.
- (e) From the scientific point of view.
- (f) From the Pan American point of view.

The agenda and plans for the Commemorative Congress are of especial interest in connection with the carrying out of certain resolutions passed by the various Pan American conferences. The agenda, it will be noted, includes two resolutions passed by the Third Pan American Scientific Congress which took place in Lima last year, namely, those favoring the establishment of a Pan American University in Panama and the organization of certain bureaus. Moreover, Law No. 5 of 1925, which provided for the holding of the Commemorative Congress, gave the President of Panama explicit authority to proceed, in accord with the other Pan America nations, to establish such a university in Panama.

This law also provides that the Executive shall take the steps necessary for the erection in Panama of a monument to Bolivar, in compliance with a resolution passed by the Fifth Pan American Conference, held in Santiago in 1923, this monument to be a joint homage of the Pan American Republics to the memory of the great Liberator, "to commemorate his initiative in convoking a Pan American Congress to study with the cooperation of all the Governments of America the great problems of the New World." The eminent Spanish sculptor Benlliure has been chosen for this important work, and he has already submitted an imposing project, in which the central figure, in the round, represents Bolivar in thoughtful attitude, a bas-relief on either side depicting scenes connected with his heroic history. Above Bolivar's head are inscribed his words "Liberty attained is superior to riches," across which two youthful figures, incarnating Liberty and Peace, clasp hands, while above broods the condor, symbol at once of South America and freedom unfettered by the limitations of space. The rear of the monument is also embellished by figures and reliefs.

The plans as briefly outlined here have made no mention of the Inter-American Student Congress which is to be held at the time of the Centenary, an event in itself of continental significance. Many festivities will also take place in connection with the celebration in which the Republic of Panama has invited her sister nations of this hemisphere to join, an invitation to which they have responded with enthusiasm. Of the 16 nations which had replied by the end of July, 1925, 10 stated their definite intention of sending delegates, while the other 6 expressed the liveliest interest, which promises further action upon receipt of the program of the Congress.

In replying to the invitation on behalf of his Government, Señor Don José M. González Valencia, Minister of Columbia in Pan-



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ama, well expressed the general sentiment when he said: "For my part, I take pleasure in recognizing that the official acts looking toward the assembly of the Pan American Congress in this city are a manifestation of true Americanism as well as a just tribute to the memory of the Liberator, which reflect the highest honor on the Republic of Panama."

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### WORLD WAR SHRINES

The April, 1926, issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly, the excellent and substantial organ of the Washington University State Historical Society, under the title "World War Shrines," prints an editorial of striking significance. Touching as it did upon a movement of importance to history lovers appreciative of their duty to future generations, and a movement of which we had heard nothing previously, it is here reproduced in its entirety.

The State of Washington has decided to add a monument in the name of the State to the line of the allied fronts at the time of the Armistice. The bill for that purpose was introduced by Representative Mrs. Harry John Miller on November 16; passed the House of Representatives on December 2; passed the Senate on December 18; and became law by the Governor's signature on December 24, 1925.

The line is about 750 miles long extending from the North Sea to the border of Switzerland. It is planned to erect 240 of these monuments at the crossings of as many roads. Ground for each monument is being donated in perpetuity by Belgium and France. The monuments are similar save for the separate inscriptions and cost about 3500 francs or approximately \$200 each. The work is in charge of a national organization.

Thus far 120 of the monuments have been dedicated coming mostly from European contributors. It is hoped that the United States will erect at least sixty of these shrines and become credited with marking one-fourth of the entire line.

Work to that end has begun. It is not heralded or advertised. Up to date it has had its impulse largely in the devotion of one man—Professor C. A. Guerard, formerly of the University of Washington Faculty, now Secretary of the French Consulate, 905 Securities Building, Seattle. David Whitcomb, President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, wrote: "Each allied nation has a national shrine where homage may be rendered to the Allied dead but should not we Americans have our State shrines too . . . . testifying to our undying gratitude and reverence for the men of our respective Commonwealths who made possible in the words of Presi-

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dent Harding—‘a new and lasting era.’ ” From these and similar initiatives in the Northwest the six first American monuments were sponsored by the following: 1—The Minute Women of the State of Washington; 2—The Mayor of Minneapolis; 3—Stanford University; 4—The “Poilus” of San Francisco; 5—Lafayette Lodge of Masons of Seattle; 6—The George Washington Foundation of Seattle. The National Guard of the State of New York subscribed for the seventh and the State of Washington has now sponsored the eighth one for America.

This announcement may inspire an initiative in other States. If it proves difficult to establish contact with the authorities in France or Belgium it is suggested that correspondence be opened with Professor Guerard whose address is given above.

Objection to such a movement will doubtless be voiced from two quarters, one the class which urges the prior claim and crying need of suffering humanity in many countries, the other those who would first set our own house in order before invading foreign fields. The first of these is the more difficult to answer, for there is no meeting ground common to them and us, or indeed, to them and anyone of different view. The word of Holy Writ, “not by bread alone,” would seem to apply in spirit. To the second we may urge the wide field and the vast number of individuals to whom such markers will convey a message, not only of reverence for bravery, loyalty, and honor, but of brotherhood, sympathy, and unity of aims and ideals. The battle line that for four weary years was known as the “western front” will always attract, with the potent force of the scene of great deeds, men and women of every tongue and every land, but the language of these memorial stones is one that all can understand. Their placement is an undertaking to which Americans will be anxious to give support.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, by Edward P. Cheney. Longmans, Green, and Company, New York and London, 1926, Vol. II, 589 pages.

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. in their most recent special catalogue, add to the announcement of this two volume work, the following note: “This work was designed first to give a narrative of the events of English history during the last fifteen years of the reign of Elizabeth; secondly, to give a description of the form of

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government and society in England at the same time." This statement is a valuable guide in considering the book, as it accurately explains its structure, and its appeal to two dissimilar groups of readers.

The "events of English history" which fall in this second volume—consisting of chapters XXV-XLVI of the whole—are grouped under Part V, VI, IX and X. Part VII—The Last Four Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth—while arranged in order of time, yet uses the topical method to such an extent as to fall rather under the second head. At least one can say that so much valuable light is shed on the machinery of parliament, and on procedure, economic legislation and the prerogative, that, for most readers, the events are secondary to the "form of government."

The events are stirring enough. The year 1596 with its scarcity and resulting turbulence, the expedition to Cadiz with its brilliant but rather barren success, and the stillborn counter-attack of Spain, constitute Part V. Part VI traces the diplomatic relations of England with France and the Netherlands, and the formation, under stress of the alarm caused by the Spanish capture of Calais, of the triple alliance of these powers. No small part of the pleasure arising from these opening sections is due to the brief but skillfully-drawn portraits of the principal characters involved. Bouillon, Essex and Raleigh are presented, all three of them to be executed as traitors, with Howard, Burghley the friend and Cecil the foe of Essex. Elizabeth is there, and Henry IV, Henry who though inconstant in religion and in love, was yet constant in patriotism and in his attempts at evading his financial obligations. Bouillon borrows men and money from Elizabeth, as Sancy borrowed them from the Swiss and even from poverty-stricken Geneva, and if possible, it is Elizabeth who receives the lesser return. Perhaps nothing separates this age from our own so much as its pathetic poverty. Philip of Spain alone had great wealth, but even he never had enough. Elizabeth and Henry were hard pressed to raise and equip even small bodies of troops, and, perhaps fortunately, credit had not reached the point where governments could mortgage future generations of their peoples, as in our own time. Yet in two respects there are great similarities: "muddling through" was as much practiced in governmental circles then as now, and the attempts to clean up after naval expeditions and generally wind any matter up, are strangely reminiscent of experiences in the World War.



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Part IX—The Fall of Essex—is handled with great skill. Nowhere is Professor Cheney's impartiality and breadth of sympathy more apparent. Whether he is depicting Essex as a leader of the "Islands Voyage," as estranged from the Queen and absent from court, struggling over his heart-breaking task in Ireland, living in retirement after his defiant return to England, or in his hare-brained and almost casual rebellion, he is always just. Allowances are made for the difficulties inherent in the situation, the spirit of the Earl, and the customs of the time; and the character of the Queen helps explain the course of events. The story is a tragedy rather than a fall, for one is moved to pity and horror by a certain inescapable quality in the events, and a fatal development, which eventually crush the victim.

The gloom is enhanced in Part X—The Last Days of the Reign. Even at the end the Queen did not escape slander, in fact she who missed Essex more than any of her many faithful servants already dead, was taunted with having slain him. She was old, and in the sixteenth century, year for year, people were older than now. Naturally she objected to the discussion of her successor, and not all her courtiers were as discreet as Cecil in preparing the way for the King of Scots. Flashes of the Queen's great spirit blazed up, but with decreasing powers and increasing sadness she passed through the last months to her death on March 23rd, 1603.

The remaining parts, VII and VIII, are more technical, dealing as they do with the last four parliaments of the reign, and the question of local government. For scholars, they are the most valuable part of the book, and have been highly praised by them both here and abroad. For most readers their interest lies in the extraordinary skill with which the illustrative material, while always remaining subordinate and truly illustrative, yet gives a picture of the England of Elizabeth. Not only the splendor and gallantry, the pageantry and ceremonial is glimpsed, but the hardness and brutality. No element is either slurred or overemphasized, but Elizabethan England passes before one—ruling, intriguing, fighting, sailing, writing, dancing,—living, in fact.

LEONARD CHESTER JONES.

*McKean: The Governor's County*, by Rufus Barrett Stone. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., New York City. Octavo, 315 pp., illustrated.



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He who writes for a history loving public writes for a limited field, a fact often recalled with regret by inveterate readers of local history when they encounter literary worth and interest beyond the average of writings of other types. This happy condition has been found in Mr. Stone's book; and while his reputation and following assure "McKean: The Governor's County" of a wide local reading, its general perusal must, in the nature of the case, fall short of its merits.

The volume makes no pretense to being a comprehensive county history. The long, wearying chapters that so often characterize such works are conspicuously absent, yet it is remarkable how few of the conventional topics of local histories are omitted. All the old friends, the county seat, Civil War, industries, even geology, are there, but presented with a freshness and piquancy that make them appear new and desirable acquaintances. What is most enjoyable is the constant touch of human interest, the evenness and authority with which Mr. Stone presents the significant facts of the people and institutions of the region, and the smoothly flowing style of his narrative, which is never at a loss for the proper word or for the allusion to clarify or adorn his point. One must watch closely to learn that in many of the events he describes, covering a period of many years past, Mr. Stone has been an actor, for he avoids the personal pronoun entirely until the last paragraphs of his book, where a portion of an address delivered before a Ministerial Union is quoted. We will not reproduce any part of that beautiful conclusion from lack of space to give it in its entirety, but refrain from so doing only with a guilty sense that we are selfish in the matter.

The book is profusely illustrated, both with pictures in the text and inserted plates, and in these, too, lies a quiet charm. Indeed, this quiet charm is the pervading atmosphere of the volume, in which Mr. Stone discusses, in friendly, completely informed manner, the subjects of local import in which he and his people are most interested.

*The Trail of a Tradition*, by Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg, A. M., G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, The Knickerbocker Press, 1926.

Mr. Vandenberg, author of "The Greatest American: Alexander Hamilton" and "If Hamilton Were Here Today," and editor

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of the "Grand Rapids Herald," has in this volume produced a book in full keeping with the degree of scholarship, diligence in research, and penetration in interpretation that has characterized his previous literary work, journalistic and of more enduring form. The tradition that gives title to the book is that of the "nationalism" of the United States, the complete political independence of our people from the peoples and governments of the rest of the world. Throughout four-fifths of his volume's four hundred pages he lays the foundation of his structure, a foundation skilfully placed, with fine workmanship, over the century and a half of our national history. At that point he reaches the most significant point of his exposition, that ground, comparatively new, as viewed with the balance of his book, that he entitles "Wilson, War, Peace, League, and After."

Mr. Vandenberg's editorial career covers the period of the World War and in a footnote of his volume he makes mention of the fact that Senator Lodge adopted one of his pointed editorial statements, made in connection with the treaty debate in the Senate, i. e., "There is a menace in unshared idealism." One of the traditional duties of an able editor is the shaping of public opinion, but no less obligatory is it that he keep an observant eye upon the natural course of that opinion. Consequently it is a vigilant author who embarks upon the subject "Wilson, War, Peace, League, and After," for the period of active controversy has reached an end, the time has come to bind up the wounds of battle and to plant the propaganda seed which, carefully planted and judiciously nurtured, shall, in due season, bear fruit to titillate national or international palates, as the case may be. Beautiful and earnest tributes to President Wilson as well as to President Harding and Senator Lodge preserve the personal impartiality which the effective advocate knows as his best weapon, but for the subject of participation of the United States in the League of Nations Mr. Vandenberg has a naked sword that is a veritable and flashing Excalibur, and he summons to the support of a political isolation for the United States the best utterances of those senatorial figures for whom the term "bitter-enders" was coined.

A strong case, firmly reenforced and capable of withstanding strong assault, is the result, and a pleasing literary atmosphere tempers the severity of the carefully developed argument. There

## EDITORIAL

are many points toward which attack might be directed, and indeed several volumes in print which might serve as the engines of war for such an operation. One hesitates to go farther from fear of the quicksands of controversy that threaten the way, and concludes with the safe observation that an excellent book has been added to politico-historical literature.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1926.

City and State of New York, }  
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th Street, New York City, Editor, Winfield S. Downs, No. 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of March, 1926.

(Seal).

F. M. KELLER.

Notary Public Bronx Co., No. 17.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 148.

(My commission expires March 30, 1926).







1926



WILLIAM I.  
(THE CONQUEROR)

1926

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FOURTH QUARTER

NOV. 1926

# Americana

ILLUSTRATED



Messenger

The American Historical Society, Inc.









SECTION OF AN "ERSKINE MAP" ILLUSTRATING THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE HUDSON RIVER HIGHLANDS NEAR PEEKSKILL

(From the original in the manuscript collection of the New York Public Library. This is a portion of "Survey No. 8," referred to in the complete index of Erskine's maps, prepared by himself, and now preserved by the New York Historical Society.)

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# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

October, 1926

## The Forgotten General

BY ALBERT H. HEUSSER,\* PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

*Foreword*—We have honored Lafayette, Pulaski and Von Steuben, but we have forgotten Erskine. No monument, other than a tree planted by Washington beside his gravestone at Ringwood, N. J., has ever been erected to the memory of the noble young Scotchman who did so much to bring the War of the Revolution to a successful issue.

Robert Erskine, F. R. S., the Surveyor-General of the Continental Army and the trusted friend of the Commander-in-chief, was the silent man behind the scenes, who mapped out the by-ways and the back-roads over the mountains, and—by his familiarity with the great “middle-ground” between the Hudson Highlands and the Delaware—provided Washington with that thorough knowledge of the topography of the country which enabled him repeatedly to out-manuever the enemy.

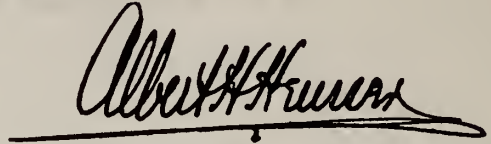
It is a rare privilege to add a page to the recorded history of the American struggle for independence, and an added pleasure thereby to do justice to the name of one who, born a subject of George III, threw in his lot with the champions of American liberty. Although never participating in a battle, he was the means of winning many. He lost his life and his fortune for America; naught was his reward save a conscience void of offense, and the in-

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\*Mr. Heusser, historian, author, and lecturer, is the historian of the Captain Abraham Godwin Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, the curator of the recently organized Passaic County Historical Society, and a member of the New Jersey Historical Society. He is the author of “In the Footsteps of Washington,” (1921), “Homes and Haunts of the Indians,” (1924), and his deep study of American history, particularly that bearing upon New Jersey during the Revolutionary period, has placed him in possession of much authoritative data and manuscript material relating to the northern part of the state. Mr. Heusser has traveled widely abroad, has lectured extensively (at one time as a member of the lecture staff of the New York City Department of Education), and in addition to the above-mentioned works is the author of “The Land of the Prophets,” a volume dealing with Palestine which had the distinction of being the only book upon that region included in the United States Shipping Board’s 1919 list of “One Hundred Best Books Upon Foreign Travel.”

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

timate friendship and confidence of great Washington. The story of Erskine, the master of the Ringwood iron mines, is worthy of the pen of a great novelist; but I am persuaded that, in this case, even prosaic history will be illumined by the light of that great love which inspires a man to give his all—himself—to the cause of freedom and justice for his fellow-men.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Albert H. Hume". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

*Prefatory Summary*—Robert Erskine was born at Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1735. Half-trained to the engineering profession, he engaged while very young in commercial pursuits and failed miserably. Escaping the debtors gaol because of his high character and sincerity of purpose, he was given an extension of credit. Supplementing his education forthwith, and devoting himself wholeheartedly to the task of beginning life anew, he was soon on the road to advancement as a practical and efficient hydraulic engineer; gradually paying off his indebtedness, winning influential recognition in the London neighborhood, and being elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Then there came to him, in 1770, a call to journey to far-distant America to salvage the investments of prominent British capitalists who had sunk many thousands of pounds sterling in the "American Iron Co." After preparing himself for this commission by a personal survey of the major iron-mining and manufacturing operations of Great Britain, he emigrated to America in 1771, and took charge of the depleted resources of the syndicate at Ringwood, N. J. Scarcely had he begun to bring order out of chaos when the American struggle for independence interrupted operations. Realizing the justice of the patriot cause, Erskine threw in his lot with the struggling colonies, devoted the output of the English-owned mines to the Continental Congress and its poorly equipped armies, and soon thereafter placed at the disposal of General Washington his professional skill as a topographer and map-maker. Appointed by Congress in 1777 as Surveyor-General of the American armies, he not only continued to operate the Ringwood mines, but executed a series of over two hundred beautifully correct military maps of the "war-zone" in New York, New Jersey, Con-

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

necticut and Pennsylvania. He died in 1780, having contracted a fatal illness while prosecuting his surveys, and was buried on the beautiful estate at Ringwood. Because of the intensely valuable nature of his work, which was almost "secret service" in character, neither Erskine's name nor his official title have oft appeared in our Revolutionary chronicles. This, in brief, is the story of "the forgotten general."





## CHAPTER I

### ROBERT ERSKINE—THE MINISTER'S SON



ENEATH the ruined towers of Dryburgh Abbey, not far distant from the last resting place of Sir Walter Scott, is a tablet commemorating the Reverend Ralph Erskine, a Scottish divine,—eminent in his day—who passed from the affairs of earth November 6th, 1752.<sup>1</sup> Few tourists, wandering through the green aisles of this roofless sanctuary, whose ponderous arches and ivy-mantled walls are precious because of seven centuries of history and devotion, are aware that the name of Erskine is one most singularly connected with the history of our own country in that the son of him whose memory is here perpetuated was a trusted friend of Washington and an ardent participant in the struggle for American independence.

The tale to be related is a singular narrative, for the life of Robert Erskine reads like romance. It was a career in which Providence seems to have exercised a guiding hand—turning talents and misfortunes into character, and giving the result to the American colonies in the form of an eminently useful and God-fearing man. It affords an inspiring biographical study, replete with interest; and

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<sup>1</sup>The Reverend Ralph Erskine (according to the "*Scottish Nation*," Vol. 2; page 153), was born at the village of Monilaws, near Cornhill in the county of Northumberland, March 15, 1685 (o. s.). He was a son of the Rev. Henry Erskine of Chirnside and Margaret Halcro, his second wife. He married first, Margaret, daughter of Mr. John Dewar of Lassoddie, by whom he had ten children; second, Margaret Simson, daughter of Mr. Simson (the writer of the Signet of Edinburgh), by whom he had four children. After studying at the University of Edinburgh, he was licensed as a preacher in 1709, and two years later, was ordained as assistant minister at Dunfermline. With his brother Ebenezer (likewise an eminent clergyman) he supported the cause of the dissenters from the Church of Scotland, who ultimately banded together as the United Presbyterian Church. His literary productions consist of sermons, poetical paraphrases and gospel sonnets, besides a diary, edited by Rev. Donald Fraser many years later. Robert Erskine was one of his children by the second marriage. Rev. Ralph Erskine is actually interred in the churchyard of Dunfermline Abbey, but the burial place of the family was in one of the aisles of the north transept of Dryburgh. Hence we there find the memorial tablet, above referred to, reading as follows:

"Sacred to the memory of the Revds. Henry Erskine and his sons, Ralph and Ebenezer, Ministers of the Secession Church of Scotland. Henry was born at Dryburgh, the last of thirty-three children of Ralph Erskine of Sheilfield and Dryburgh; descended from a brother of the Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland in James VI's reign. Henry was Minister of Cornhill; died, after being imprisoned in the towers of the Bass, Aug. 10, 1696. Ralph, Minister of Dunfermline, died Nov. 6, 1752. Ebenezer, Minister of Portmoak, died June 2, 1754. Erected by Sir David Erskine of Dryburgh Abbey."



STATUE OF THE REV. RALPH ERSKINE, A. M., (1685-1752)  
AT DUNFERMLINE, SCOTLAND

It stands before the Queen Anne Street Presbyterian Church, which occupies the site of the original building erected at the time of the secession, and which accommodates the successors of the congregation which he then founded. This monument was erected in 1849 by the members of the church, aided by fellow-townsmen and other friends in distant parts of the country.



## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

—after having enriched myself through a most minute and intimate digest of historic fragments gathered from many sources, and correspondence heretofore entirely unpublished—I should be guilty of injustice to the character of the man I have learned to love did I not submit the facts as an humble contribution to American history at this time, when—celebrating the sesqui-centennial of Revolutionary events—the hearts of all of us are warmed by a recollection of patriot lives and deeds.

Robert Erskine, born at Dumfermline, sixteen miles from Edinburgh, on the 7th of September, 1735, was naturally endowed with those sturdy qualities which are inherent to the Scotch. Thrift, determination, a respect for God, and a well developed mentality came not by accident into Caledonian blood. One has but to consider the rugged land of Scotia, with its physical peculiarities, to understand the development of these characteristics in the sons of the Pentlands.

Scotland, but two hundred and fifty miles in length, and in some places not over thirty in width, has ever been the home of stalwart men. The rocky highlands and narrow valleys, the rigors of a far northern latitude, the long evenings of the summer and the whirling snows of winter—all have tended toward the making of men, canny and brave and true to the core. A Scotchman thus explained it to me: Thrifty the race became by reason of the natural poverty of the country; stubborn because of constant struggling with a stony soil; and studious through the improvement of the lengthened “spare hours” after the day’s work was done, in the lingering radiance of departing day. This is logical and easily to be comprehended. The land and its people are distinctly co-related.

What visitor to the “land of heather,” for example, can forget the villages of the Trossachs? The first rays of dawn peeping over the mountains to the east, the last gleam of the setting sun reddening the summits of those in the west. Ever the craggy heights are present in a Scottish landscape, imparting a solemnity and dignity difficult to describe. Brought into cultivation only by earnest endeavor, the small land-holdings of the humble folk have made economy a tradition. Again, the uplands seem to suggest the nearness of God. Shut out the world, and you become instinctively spiritual and reverent.

Who better than “Ian Maclaren” (Rev. John Watson) has vis-



## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

ualized the perils of a northland winter? Snow-covered trails, swollen torrents, tempestuous winds through narrow defiles, heroic collie-dogs and helpless sheep—these are the ever-present elements calling for courage of a high order. And Burns, with his rollicking pictures (or melancholy, according to his mood) has done his part to help us understand. The cotters' homes, the taverns, the ancient bridges of the Dee—can we ever forget them? The groups around the chimney corner, the wealth of ingle-side wisdom, the black tobacco (and, perchance, a wee bit of something else to cheer the heart)—while tales are told of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" or the great theological discussions at Edinburgh or Glasgow—these things, too, give us an inkling into the temperament of the race. Of such stock came Robert Erskine.

No visitor to Dumfermline can forget its picturesque location on the brow of a slope which ascends from the Firth of Forth, nor the beautiful and extensive view from the tower of the Abbey Church where lie the remains of King Robert Bruce. It is so typically Scottish that were one permitted just one glimpse of Scotland he might ask to be taken to Dunfermline and be satisfied. A deep ravine intersects the town; undoubtedly little Robert Erskine played beside the stream which here still patiently wends its way toward the Forth. So, perhaps, did another lad, whose life was likewise destined to be linked with the iron industry in America; for Dunfermline was also the birthplace of Andrew Carnegie. Erskine, coming to our country in 1771, became the leading patriot iron-master of the Revolutionary period. Carnegie, following almost a century later, occupied a similar place in his day and age. He it was who, in 1877, presented to his native town the Carnegie Public Baths.

Industrially, Dunfermline is a place of considerable importance to-day, being noted for its fine table linen, the production of which was, up until 1845, turned out upon hand-loom. First and foremost among the attractions of this quaint old town is its Abbey, in reality the center of the community. During the winter of 1303 the Court of Edward I of England was held in this sanctuary, and besides the tomb of the Bruce, it contains the graves of seven other kings and two queens, while the burial place of Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore (to whom she was married in this church in 1070) lies immediately to the east of the session house.

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

Nor is the Reverend Ralph Erskine forgotten in Dunfermline. The town in which he proclaimed the gospel for over forty years still treasures his remains. He is buried in the Abbey churchyard, and—more appropriate than the memorial tablet at Dryburgh—a statue in the court of the Queen Anne Street United Presbyterian Church, which he founded, keeps alive an interest in his ancient ministry. Of this memorial a photograph is reproduced. There being no known portrait of Robert Erskine himself, it may be a source of satisfaction to look upon the likeness of his worthy parent.

Rev. Dr. Chalmers, in his "*History of Dunfermline*," says:

"The inauguration of the statue on the 27th June, 1849, was celebrated by a procession of the Free Masons of the place, joined by a deputation of the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh, and the St. John's Lodge of Cupar, accompanied by the Dunfermline Instrumental Band, along with a numerous attendance of ministers and members of the Secession Church in Dunfermline and elsewhere. The principal shops in the town being shut during the ceremony, there was a great turn-out of the inhabitants, as well as of many persons from the neighborhood."

The Rev. Ralph Erskine was, in many respects, a remarkable man. The best account of his life and activities is contained in the meritorious volume edited by the Rev. Donald Fraser.<sup>2</sup> My initial footnote has briefly reviewed the biographical facts, but it may not be amiss to quote at greater length from Fraser's work:

"On the 15th of July, 1714, nearly three years after his ordination, he married Margaret, daughter of John Dewar, Esquire, of Lassoddie—an estate situated in the adjacent parish of Beath. Her mother's name was Elizabeth Ayton. From the Christian graces she displayed, as well as the sweetness of her natural temper, she proved an eminent blessing to her husband. After she had lived with him sixteen years, it pleased God to remove her by a sudden illness, in the thirty-third year of her age, on Sunday, the November 22, 1730. She had ten children, of whom five survived her, namely, Margaret, the eldest, and four sons, Henry, John, Ebenezer, and James. For some time after this afflicting bereavement, Anne Erskine, second daughter of his brother, Ebenezer, appears to have resided with the Reverend Ralph and taken care of his children. A second partner, however, was provided for him in Margaret Simson, a pious and respectable female, daughter of Daniel

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<sup>2</sup>"*The Life and Diary of the Rev. Ralph Erskine, A. M.*" by Donald Fraser, Minister, Kennoway, published by Wm. Oliphant & Son, Edinburgh, 1834.

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

Simson, Esquire, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh. This union, which took place on the 24th of February, 1732, was also felicitous, and supplied new cause of unfeigned gratitude to his heavenly Father. The second Mrs. Erskine treated the children of the former marriage with true maternal affection; and became herself the mother of four sons, only one of whom, however, reached maturity; and she survived her husband a few years. . . .

The family of Margaret Simson, the second Mrs. Erskine, consisted of four sons—Mr. Erskine's children thus amounting, in all, to fourteen. Three of these four sons, however, as has been stated in a foregoing passage of this narrative, died in infancy. Ralph, the eldest, born Dec. 5, 1732, was cut off by small-pox, aged a year and nine months; Daniel, the second, shared the same fate when only nine months old; and Ralph, the youngest of the family, died April 10, 1738, a babe of two months and fourteen days. The bereaved father, having thus, including the five deceased babes of his first wife, lost eight children in infancy, knew well from experience how to appreciate the consolations arising from God's covenant, as extending to the little ones committed to his hands; and no doubt often recollected these pleasant lines of his own composing:

“In heavenly choirs a question rose  
That stirr'd up strife will never close,  
What rank of all the ransom'd race  
Owes highest praise to sov'reign grace?

Babes thither caught from womb and breast,  
Claim'd right to sing above the rest;  
Because they found the happy shore,  
They never saw nor sought before.”

“Robert,<sup>3</sup> the only member of the second family that reached maturity, was born Aug. 27 (i. e. Sep. 7, new style), 1735, and lived to the age of forty-five.”

Regarding Rev. Ralph Erskine's demise, Fraser says:

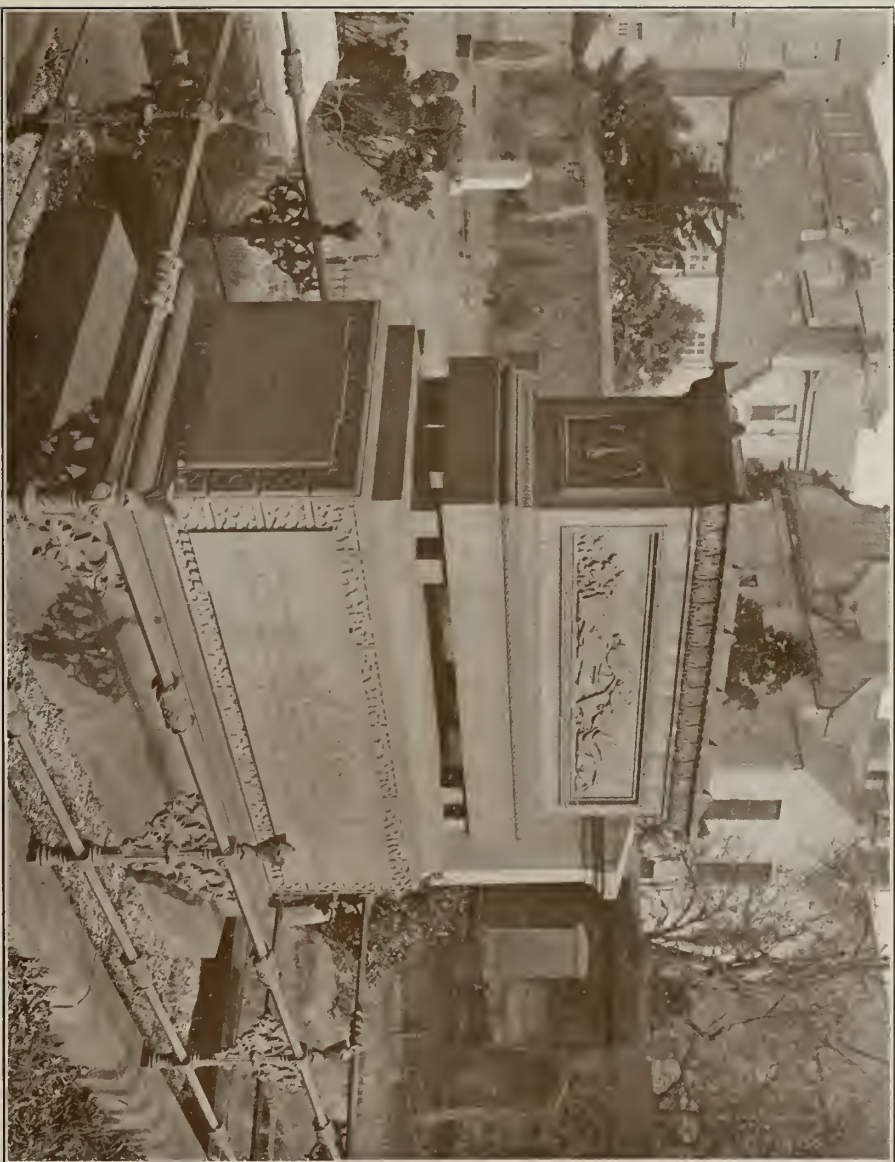
His mortal remains were interred in the churchyard of Dunfermline (Abbey) on Thursday, November 9, by his surviving relatives and friends, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators, ‘deeply and justly lamenting the loss of so valuable a minister.’ A table-stone was placed over his grave,<sup>4</sup> on which, it appears, the following Latin epitaph was inscribed. It is here copied from a book of memoranda written by his son Robert.

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<sup>3</sup>Robert Erskine, our biographical subject.

<sup>4</sup>Now superseded by the splendid monument in the Abbey Churchyard.—Author.





TOMB OF THE REVEREND RALPH ERSKINE, DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCHYARD





## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

M. S.  
RADOLPHI ERSKIN,  
Qui obiit VI. die Novembris MDCCLII,  
in LXVIII. anno ætatis.  
Hic jacet in tumulo non tacta vir pietate,  
Semper fide gregem namque suum docuit.  
Obstitit ætatis Clericorum vitia, cuplas,  
Non flexit devias; just vero Dei timuit.

In 1780 the grave was opened to permit the interment of Rev. John Smith, and again in 1821 for the burial of Rev. James Husband, D. D., both of whom were successors of Rev. Ralph Erskine in the pastorate of the Queen Anne Street Church. In 1876, the present elaborate memorial<sup>5</sup> was erected by the United Presbytery of Dunfermline, bearing inscriptions reminiscent of these three clergymen of Queen Anne Street, and Rev. Robt. Brown of St. Margaret's. It is, however, usually referred to as the "Erskine monument," as he was the most noted among them.

The birthplace of Robert Erskine—structurally much altered since the eighteenth century, is still to be seen at Dunfermline. It is the house in which his eminent father lived and died, and it was undoubtedly the home of Robert's youth. The ancient dwelling stands in one of the up-hill thoroughfares of the Scottish town . . . "down a close leading from the south side of the High Street to the junction of Maygate with Abbot Street. The house is an old one; the date 1607 is on the lintelstone of the door. The too-fall on the west side of this house is said to have been Rev. Ralph Erskine's library, and here it was that the Associate Brethren held their celebrated meeting with the Rev. George Whitefield."<sup>6</sup>

The boyhood of Robert Erskine could not have been a time of

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<sup>5</sup>Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, in his "*Annals of Dunfermline*," thus describes the tomb: "The monument placed over the grave of Erskine, at the southeast corner of the old churchyard, is in the form of a sarcophagus, and measures 6 feet 6 inches in height, and 8 feet by 3 feet 6 inches at the base. The work is purely classic, and presents a very elegant design; the lower part of the work, which forms the pedestal, rises from a moulded basement, and is enriched with carved rustic coignes, from which are projected inscription panels. The sarcophagus rests upon a square block, consisting of moulded base, cornice, and die; the cornice and base have carved mouldings. On the four sides die-moulded panels have been introduced, each bearing *bas-reliefs*, on which are inscriptions relating to the character and work of Erskine, and also of his successors, the Rev. John Smith, Rev. James Husband, D. D., and the Rev. Robert Brown, of St. Margaret's Church. On the south side of the die, and immediately above the panel, there is a beautiful *alto relievo*, showing an arrangement of drapery disposed in easy folds over a clasped Bible, and a number of other books and manuscripts; while at the top appears a laurel wreath, intertwined with an oak branch."

<sup>6</sup>From Dr. Ebenezer Henderson's "*Annals of Dunfermline*."

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luxurious indolence, to say the least. As a junior member of a frugal clergyman's somewhat extensive family, he must have learned early in life the saving quality of self-reliance which, in later years, was to make of him a man eminently worthy of his birthplace and of his forebears.

In all likelihood, he received his elementary education at the Dunfermline Grammar School, which was at that time maintained by the Town Council.<sup>7</sup> The records of the University of Edinburgh show that he was a student at that institution in 1748 and again in 1752, but give no further data.<sup>8</sup> We are therefore in the dark as to his scholastic performances or the subjects in which he specialized. It may seem a matter of surprise that a boy in his fourteenth year should have advanced sufficiently in his studies to take up University work, but I am assured by those familiar with the habits of the period that Erskine's case is by no means unique. The circumstance demonstrates, nevertheless, that the youngster was no dullard. I am further inclined to the belief that the four-year interval in his attendance at Edinburgh was an interruption made necessary because Erskine found it imperative to earn his own living and contribute to the support of the household after 1748. It was in 1752 that his father passed on to his reward, and the fact that the studies were resumed in that year lends color to the surmise that Robert invested a portion of his patrimony in rounding out his fragmentary education.

Laurence Hutton, in his "*Literary Landmarks of the Scottish Universities*,"<sup>9</sup> writes so entertainingly upon the very subject under consideration that I am constrained to copy several of his pleasingly worded paragraphs, which seem as though they were meant to form a part of Erskine's biography:

The students at the universities north of the Tweed were, as a rule, the sons of poor parents who realized exactly the expense of a college course, and who knew how well, or how ill, it could be afforded. And the lads went to Aberdeen, to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, or to St. Andrews with a fixed purpose of reaching the very best of results at the lowest possible money cost.

They selected, generally, the institution nearest to their own

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<sup>7</sup>Statement of Andrew Shearer, Town Clerk of Dunfermline, in a letter to the author, 21st March, 1923.

<sup>8</sup>From letter to the author by Wm. A. Coutts, Asst. Sec., University of Edinburgh, dated 26th March, 1923.

<sup>9</sup>G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y. and London, 1904.



BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT ERSKINE, DUNFERMLINE, SCOTLAND





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humble homes, in order to save charges of travel; they often walked to their destination, in order to avoid coach-hire; they had no one to look after them on their journey, or at their journey's end. They entered their own names on their college books; they found lodgings for themselves in some nearby street or alley; they not infrequently cooked their own food, which was brought with them or sent after them in the carts of local carriers; sometimes they made their own beds, and washed their own dishes and their own clothes; and they were rarely over fourteen years of age when their college careers began. They formed very few, but always economical, friendships; they shared their rooms and their meals and their thoughts with each other; they had their simple little clubs and societies for conversation or discussion; they read hard, they worked hard—hard was their life.

Mr. Hutton goes on to say that in point of discipline the Scottish universities stood high, but teaching was the weak point; that while the professors were learned men, there was little or no personal instruction. Opportunities were offered, it is true, but it was up to the students to turn them to account. He says that the yearly rental of chambers at Edinburgh in the middle of the eighteenth century was about four pounds, and quotes Alexander Carlyle as saying: "Living in Edinburgh continued still (1743) to be wonderfully cheap, as there were ordinaries for young gentlemen at fourpence a head, for a very good dinner of broth and beef, and a roast and potatoes, every day, with fish three or four times a week; and all the small-beer that was called for until the cloth was removed." Anent the strict discipline which the faculty endeavored bravely to enforce, it would seem that "vice and vageing" were frowned upon with equal severity. Mr. Hutton explains that "vageing" meant to gad about aimlessly—to loaf, to loiter. Quite evidently the worthy professors of the long ago knew full well the temptations which beset the idler. Then, too, stringent rules and penalties concerned profanity, gambling and fighting: of the latter there must have been enough and to spare, judging by the numerous enactments relative to the "suppression of tumults" for which the college then had a bad reputation.

What Mr. Hutton says of the students who attend the University of Edinburgh today is applicable to those of yester-year, and Erskine most of all:

A comparatively small percentage of these students obtain a

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degree, or attempt to be graduated. That is not what they go to the University for. They seek a certain amount of solid, valuable information on certain subjects and in certain lines; and, when they obtain this, they drop themselves quietly out.

Again, in the following words, Mr. Hutton seems to be referring to Erskine:

The list of the graduates of the University of Edinburgh is as long as is the Moral Law which it has taught to its graduates, and which most of its graduates have taught, in some form or other, to the world at large.<sup>10</sup> They have turned out songs, those Edinburgh men, and they have turned out sermons, innumerable; sermons predominating. But they have turned out very little that has not lived, or that is not worth living.

Robert Erskine, for one, was not minded to follow the example of some of his elder half-brothers by devoting his life to the exposition of theology; yet he possessed withal his full quota of staunch religious conviction (to which he firmly adhered throughout his life), and a steadfastness of purpose to deal justly with all men.

There is a gap of some six or seven years in the life-story of Erskine which it is difficult adequately to span. After his second period of tuition at Edinburgh (1752), he seems to have set out to make his fortune, and eventually to have settled at London, where he secured employment to his liking and had opportunity to devote his leisure hours to study. There are, preserved today in the valuable archives of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, two documents which throw a little light on this obscure period in his career.<sup>11</sup> One is a signed two-page thesis, written in an immature hand—unfortunately—without date, being “An Attempt to prove the force of Gun-Powder is chiefly Progressive from the place it is lighted at”; the other an interesting letter to Erskine from his mother. The first document indicates that Erskine’s mind was of

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<sup>10</sup>Among the distinguished men who have received instruction at Edinburgh University may be numbered Thomas Carlyle, Charles Darwin, Sir Walter Scott, Robt. Louis Stevenson, Oliver Goldsmith, Mungo Park, and John Witherspoon, afterwards the president of Princeton University and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>11</sup>Repeated reference must necessarily be made in these pages to the “Erskine Papers” now treasured in the archives of the New Jersey Historical Society. In explanation let it be stated that these documents were presented to that body somewhere about 1859 by Peter M. Ryerson, son of Martin Ryerson, the iron-master who in 1807 moved into the original manor house at Ringwood, N. J., in which Erskine had resided during his career in America (1771-1780). Martin Ryerson found therein many of the effects of the former occupant.



THE OLDER PORTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.  
THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE CHANGE SINCE ROBERT ERSKINE  
WAS HERE AS A STUDENT

<i>W. J. Erskine &amp; Swinton &amp; Co.</i>	
<i>To Messrs J. B. &amp; Co.</i>	
<i>1761</i>	
<i>July 4. To Goods &amp; Co. £</i>	<i>22 18</i>
<i>Sept. 16 To Services</i>	<i>33 7 2</i>
<i>1762</i>	
<i>Jan. 14 To</i>	<i>22 11 9 1/2</i>
<i>March 21 To a Scale of 1000</i>	<i>9 19 2</i>
	<i>154 10 1 1/2</i>

INVOICE TO ERSKINE AND SWINTON





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a scientific turn, the second that he kept in touch with the home-folks.

Some years ago, Arthur Brisbane, in the "*New York Journal*," gave to the metropolitan public a masterly editorial upon the world's *mothers*. In substance, its purport was this: That our great men were the product of mothers' desires and mothers' prayers. Robert Erskine was, without doubt, blessed with a godly mother, and of this we have proof in the following communication. The date has been torn off, but it must have been written while Erskine was yet a very young man, probably about 1755. He seems to have been seeking a professorship at the University of Glasgow, although quite evidently engaged in earning his livelihood at London. The canny Scotch woman shows a decided interest in the results of the lottery, despite her prudence regarding the purchase of tickets. I transcribe the letter literally:

Dear Robie, I received your's this day I wrot to you this day eight days with a shipmasters recept for a box to you with some linnings which youl have got by this time. I shall be very glad that I am in a mistake about your being oblidge to be present as a candat for y<sup>e</sup> vacancy at Glesgow it was the openean of your Brother and many others that you should be present but if it is neadless it may be they may cause you yet for to be sure the professorss is not pleased with that Buchannan but it is like as y<sup>e</sup> D of Argyl is hear he will oblidge them to take him fit or unfit if it serves his turn I think you have got a suffisceant swack of his Gress as I hope you will expect no favours from him it would be a great mercy if you could think of doing something hear for I am afraid you will get some offers to go to Jeameky Gebrealter or some of the colonys abroad which would be very desagerable to me. You may be sure I would be very glad to see you hear for I almost desper of ever seeing you and if you go farther abroad it will certeanly be the case I hope you will take care not to medle with Lotrytickets their being few gets anything that way Garvok give out 100 pounds ster for tickets and they came out all blanks. I will be glad to hear if you get anything that way and what you payed for your ticket. I hope it will be as you say that the people you stay with are religeuss sober folk but I thought it best to let you see my Brothers letter that you might be on your gaird—I hope the Lord himself will keep his hand about you and keep you out of evel company for to be sure their are many temtations in and about London and allmost in every place I am Dear Robie your loving and affecnat

Mother MARGARET ERSKINE.

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

In 1759 Erskine formed a business partnership with one Swinton, which eventuated in a dismal failure. Erskine & Swinton dealt in hardware and agricultural implements; at least it would so seem from a bill to them which is preserved in the fruitful manuscript collection of the New Jersey Historical Society. Other old letters among the "Erskine Papers" in the same repository indicate that Erskine & Swinton attempted to do business in the American colonies, and that on some pretext or other, Swinton journeyed to the Carolinas with a goodly consignment of merchandise. Once upon this side of the broad Atlantic, he seems to have defaulted and disappeared, leaving Erskine bankrupt and disheartened, to shoulder the debts of the company and to face the clamorous claimants.

Just what happened to poor Erskine in the year 1761-62 is not quite clear. He made a proposition to the creditors of the defunct company, offering to devote to the liquidation of his and Swinton's indebtedness a certain percentage of the profits to be derived from the sales of his newly patented pump.<sup>12</sup> Probably this came to naught, for the simple reason (as Erskine himself wrote) that an advance of some £600 was needed to put the invention in shape and place the finished product on the market. Truly "the destruction of the poor is their poverty" as the Scriptures put it.

That Erskine, although without funds, was nevertheless unbroken in spirit and striving to extricate himself from the quagmire of debt seems evident from the following:<sup>13</sup>

Received of Mr. Robert Erskine a Bond for Two hundred & seventy-seven pounds ten shillings on the following account viz: For Board to this day & Lodging to the Twenty-fifth March next, Sixty-six pounds as per account delivered, & for four notes of his and partners hand to me which I have indorsed to the amount of Two hundred & eleven pounds ten shillings; the said notes to bear interest from the time they become due.

PHILIP TAYLOR, London, Feb'y 24th, 1762.

Matters came to a crisis, however, on the 25th day of June, 1762, when Erskine was "detained" by the order of "J. Preston, Clerk of the Papers of the King's Bench" on the application of some twenty creditors in the "Trinity Term" of the London

<sup>12</sup>Document A 308.58 X—"Erskine Papers"—Mss. Collection of N. J. Historical Society, Newark.

<sup>13</sup>Document A 308.43 E.—ibid.—It is doubtful if this account was ever liquidated in full; although Erskine, in preparing his will (see last chapter of this biography) did not forget the indebtedness.

Robert Erskine w<sup>th</sup> to the

Court of the Marshall of the 21<sup>st</sup> day of June  
1762. Indischarge of his Bail at the suit of

To the said

Edward Mors

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the John Mors

To Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the William Mors & Thomas

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the Christopher Camm

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the John Taylor

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the John Brooking

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the George Provett

To Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the James Smith

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the William Salter

To Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the David Smith

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the Henry Rank

To Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the Samuel Thomas & Thomas

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the John Rank

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the Samuel Smith

To Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the James Smith

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the John Price

Justify<sup>d</sup> and also at the Lophian & Edie

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DOCUMENT ATTESTING TO ROBERT ERSKINE'S FINAN-  
CIAL EMBARRASSMENT, HIS COMMITMENT FOR  
DEBT, AND HIS PROBATIONAL RELEASE, 1762





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debtors' court.<sup>14</sup> Although committed "to the custody of the Marshall," he was shortly permitted to depart in peace on his own recognizance, possibly because his insolvency was hopeless beyond reclaim, but more probably by reason of his assurances that, if allowed time to recoup his fortunes, some settlements might be effected. The commitment paper, referred to above, has either of these significant notations written beside each claim: "justified" or "to justify."

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<sup>14</sup>Document A 308.43 g. *ibid.* Erskine, in his "last will and testament," tells something of the kindly leniency of his creditors.



## CHAPTER II

### ERSKINE, THE INVENTOR

Thrown entirely upon his own resources, Erskine seems to have resorted to his natural mechanical talent, and to have turned to the engineering fields as a means of earning a livelihood, specializing in hydraulics.

By 1764, he appears to have "gotten on his feet," so to speak; his patent pump being the foundation upon which he proposed to build. On the 14th of May of this year, he gives permission to Thomas Stephens and John Wilkinson "each to make one engine for his own use without claiming the privilege of my patent or any further demand," provided they will make one for him, which will "raise water seventeen or eighteenth feet high."<sup>15</sup> This agreement is executed at Hammersmith (London).

Struggling as he was to make his own way, Robert Erskine did not ignore the pretensions nor belittle the ideas of others like-minded with himself. His letter to a fellow-inventor (being an original draft and unfortunately without superscription),<sup>16</sup> is an illuminating side light on his character:

19th November, 1764.

Sir:—

I have considered further of your proposal, and before I see you next Thursday beg leave to communicate what at present occurs—which I think equitable and doing as I would be done by, as it is quite contrary both to my inclination and principles to curb genius and be of the least dis-service to any one in rising in the world. Since, therefore, you think my machine will be of service to you when added to an invention of your own, and that with both together you could insure yourself £600 a year or upwards, for me—who has so many ways of getting money by mine already—to prevent you from getting money too by your ingenuity (when by your own account it won't interfere with any of the purposes for which I intend mine) I think would be inconsistent with a good heart.

I therefore propose to give you liberty to apply my machine to yours on the following conditions: (1) That for such liberty you

<sup>15</sup>Document A 308.44 D—N. J. Historical Society Archives, "Erskine Papers."

<sup>16</sup>Document A 308.44 H—*ibid*.

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give me such a sum down as we agree upon. The sum I propose is £300. (2) That as you design to get so much a year settled on you by those who are benefitted by your invention, I shall only ask £20 a year out of what you receive for every machine of mine you use; and if you get £1000 a year for yourself, shall be so much better pleased. (3) You must agree not to apply my machine and yours to any of the purposes for which I intend mine, an account of which I gave you.

The above proposal I think equitable, both with respect to you and myself, but if you consider it in the light I do, you will find that your proposing to give me £500 for the half of my invention is not at all so. I am very sure I can get more for a fourth; therefore, as there is no consideration you can urge for me to prefer your interest to my own, and in effect making you a present of so much money, you need not expect my treating with you on that footing. Further, as you have not proved your invention, as I would not willingly wrong any man, I will oblige myself to return the money I propose you should give me, with interest, if your invention should not succeed.

I am, Sir,  
Your most humb. Servt.

ROBERT ERSKINE.

Erskine evidently looked toward the Continent for an outlet for his genius, for among his papers we find the following, dated at London, Dec. 18, 1764:<sup>17</sup>

I hereby acknowledge to have received of Mr. Robert Erskine, inventor of a new machine for raising water, an account of the principles on which the said machine is founded and by which it operates, to send to the Directors of the Salt Works in Westphalia, for them to judge whether such a machine will be proper for their use.

(Signed) BERT'D RAPPARD.

This and the previous correspondence refers to his "Continual Stream Pump" which was, in its operation, not unlike the red painted barnyard contrivance still in use throughout many rural sections of the United States. So, at least, is the inference derived from one of the printed circulars yet extant, which gives a wood-cut illustration of the invention and several comparative tables of dimensions and quantities. This is the only English commercial advertisement I have ever seen in which Erskine's name is displayed. In the "Erskine Papers" at the New Jersey Historical Society are several original drafts of letters addressed to "William Cole, Instrument

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<sup>17</sup>Document A 308.44 K "Erskine Papers," New Jersey Historical Society.



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Maker, at the Surrey end of Westminster Bridge, London'' (who had been induced to manufacture the pumps), which indicate that the venture was neither so satisfactory nor profitable as the inventor had hoped. Although a number of pumps were turned out, and none failed to uphold the claims set forth, Erskine and Cole became involved in a protracted controversy in no wise uplifting, which seems to have discouraged the former from further attempts at being a party to the commercializing of his own inventions. Thereafter he kept aloof from participation in the selling end of the game, and his interest in a later development, the "centrifugal engine," was confined to royalties derived from patent rights. By nature Erskine was too visionary for the rigors and stringencies of mercantile pursuits; yet, as fate would have it, he seems never (even in his American career) to have been able entirely to free himself from business entanglements.

We know very little concerning Erskine's life while in London during this period. From the superscription of a letter addressed to him on the 3rd of January, 1765, by his cousin, Ralph Fisher, of Glasgow<sup>18</sup> it appears that he was lodging at "Richard's Coffee House, Temple Bar," and was presumably a bachelor, although now in his thirtieth year. What Fisher writes is interesting and chatty, and gives a good idea of these days and doings. He says:

I am extremely glad to understand by yours to my father that your machine has met with deserved success, and that you'll retrieve all your losses with such advantage. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you last at Stirling, I have dropt my concern in the shop-keeping way here, with an intention of seeing more of the world. The place I always had in view was the East Indies, but was disappointed in a berth there. Lord Bruce of Kennet wrote to his brother-in-law, Sir Laurence Dundass, a word from whom to any of the directors would no doubt have procured me a place there; but he did not, it seems, think it worth while to trouble himself about an affair of that nature, so that I am now turning my thoughts to the West Indies, viz: Jamaica—for which place I will probably, in some weeks, set out. I shall write you from thence what berth I get (as I go out upon venture) & how I agree with the Climate.


The inclosed is for a Nephew of Mr. Robert Donaldson's, who keeps a wareroom at the Angel Inn, a very agreeable young lad. If you can be anyhow serviceable to him in his way, I should take it as a favour done myself. Please be so good as to send it to him.

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<sup>18</sup>Document A 308.45 Ibid.

Water. Raised  
by a Small Pump.

ERSKINE'S PUMP



the Quantity of  
by Erskine's  
when Constructed  
for Domestic Use.

PISTONS MADE BY M<sup>rs</sup> COLLIER

WESTMINSTER BRIDGE STREET

As One Cubic Inch of Water weighs 255 Grains (above half an Ounce Averdupoise)  
 One Cubic Foot 62 1/2 Pounds (or 1000 Ounces) Averdupoise.

One Gal. water mea- sure	Cub. In. 1728	W. P. S. 33	The Length of the Stroke of this Pump is commonly 6 Inches.	One Foot of Pipe 2 Inches Bore Contains	Cub. In. 37 1/7	Weight Dec. Lib. Dec. 1. 2. 8. 1
One Hogshead 63 Gal. S. 2	1081	331	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <math>\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 100 \\ 100 \\ 100 \end{array} \right.</math> </div> <div>             Strokes P<sup>r</sup> Minute will Raise a column of           </div> <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <math>\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 15 \\ 20 \\ 30 \\ 45 \\ 60 \end{array} \right.</math> </div> </div>	D <sup>o</sup> 2 1/2	58. 9	2. 2 14
One Ton (Hogsheads, 41)	2124	2124		D <sup>o</sup> 3	84. 8	3. 1. 16

By multiplying the Cubic Inches in a Foot of any given Pipe, by the number of Feet or Length of the Column of Water raised in a Minute you have the Cubic Inches raised in a Minute; Dividing therefore the Cubic Inches by 231 Reduces them to Gallons &c. &c. &c.

as in the Following TABLE.

Diameter of Pipes in Inches	Length of the Co- lumn produced by the turns of the Handle.		Cub. Inch <sup>s</sup> in D <sup>o</sup>	Making in Gallons nearly	Averdupoise Weight nearly	Mechanical Advan- tage is Com <sup>d</sup> as 1 to 12 there reduced w <sup>th</sup> with the addition of 1/4 for the Friction is nearly	Minutes & Seconds in raising a Hogshead	Number of Hogsheads raised in an hour.
	N <sup>o</sup> Turns	Feet						
2	30	15	5055	2 1/2	20 7 3/4	2 10	23 24	2 2/3
	40	20	754	3 1/4	27 5 1/2	2 13 1/10	19 23	3 3/4
	60	30	1134	5 1/2	41 11 1/4	4 1 1/10	12 30	4 1/2
	90	45	1696	7 1/2	62 9 1/4	6 6	8 23	7 1/2
	120	60	2262	10	83 7 1/2	8 10	6 18	9 1/2
2 1/2	30	15	8835	3 3/4	25 12	2 10 6/10	16 34	3 1/2
	40	20	1378	5 3/4	45 2	4 11	10 3	5 1/2
	60	30	1767	7 3/4	64	6 12	8 13	7 1/2
	90	45	2636	11 1/2	96	10	5 28	11 1/2
	120	60	3511	15 1/2	128	13 8	4 7	14 1/2
3	30	15	1272	5 1/2	46 1	4 11	10 23	4 1/2
	40	20	1696	7 1/2	64 7	6 7	8 37	5 1/2
	60	30	2511	10 1/2	91 12 1/2	9 12	7 13	7 1/2
	90	45	3316	15 1/2	127 10 3/4	14 12	5 19	10 1/2
	120	60	5088	20	183 9	19 8	4 32	21 1/2



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Long winter evenings in coffee houses or taverns afford wonderful opportunities—either for dissipation or self-improvement and study. Nothing which I have discovered among Erskine's papers conveys the impression that he was given to excesses, or fond of "Bohemian" frolics and revelry—although he used liquor in moderation, and mayhap the then-respected decanter provided inspiration for many a midnight hour. As a draughtsman he was exceedingly clever. In proof of this statement the accompanying specimen of his pictorial ability is reproduced.<sup>19</sup> Whether or not the "Platometer" was practical in operation I cannot say. The original drawing is appended to a sheet of similar size giving detailed particulars as to construction, etc., whereupon Erskine says:

The use of the PLATOMETER is to find the Latitude and variation of the Needle at Sea; at any time of the day, by two observations of the Sun; at any time of the night by taking the altitude of two known fixed stars at the same time.

It may be that Erskine soon began to take a particular interest in stars, for I am convinced that 1765 turned out to be the year of his marriage, and it has been said that "star-gazing" is one of the prerogatives of lovers. To my readers, as to myself likewise, Robert Erskine's wife may only be known as "Elizabeth." All search as to her maiden surname has, thus far, been fruitless. And the only clue as to the date of the marriage is given by one of Erskine's own letters (dated London, June 10, 1768) to Mr. Fisher of Glasgow (an uncle, and the father of Ralph, above referred to), in which he gives an affecting account of his bereavement in the loss of an exceedingly sweet child, "almost two years old," who died of whooping-cough the 23d of April preceding; and subjoins most delightful expressions of Christian resignation and hope.<sup>20</sup>

Of Mrs. Erskine herself, who appears to have been a kind and good wife, many references will appear from time to time as our story progresses, but of this first great sorrow which came into the little family no mention is ever thereafter made—save that, in an inventory of Erskine's effects, taken shortly after his death, this significant item appears: "One little bed for Sarah"! No other children were granted by Providence to the Erskines, and it would

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<sup>19</sup>Document A 308.40 E—Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>See Rev. Donald Fraser's "Life and Diary" of Rev. Ralph Erskine.



## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

seem that the tiny crib, brought with them to America, was a constantly treasured memento of the little lamb taken to the "upper fold."

The year 1765 meant much to Erskine professionally. On May 14th, he records the results of experiments with his Centrifugal Hydraulic Engine made at Woolwich Dock (London) in which it was demonstrated that it was far superior to the old chain pump turned by winches.<sup>21</sup> On Jan. 18th, 1766, he gave another demonstration at Woolwich, aboard "his Majesty's ship Princess Mary," before "a number of eminent gentlemen," several of whom signed a statement in proof of the fact that Erskine's engine was almost 30% more efficient than the old-time pumps.<sup>22</sup>

The date of Feb. 27, 1766, is noted in these pages merely as another milestone in Erskine's checkered career, because on that day he completed an elaborate specification as to ways and means for increasing the fall in the River Colme at "Hubbart's Mill."<sup>23</sup> This stream is one of the picturesque waterways of the shire or county of Essex, some fifty miles to the northeast of London town. Whether Erskine's carefully worked-out scheme was put into execution in this instance is a matter of conjecture, but from the following letter, written at London, Sept. 16th, 1766, it is quite evident that his professional services were ere long availed of by persons of high estate.<sup>24</sup>

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>, the Earl of Litchfield, 8 Detchley, Oxfordshire.

My Lord:—

I beg leave to lay before your Lordship the result of my Calculations, with respect to your Horse Engine, and a Machine for the Oxford Hospital.

The mean weight to be raised by the Horse, as the Engine is at present, is 264 pounds, exclusive of Friction:

The Quantity of water raised in one revolution of the Great wheel is 4 Gallons and 3 Quarts; if the horse then, makes one revolution and an half in a minute, the Quantity thrown up in that time, supposing no waste at the Pistens, is 7 Galls. & a pint.

By the alteration I proposed, of Cranks, instead of Rollers, &c.,

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<sup>21</sup>Document A 308.45 B—N. J. Hist. Society, Newark.

<sup>22</sup>Document A 308.46 A—Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Document A 308.46 C—New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.

<sup>24</sup>Document A 308.46 J—Ibid.—Other papers of this period, preserved in this collection of manuscripts, show that Erskine had severable notable patrons—among them "the Right Honorable the Earl of Bute."—Ed.



REPRODUCTION OF A WASH DRAWING MADE BY ERSKINE WHILE IN ENGLAND ILLUSTRATING HIS "PLATOMETER"



## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

the Friction will not only be considerably diminished, but the mean weight reduced to 105 pounds, and the Quantity raised, at a moderate Calculation, will be about 10 Gallons in a minute.

The two Cisterns at the Oxford hospital, hold 16 Tons and 38 Gallons, or 8 Tons 19 Galls. each; the Machine to supply these, will stand, I think, most Conveniently, in a corner of one of the Rooms on the ground Floor, immediately under that Cistern next the Well; the water being conveyed to the Machine by a lead pipe laid under ground into the Well; and from it, by an other Pipe running right up the Corner, to the Cistern above; A Communication between the two Cisterns may be made, by carrying a pipe from one to the other, along the upper Corner of the long passage on the second Floor.

The machine I propose will raise three Tons an hour, or fill both Cisterns in Six; and as the Mechanical advantage gained by the Machinery reduces the resistance at the handle to 15 pounds, it may be easily worked by one man; and will cost about 40 Guineas, exclusive of Lead pipe, which can be done at Oxford.

I have given Mr. Cole orders about the Small Machine for the back Stairs, which shall be finished as soon as possible; and if your Lordship chooses the Particular Calculations on which the foregoing Conclusions are founded, I shall take pleasure in giving all the satisfaction in my power; tho I could not presume to trouble you further at present by swelling this letter to an unnecessary length. I beg leave therefore to Subscribe myself

With the Greatest Respect

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obliged  
and Most Obedt. hum<sup>le</sup> Servt.

ROBT. ERSKINE.

Robert Erskine, as the natural result of his professional labors, soon began to interest himself in public affairs and civic improvements. Among his papers<sup>25</sup> there are several voluminous "original drafts" of letters which he contrived to publish; most of which are—unfortunately—without date. The subject matter, in general, concerns rivers and tides, with arguments for their more efficient utilization and control. The Rev. Archibald Hall, in a letter to Mr. Fisher of Glasgow, dated London, July —, 1770,<sup>26</sup> refers to one of these productions. He says:

Mr. Robert Erskine and Mrs. Erskine are very well. He has lately published an Essay upon the effect of bridges and abutments in rivers to cause shoals, dedicated to the late Lord Mayor, William

<sup>25</sup>At the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.

<sup>26</sup>Printed in Rev. Donald Fraser's "Life and Diary" of Rev. Ralph Erskine.



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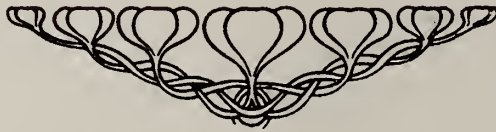
Beckford, Esquire, which is thought by good judges to be a very ingenious performance. The City of London has the improvement of the river Thames in contemplation just now. It is hoped this seasonable discovery of the author's fine genius will recommend him to some useful place in forming and executing their schemes to that effect.

The "*London Chronicle*" was one of the favored vehicles by means of which Erskine found an outlet for his effusions. While hydraulic engineering projects were uppermost in his mind, he seems likewise to have been keenly alive to anything and everything tending to better existing social conditions, or to ameliorate inconvenience and suffering—of which, Heaven knows, there was aplenty in the eighteenth century. One of his most interesting letters to the printer of the "*Chronicle*" concerns "a method of treating the Small Pox, which the voice of Humanity demands should be universally known."<sup>27</sup>

And so Erskine plodded along, manfully making his way, in blissful unconsciousness of a chain of contemporary events which—proceeding apace—were ultimately destined to re-shape his carefully laid plans in a most extraordinary manner.

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<sup>27</sup>Item No. 308.57 C—"Erskine Papers," N. J. Hist. Society, Newark.



We whose names are hereunder subscribed do Certify that  
that with a number of Gentlemen and others, we were present on board  
his Majesty's ship Princess Mary at Woolwich, when the Centrifugal Engine  
was tried against the Chain pump, there being ten stout men at each; the  
result of which experiment was,

The Engine in ten minutes raised fourteen tons, and thru quartern

The Chain pump in the same time eleven tons and three eighths.

We further certify that this Chain pump, was in every good order,  
because, during the whole ten minutes spelt, it worked quite smooth, without  
the least sticking or catching of the chain; the it was moved with the velocity  
of about fifty eight turns of the handle in a minute. Also that with  
eight men the Engine raised seven tons in ten minutes. Attest our  
hands. London 18th January 1766.

John Annet Surgeon General  
Genl. Swinton Secretary, Fleet

John Hunt, Captain, Ship

Edw. Ruck, Barrick Porter

John Nelson, John Kimball, John Harris

A. B. The above first signal Engine invented by Mr. Erskine,  
was the first of the kind ever invented, it is now very much improved.

There is at present to be seen at Mr. John's at Westminster Bridge,  
where a small machine, made by a Jamaica merchant man, which  
with four ordinary hands, throws out 100 Gallons in a minute,  
the the Piston's Radius's are only One foot and an half, so that  
the stroke is a foot and a half, and about a foot.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE ROMANCE OF THE RINGWOOD MINES

In 1763 an enterprise which was destined vitally to affect the industrial history of the American Colonies had its beginning in London. In that year there was formed a strange partnership under the name of Hasenclever, Seton and Crofts, with a joint capital of £21,000. Ostensibly these gentlemen were merchants, but Peter Hasenclever,<sup>28</sup> the leading spirit of the concern, aspired to be much more. In his fertile brain lay dreams, not of dusty counting-houses, but of vast world-wide commercial monopolies. Accordingly he turned toward America as a profitable field for exploitation, and ere long induced such eminent and respectable persons as Major General Greene, Commodore Forest and George Jackson, Secretary of the Admiralty, each to agree to expend from £10,000 to £40,000 in the production of pig iron, hemp, potash, etc., in North America. This contract was made in January, 1764, and by June of that year Hasenclever had reached New York, eager to begin active operations. Already he had made arrangements with his agents in Germany for a supply of workmen who might shortly be expected to arrive, and he was naturally much concerned as to the matter of immediately finding or establishing an enterprise worthy of his talents. It is uncertain whether he knew, at the outset, just what he wanted; certainly he had not the least idea *where* he would inaugurate operations. Thus, at the very beginning of his career in America we see a rashness and want of calculation which it is difficult to understand. It is an axiom, however, that when one is determined upon spending money, some seemingly opportune way will easily be

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<sup>28</sup>A very interesting account of the life and work of Peter Hasenclever is given in a little brochure by Henry A. Homes, LL.D., being an address read by him in 1874 before the Albany Institute. There is a copy in the New York Public Library. Prof. Homes' original source of information was Hasenclever's own booklet of 97 pages, published at London in 1773, in which, under the title "The Remarkable Case of Peter Hasenclever," he tells his life story and defends his actions in America, appealing to the British Parliament for redress. Of this monograph one copy is in the archives of the N. Y. State Library at Albany, and two copies, to my knowledge, are privately owned. Peter Hasenclever was born in Remscheid in the Rhenish provinces of Germany, in 1716. In early life he had been a partner in a mercantile house at Cadiz, in Spain. On account of the climate, which was unfavorable to his wife's health, he went to London in the year 1763, where she had been living since 1757. (See also footnote No. 39.)



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found. So it proved in the case of Hasenclever. For him and his confiding co-investors, the Ringwood iron mines lay awaiting. And again it is necessary to turn back the pages of history (in this instance to delve into some unfamiliar chronicles of the province of New Jersey).

The story of the Ringwood iron mines and furnaces is closely interwoven with that of the early workings for ore at Sterling, Long Pond, Charlotteburg, Hibernia and the numerous enterprises of similar character in Bergen and Morris Counties of New Jersey, and of Rockland County, New York. Undoubtedly, the credit for the original exploitation of the mineral wealth of this region belongs to Cornelius Board, who somewhere about 1737,<sup>29</sup> began operations at Ringwood. The various early records, pieced together, result in a fairly complete narrative.

Copper had been discovered in the neighborhood of Belleville, prior to 1720. Members of the New Jersey branch of the Schuyler family were rapidly attaining affluence because of the rich yield of ore from their property on the ridge between the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers. Cornelius Board, a Welsh miner, came to America in 1730,<sup>30</sup> as the representative of a rival interest seeking other deposits of copper at Bloomfield.<sup>31</sup> When this expectation came to naught, he continued prospecting on his own account, but with a similar lack of success. He then went to the "Little Falls" of the Passaic, secured some land<sup>32</sup> and put up a grist mill. After that, hearing from the Indians that there was iron ore in the Pompton Mountains, he and a companion, led through the wilderness by the redmen, went to the head of the Ringwood River (where is now Sterling Lake) and erected a small furnace for the manufacture of iron. Doubtless this was the original iron furnace in the region.<sup>33</sup> Board himself soon settled a few miles to the south of Sterling Lake at "Ringwood," being in all probability the founder of this industrial hamlet in the heart of the Jersey hills near the New York State line. As to the origin of its name, there is much doubt. Certainly it

<sup>29</sup>*Proceedings of the N. J. Historical Society*; article, "The History of Iron in All Ages": (1891) . . . . "He (Cornelius Board) . . . . bought in 1737 several tracts along the Wanaque and Ringwood Rivers, evidently for the iron in them, and for water power"

<sup>30</sup>Under the history of the Board Family in "Five Colonial Families," p. 918, we find: . . . . "James Board, son of Cornelius, came to America in 1730, with his father and brothers (David and Joseph).

<sup>31</sup>*Proceedings of the N. J. Historical Society*, Vol. IV, "New Series," Nos. 1-4; page 66; (1919).

<sup>32</sup>The *Proprietary Records of Deeds* at Perth Amboy, N. J., state that . . . . "Cornelius Board, on the 17th of August, 1732, bought 150 acres of land, at the little falls at Pisaack. . . . James Alexander, Surveyor General."

<sup>33</sup>During the war of the Revolution, the *Sterling Furnace*, evidently much enlarged, was operated by the Noble Brothers, and turned out its quota of iron for the struggling armies of the United States.

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is "ringed about" with heavily wooded mountains; but it is conjectured that one of the several "Ringwoods" in the British Isles, (possibly well known to Board or his fellow pioneers) suggested the name.

In 1740,<sup>34</sup> Board disposed of his holdings at Ringwood to a syndicate of Newark and New York capitalists, who formed themselves into the first "Ringwood Company,"<sup>35</sup> securing additional land and greatly increasing the output of the mines and the product of the furnaces. They were both miners and makers of pig-metal. Many of the lesser iron-masters of these days confined themselves to mining only—in which case the ore was transported to the low country to be smelted—others engaged merely in making of pigs and ingots from the ore which they purchased from the mine owners. The laws of Great Britain did not encourage more than this in the colonies. The pigs of metal were supposed to be carried overseas to the old country for manufacture into commodities of commerce. For such finished utensils, of course, the American subjects of the Crown paid a fat price, when their own American iron came again to these shores as English merchandise.

The Ringwood Company continued operations for nearly a quarter of a century, but in 1764—possibly because of some dissatisfaction among the owners—the property was offered for sale. In these days purchasers of large enterprises were difficult to find—for Colonial "capitalists" were few and far between, and were, as a rule, ultra-conservative. So the Ringwood Company had recourse to advertising.

In the "*New York Mercury*" of March 5th, 1764, appeared the

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<sup>34</sup>The records in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton say . . . . "Cornelius Board and Elizabeth his wife, gave a deed, April 15th, 1740, to Josiah Ogden and others, of 16 acres of land at Ringwood. Witness, James Board." The consideration was £63; (this was probably but one of several parcels conveyed by Board). In Ruttenber & Clark's "*History of Orange County, N. Y.*," it is stated that "Cornelius Board and his sons owned some fifteen hundred acres of land in the Pompton Valley."

<sup>35</sup>The names of some of the worthies who constituted the "Ringwood Company" have come down to us. There were Colonel Josiah Ogden, John Ogden Jr., David Ogden Sr., David Ogden Jr., and Uzal Ogden; as well as Nicholas and Samuel Gouverneur. Of these, Josiah Ogden (1679-1763) was the most famous, being one of the prominent and influential men of Newark, N. J. From 1716 to 1721 he represented his community in the General Assembly of the province. He was one of the pillars of the local Presbyterian Church, but later withdrew, to form—with the co-operation of some of his neighbors—the first Episcopal Church in Newark, now known as Trinity. Uzal (1705-1780), John Jr. (1709-1795) and David Jr. (1711-1750) were the sons of David Ogden Sr. who was a brother of the Colonel. The former was one of the magistrates of Essex County, N. J. (1743-1762), and later sheriff; John, known as "Judge Ogden of Newark," was a lawyer and magistrate, and—in Revolutionary days—a patriot who suffered much at the hands of the Tories and British; of David Jr. little is known save that he married a daughter of his uncle Josiah.

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following notice, which undoubtedly referred to the Ringwood property:

*To be Sold:*—a new, well built furnace; good iron mines near the same; two forges—one with three, the other with two fires—a sawmill, several dwelling houses and coal-houses; and several tracts of land adjoining; carts, waggons, utensils, and tools proper for the works. The furnaces and forges are situated on a good stream 28 miles from Acquackanung landing<sup>36</sup> and 36 from Newark. Whoever inclines to purchase the same may apply to Nicholas Gouverneur in New York; or to David Ogden Sen'r, Samuel Gouverneur and David Ogden, Jr., at Newark, who will agree for the same.

In all probability it was this announcement which attracted the eye and attention of Peter Hasenclever, who was looking for exactly such a proposition. At any rate, Hasenclever soon possessed himself of the property and its equipment; for on the 5th of July, 1764, the Ringwood Company sold "to Peter Hasenclever," a London merchant, for £5,000, all of the company's lands at Ringwood. In the same year Hasenclever obtained patents for 5,000 acres severally at Ringwood, Long Pond, and "Charlottenburg" (Charlotteburg)—in all 15,000 acres. This land gave promise of great mineral wealth, and was so abundantly wooded as to insure an inexhaustible supply of charcoal.

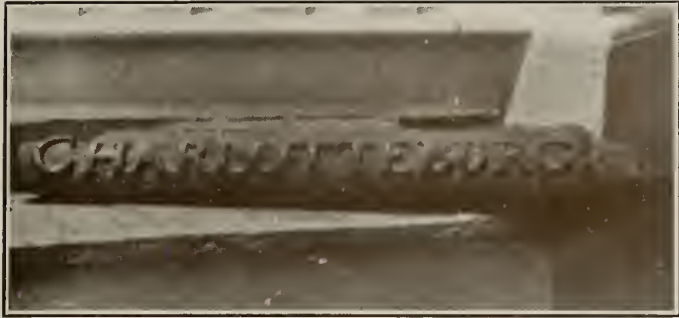
These purchases, and the consequent activities inaugurated by the ambitious adventurer from abroad, caused the London syndicate to denominate its new-found colonial investment "The American Iron Company," and thus it remained officially for upward of twenty years; although to the American public, and to everyone referring to it from that day to this, the title of "The London Company" has seemed all-sufficient.

Hasenclever now plunged heart and soul into a turmoil of business, not only giving his attention to Ringwood, but scattering his means and energies broadcast in a debauch of investment the like of which was never before known in America. By November of 1764, hundreds of his immigrants had arrived from the fatherland with their families—miners, farmers and mechanics aplenty; in fact so numerous were they that Hasenclever was, for a time, at his wit's end to know what provision to make for their distribution and main-

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<sup>36</sup>Sometimes written "Acquackanonck." This locality is now known as "Passaic Park," and is located upon the Passaic River, just south of the city of Passaic, N. J.





PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PIG OR INGOT OF CHARLOTTE-  
BURG IRON, FOUND NEAR THE SITE OF THE OLD  
IRON-WORKS BY THE SUPERINTENDENT  
OF THE NEWARK RESERVOIR



THE RINGWOOD RIVER, PASSAIC COUNTY,  
NEW JERSEY

Near the spot where stood formerly the old forges  
of the American Iron Company. The "residency" occupied  
by Peter Hasenclever and later by Robert Erskine stood  
behind the trees in the left distance.





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tenance. Yet such was the energy of this sanguine man that he was soon making iron at Ringwood, having rehabilitated the decayed plant with remarkable celerity. In August, 1765, he purchased a ship at New York, which he loaded for London with iron, furs and timber—and potash to the amount of five hogsheads. The iron and potash had been manufactured by the company's workmen. So superior was his iron that it was pronounced by his partners in London to be “. . . the best drawn which had ever made its appearance on the London market from America” . . .

Within a year from the time of his coming to America Hasenclever had imported from Germany 535 persons, including women and children, whom he had scattered over the 50,000 acres of land which he had purchased in the provinces of New York and New Jersey for the fulfilment of the various schemes by which he hoped to enrich himself and his employers.

At the end of the next year, 1766, he had in operation four furnaces and seven forges in New Jersey and New York; besides a pot and pearl-ash manufactory on the Mohawk River; and had built stores, work-shops and dwelling houses to the number of 235, in addition to dams for thirteen mill ponds, ten bridges, and many miles of roads. He is said to have examined in all fifty-three mines, of which however only seven proved sufficiently rich in ore to be profitable. In the short space of two years Hasenclever spent, according to his own admission, £54,600 on account of the company—being £14,000 more than the amount for which his associates ever pledged themselves to be responsible.

Hasenclever established his headquarters at Ringwood, where he lived in almost regal elegance—the traditions of his equipages, his numerous servants, and his dinner service of gold plate being still current in the region of the Jersey Hills. As “Baron Hasenclever” he remains one of the half-legendary characters of generations ago; and while the local histories of the communities where he lavished his money make little or no mention of him in their chronicles, his memory is perpetuated today by the Hasenclever Mountains in Herkimer County, N. Y.; in the title of the Hasenclever land patents; and in the “Hasenclever Iron Mines” in Rockland County, N. Y., although the latter have long since been abandoned.

A gentleman spending money so lavishly as did Hasenclever most naturally acquired influential friends. Chief among Hasen-

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clever's patrons was Sir William Johnson,<sup>37</sup> the Lord of the Mohawk Valley. Through the co-operation of General Gage and Sir Henry Moore, the governor of New York province, Hasenclever was enabled to secure extensive rights from Johnson. Hence we find record of his pot and pearl-ash establishment at New Petersburg, near the German Flats, on the Mohawk—where he had built two frame houses and thirty-four log huts, and had begun a fine settlement for the cultivation of hemp, flax and madder. The "Hasenclever Patent,"<sup>38</sup> in Herkimer County, embraced some 18,000 acres; and he had, besides, upward of 40,000 acres in Nova Scotia, although it is doubtful whether the latter were ever utilized. In connection with General Gage and Philip Schuyler of Albany, Hasenclever also acquired an interest in 11,500 acres of land on Lake Champlain, north of Crown Point, presumably because of supposed mineral resources. Hasenclever was a frequent visitor at "Johnson Hall," so famous in colonial annals; and Sir William became an equal partner with him in the potash manufacturing scheme, although he had the good sense to demur when it came to a participation in other and more visionary projects of the erstwhile "London merchant."

Unluckily for Hasenclever, he was by no means his own master; nor was he able indefinitely to borrow funds without making some repayment. His promissory notes and bills became due, and his principals (alarmed at his extravagance) refused to countenance further outlays or to invest additional funds. Hence, the credit side of his accounts showing little in his favor, he came shortly to the end of his rope. Although his iron was good, very little had been sent over to England. Freshets carried away his dams (one of which was 860 feet long and twelve feet high), and roads and bridges had, consequently, to be rebuilt. Some of the ore which he had mined was too sulphurous; he quarreled with his potash manu-

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<sup>37</sup>The "*Johnson Manuscripts*" at the N. Y. State Library (Albany) include a series of letters written by Peter Hasenclever to Sir William Johnson, 1765 to 1770, with copies of two of the latter's replies to Hasenclever, and one letter written by Hasenclever to Gen. Thomas Gage. In the latter, the writer asks Gage (the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America) to use his good offices with Johnson, in order to permit Hasenclever to obtain land grants and rights for establishing settlements in the Mohawk Valley and lands adjacent. Hasenclever's letters to Johnson are mostly concerning these schemes, although he discusses politics, history and industry with equal breadth of vision and flow of rhetoric. These manuscript letters were badly burned in consequence of a fire at the Albany Capitol in 1911, and are now all but ruined.

<sup>38</sup>This land, in the towns of Herkimer and Newport (afterwards Schuyler) was originally a part of a large purchase of 140,000 acres, made from the Indians by Gov. Moore and Sir Wm. Johnson.

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facturer; his hemp seed failed to "spring up and bear fruit"—and troubles came thick and fast. In October, 1766, he learned that Seton, one of his original partners, had been declared a bankrupt, and forthwith journeyed to England. He succeeded, somehow or other, in making an arrangement with his solvent co-adventurers for the continued prosecution of mining in America, and came again to New York in 1768. But the latter end of the business was worse than the beginning, Hasenclever's difficulties increased and the output lessened (if such a thing were possible). Finally, all of his bills having been protested and his credit ruined, he once more proceeded (in 1769) to London, never again to return to American shores. In his own defence, Hasenclever stated that he had been unfairly treated, and—himself being declared a bankrupt in 1770—attributed this crowning calamity to the clandestine machinations of the other members of the syndicate which he represented.<sup>39</sup>

The extent and character of the property belonging to the American Iron Company at the time of Hasenclever's recall may best be learned from the report submitted by the four appraisers who, in 1768, at the command of Governor William Franklin of New Jersey (acting upon Hasenclever's request—in order that he might be able to justify his proceedings before the English Courts), made an exhaustive examination of the works at Ringwood, Long Pond and Charlotteburg, for the purpose of ascertaining how well and judiciously Hasenclever had fulfilled his stewardship. Their verdict was an unqualified "well done."

May I preface the same by saying that the spelling "Charlottenburg" is an error—a generally used corruption of "Charlotteburg"; this name (which had been bestowed upon the smallest of Hasenclever's New Jersey iron works)—being an honor paid to Queen Charlotte, the royal partner of George II. The Ringwood forges were contiguous to the "residency" of the general manager on the Ringwood River; the Long Pond works were located on the present Wanaque River (the outlet of Greenwood Lake) near the

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<sup>39</sup>The subsequent career of Hasenclever is very interesting. The most complete account of his life is that recently published (1922) by Prof. Adolf Hasenclever, of Halle University, Saxony, entitled "*Peter Hasenclever, a German Merchant of the 18th Century*." He recouped his fortunes, became a successful merchant of Landeshut, and a highly respected friend of Frederick the Great. He died June 13, 1793; and his tomb is still to be seen at Landeshut. (Prof. Adolph Hasenclever's work is—of course—printed in the German language, but is a valuable reference book as throwing many sidelights on the history of Colonial America.)



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modern hamlet of Hewitt; while the Charlotteburg establishment lay some ten miles to the southwest, beyond Federal Hill, on what is now the Pequannock River.<sup>40</sup>

To the visitor of today, Charlotteburg is in very fact a "deserted village." Where once a thriving industrial community existed, wildest Nature has again come into her own. The turbulent rivulet plunges through the remains of a crumbling dam; weeds and rank vegetation fill the course of the ancient sluice-way, and copper-heads bask undisturbed in the sunlight where, in the days of yore, the ponderous trip-hammer rose and fell with measured cadence. If, however, you happen to be possessed of a keenly curious mind and will make sufficient inquiry, you may see, at a house a half-mile distant, a very interesting relic of pre-Revolutionary days in the shape of a bar of Hasenclever's pig iron, unearthed in the vicinity, bearing thereon the moulded word "CHARLOTTEBURG."

The following is the report of the committee of investigation:<sup>41</sup>

To His Excellency, the Honorable William Franklin:  
Sir:—

In compliance with your Excellency's request, communicated to us by letter of the 27th of June last, we proceeded on Monday the 2nd inst. to view the iron works erected by Peter Hasenclever, Esq., within this province; and began with those of Charlottenburg on the west branch of the Pequannock River, which is the boundary between the counties of Morris and Bergen. We there found a very fine blast furnace, erected in 1767, and now nearly finished; this we think one of the best pieces of the kind we ever saw in America. The Dams and water-ways, the casting-house, bellows-house, wheel-house, ton-house, coal-house, etc., are all well contrived, and executed in a workmanlike manner; here are also a number of dwelling houses, store houses, workshops, and stables, necessary and convenient to the works: also a good saw mill. This furnace, when in blast, is capable of making from twenty to twenty-five ton of pig iron a week and can be worked at a small expense, as there is plenty of wood and ore at hand, and need never stop for want of water at any season of the year. On the same stream, about three miles lower is a very fine forge and four fires, and two hammers for convert-

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<sup>40</sup>Today none of these furnaces or forges are in operation. At Ringwood *mining* has been carried on continuously for almost one hundred and ninety years, but the present owners forward the ore to smelters in Pennsylvania. The Long Pond and Charlotteburg Works have been abandoned for generations, the latter property being now embraced within the reservation from which the city of Newark draws its potable water supply.

<sup>41</sup>"New Jersey Archives," First Series, Vol. 28, page 247, et seq.

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ing pig iron into bar iron, and is—according to the information received from the overseer and workmen—capable of making 250 tons of bar iron yearly, single handed, and from 300 to 350 tons double handed. The Dam here is upwards of 20 ft. high and is remarkably substantial and well secured. Here are also the necessary coal-houses, dwelling-houses, store-houses, workshops, and stables. About a mile lower down the stream is another forge of the same dimensions and capability with the last; with all the necessary buildings. About half-a-mile lower down is another saw-mill, capable of sawing 1,000 ft. of plank per diem. All these works together are comprehended under the general name of Charlottenburg, and on the whole consist of one furnace, two double forges, two saw mills, three very large coal-houses, three blacksmith's shops, six large frame dwelling houses, filled in with brick and clay, thirty-seven good and comfortable log-houses, besides a number of smaller houses in the woods for wood-cutters and colliers.

This work appears to us to have every natural convenience necessary to make them profitable, and they seem to have been improved with judgment and to the best advantage. Every part of them is well supplied with abundance of excellent wood for coaling, they are situated on a fine lively stream, which at most seasons is sufficient to keep all the works employed, and in times of very great droughts it is so contrived that the natural stream may have an addition of water from two large natural ponds of some miles in circumference, called the Makapin<sup>42</sup> and Dunken ponds, in which the water is dammed up, and raised several feet above the natural surface, and have flood-gates to let off any quantity of water which at any time shall be thought necessary for carrying on the works. The roads which have been made here, we apprehend, have been very expensive. Places which before were inaccessible, even to horsemen (on account of the steepness of the rocks and mountains), are now good carriage roads, but this expense was absolutely necessary to enable them to carry off the iron to market, to have access to their woods and mines, and to a fine grain country from whence they are supplied with provisions, and to open a communication between the works.

From Charlottenburg we proceeded about 13 miles to Ringwood, situate on a more northerly branch of Pequannoc River (which is called Ringwood River) and is in Bergen County. Here we were told were formerly the iron works belonging to a company from whom Mr. Hasenclever purchased,<sup>43</sup> but very little of them remains now to be seen, the present works being entirely new. Here we found first a blast furnace with nearly the same dimensions with that of Charlottenburg, and capable of making about the same

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<sup>42</sup>Modern Macopin and Dunker Ponds.

<sup>43</sup>The first Ringwood Company (the Ogdens and Gouverneurs).

## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

quantity of pig-iron. This furnace is not at present in blast, but may soon be so, as there is nothing wanting but the finishing of a hearth (which was putting in). Within fifty yards of this furnace stands a very good forge of three fires and two hammers, and a stamping mill for separating the iron from the cinder in the old cinder bank—which we were informed is a profitable work—and at about five hundred yards above the furnace stands another very fine forge of four fires and two hammers, and also a very good saw mill. About half-a-mile below the furnace is another forge of two fires and one hammer and a very good grist mill; and about two miles lower down the same stream is also another forge of two fires and one hammer. At each of these forges and at the furnaces are the necessary coal-houses and dwelling-houses for the workmen; and near the furnace is a large dwelling-house for the Manager or Chief Clerk,<sup>44</sup> also a new brick house for a store, etc., a large stone house and ovens; and, for various other uses, eight frame houses, four log-houses, four barracks, two blacksmith shops, one powder magazine, one large horse stable and carpenter's shop, besides sixteen other log-houses in the woods, for wood cutters and colliers. The furnace, when in full blast, is capable of making 25 tons of pig iron per week, which—with good management—may be at least nine months in the year. The forges, like those at Charlottenburg, are capable of making yearly 250 tons of bar iron single-handed, or 300 to 350 tons double handed; at each four fires, of which there are, in all, eleven. These works were formerly liable, in droughts, to be in want of water, so that it has sometimes happened that the works were obliged to stand still for several weeks, at the best season of the year for working; but this defect is now entirely remedied, by an immense Reservoir in which the water is collected in rainy seasons in such proportions as is found necessary to supply the deficiency of the natural stream of the Ringwood River. The Reservoir is a pond called "Toxito" Pond,<sup>45</sup> about 3 miles long and near 1 mile broad. It formerly emptied itself into the Ramapough River;<sup>46</sup> but by an immense dam, 860 ft. long and from 12 to 22 ft. high, the natural outlet is stopped up, and the water raised to such a height as to take its course with a head of ten feet high, into a long canal which conducts it into the Ringwood River.

When Mr. Hasenclever purchased the ruin of Ringwood Works, there was to all appearances plenty of good iron ore in sev-

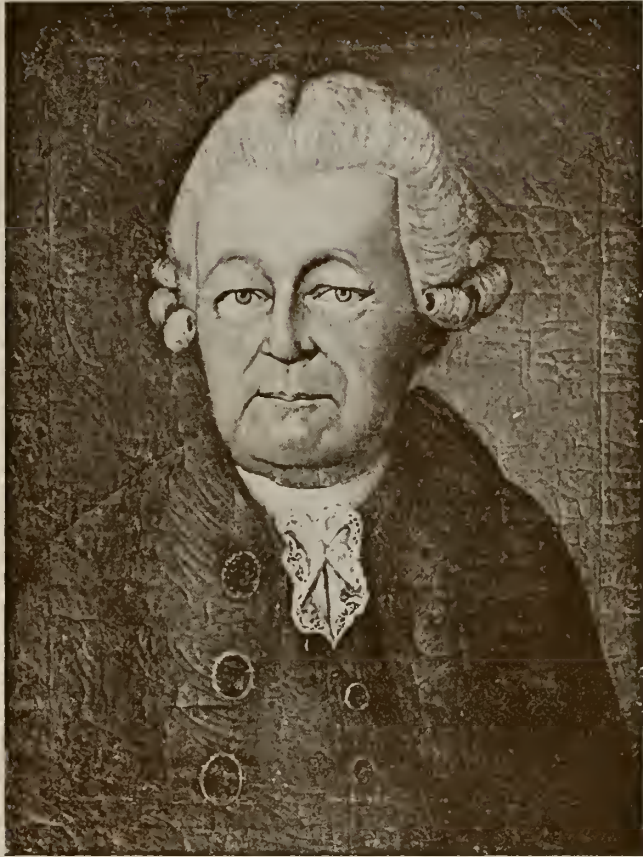
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<sup>44</sup>Hasenclever's House, later occupied by Robert Erskine.

<sup>45</sup>Tuxedo Lake, now compassed within the limits of the exclusive Tuxedo Park, N. Y. (Mr. Erskine, writing several years later, characterized this project as "extravagant, chimerical and impossible of practical working." Today, the ruins of this "canal" may be seen in several places between Tuxedo and Ringwood.)

<sup>46</sup>The Ramapough or Ramapo River flows down "Smith's Clove," parallel with the main line of the Erie Railroad, from Arden to Suffern, N. Y. It drains the other side of the mountain water-shed, and unites its waters with the Ringwood and Wanaque Rivers at Pompton.





PETER HASENCLEVER—1716-1793

(The Manager of the British-owned iron works at Ringwood, New Jersey, prior to Erskine's engagement. One of the most remarkable characters in the pre-Revolutionary history of Colonial America.)





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eral places; within a mile or two of the furnace several others have since been discovered; some of them have since worked out; some proved "coal shear,"<sup>47</sup> others have too much abounded in sulphur or copper, or had qualities which rendered the goodness of the iron dubious. But all doubt as to the quality and quantity of iron ore is now removed by draining the water off the Peter's mine (which was overflowed), and by the discovery of another mine which was first made in July, 1767, on Wales Mountain, about 1 mile and a half westward from the furnace, and since called the Good Hope mine. It has been opened in five different places on the same course, and already shows the extent of the vein for near a mile in length and in some cases 14 ft. in breadth; the quality of it we saw tried at the Long Pond works, where it made a fine tough bar-iron.

The works at Ringwood can never fail for want of coal,<sup>48</sup> as there are many thousand acres of woodland in sight of them, within a circle of two miles round. The woods, if cut regular and clean, will grow faster than they can have occasion to use it.

The making of the Roads about Ringwood must have been attended with great labor and expense, as they are very considerable ones, over rough rocky mountains to the ore beds and coal grounds, besides others for bringing provisions to the works, of several miles in extent, which in some places—through swamps and over brooks—have considerable bridges of timber.

From Ringwood we proceeded three miles south-westward to the Long Pond works, which are situated on a stream which issues out of the Long Pond and falls into Ringwood River about four miles below the furnace.

The Long Pond<sup>49</sup> is about six miles in length, and nearly two miles in breadth; across the outlet or mouth of it is a dam of 200 feet in length and about 5 ft. in height, by which the water is raised 4 ft. above its natural level; and the pond is now a never-failing resource of water for the supply of the works below in the driest season of the year. The Long Pond works are about 2 miles below the outlet of the Pond and consist of a blast furnace much like that at Charlottenburg. It is now in blast and is capable of making from twenty to twenty-five tons of pig iron per week. There is also a very fine forge of four fires and two hammers, which is capable of making as much bar-iron as either of those at Charlottenburg or Ringwood. There is also a very good saw mill. The other buildings are two large coal-houses, three frame dwelling-buildings, six log-houses, one stone house, one horse stable and one blacksmith's shop, besides smaller houses in the woods for colliers, etc. The furnace

<sup>47</sup>"Cold short" (a technical term) is possibly implied by "coal shear."

<sup>48</sup>"Charcoal" is meant whenever reference is made to "coal."

<sup>49</sup>Modern Greenwood Lake, one of the most beautiful bodies of water in the East. It lies partly in northern New Jersey, partly in southern New York, being bisected by the "state line."

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here is now supplied with ore from the Peters Mine and Good Hope Mine, at three miles distance, of which it makes excellent iron; there are other mines nearer to the works, but they cannot as yet be depended upon. The roads about the Long Pond works, like those at the other before mentioned places, have been attended with much expense and labor, as there was a necessity of carrying them, in some places, along the sides of rocky mountains and in others through deep swamps and gulleys which could not be rendered passable by bridging them with timber.

We have now finished the survey of the works erected by Mr. Hasenclever, within this province, so far as they have been shown to us. We shall subjoin a sketch of the situation of the works in order that your Excellency may the better understand our descriptions of them, and also a general table of particulars by which the whole may be seen in one view, and we would here beg leave to remark that we think that Mr. Hasenclever has made several great improvements in the iron works under his direction: he is the first person that we know of who has so greatly improved the use of the great natural ponds of this country as, by damming them, to secure reservoirs of water for the use of the iron works in dry seasons; without which the best streams are liable to fail in the great droughts we are subject to. He is also the first we know of, who has rendered the old cinder-beds of the furnaces useful and profitable; for at Ringwood he has erected a stamping mill to separate the waste iron from the cinders, by which means some hundred tons of small iron have and may be obtained, which is as good as the best pig iron. He has also made a great improvement in the construction of the furnaces, by building the in-walls of slate, which by the experience he has already had of it, will, in all probability, last many years; whereas the stones commonly made use of for that purpose seldom stood longer than a year or two and would fail in the middle of a blast.

Another improvement worth attention, we think, is the building of the stack of the furnace under roof, so as to shelter them entirely from wind and water. The forges are also greatly improved by the wheels being all made overshot, and the hammer-wheel shafts being armed with strong cast iron rings, whose arms serve as cogs to lift the hammer handle: those are also new contrivances, at least they are new in America. Mr. Hasenclever has, in several places, cleared and made some extensive pieces of meadows, which, when in order, will yield at least 2 tons of hay yearly per acre, and must be of great value in supplying the working cattle belonging to the works with fodder, especially as there is little of the upland near the works fit for raising corn, or any kind of water fodder.

On the whole, it is a matter of surprise to us to see such a number of great works of various kinds at different places executed

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in so compleat and masterly a manner, under the direction of one person in a new uninhabited country, within the short space of time that has elapsed since Mr. Hasenclever first began them, and we must have observed that the buildings of all kinds seem to us to be commodiously contrived, all of them useful and none of them unnecessary. Mr. Homfray, the present manager, and the under-managers, on being asked of us whether they thought any of them superfluous, declared that they knew of none that could be spared. We are,

Your Excellency's most humble servants,

(Signed) STIRLING

JAMES GREY

THEUNIS DEY

JOHN SCHUYLER.

Newark, July 8th, 1768.<sup>50</sup>

After reading the foregoing, one is inclined to agree with Hasenclever's contentions and to credit him with the creative powers of a genius rather than to accuse him of extravagance, mis-management and peculation. Coupled with his own assertions, this report of the Commissioners would seem to make a strong case in his favor. So indeed, was the situation regarded by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who—after protracted litigation in the English Courts—exonerated Hasenclever from any incriminating conduct.<sup>51</sup> Yet a perusal of the letter which Erskine wrote to the "*New York Mercury*" some four years later, and which will hereafter appear, throws once again, and most strongly, the light of censure upon Hasenclever's régime, and we see the situation in another complexion entirely.

One may well ask, as did the puzzled Procurator of Judea, "What is truth"? In passing judgment upon this controversy between Hasenclever and the English proprietors—between agent and owner—we are forced, in a spirit of fairness, to look at both sides of the question. Having done this, we arrive at but one conclusion, viz., that Hasenclever attempted too much. Whereas he

<sup>50</sup>Of these Commissioners, the first signatory is of course "Lord" Stirling (William Alexander of Basking Ridge, N. J., claiming to be the titular Earl of Stirling). He was one of the owners of the Hibernia Iron Mines and, in later years, one of the patriot generals upon whom Washington most relied. Grey was an iron-master of Little Falls, on the upper Passaic River; he joined the British Army at the outbreak of the Revolution and was given a captain's commission, his real estate being confiscated and sold by the patriots. Colonel Theunis Dey, a resident of Lower Preakness, was destined to go down on the pages of history because Washington, in 1780, spent several months as his guest, occupying his spacious mansion as his "headquarters near the Passaic Falls." John Schuyler was one of the proprietors of the Belleville copper mines and a cousin of the Albany Schuylers.

<sup>51</sup>"*History of Morris County*"—Lewis Historical Publishing Co. (N. Y. C.—1914.)



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should have contented himself with a moderate degree of development and taken pains to build and plan within the means at his disposal, he made the stupendous error of starting more than he could possibly hope to finish. Had he kept within bounds, co-ordinated his resources, and devoted his talents toward making money for his employers' instead of spending what he had and asking for more, he might have won for himself a place unique in the annals of early American history—a place, by the way, which will always remain unfilled—that of an eighteenth century “captain of industry.” Peter Hasenclever was the brightest exponent of “big business” known in America prior to the days of Stephen Girard, failing only because he knew not his limitations. Prof. Adolf Hasenclever, of Halle, Saxony, one of his present-day descendants, in his recently-published biography of the famous schemer, clearly demonstrates that his life, despite its vicissitudes, was not without its triumphs and compensations. But insofar as our story of Ringwood is concerned, he now passes from the scene, leaving “Mr. Homfray” (about whom little is known) working in conjunction with John Jacob Faesch, another of his managers, in the effort to keep the works moving; and awaiting further orders from England, where the stockholders were valiantly seeking a solution to what was, for them, “the great American question.”







## CHAPTER IV

### THE IRON-MASTER IN THE MAKING

The utter ruin which now threatened the American investments of the London syndicate—that body of investors who had been lured into the placing of heavy stakes on a far-away venture because of the rosy pictures painted by Hasenclever—caused them to make heroic efforts to avert the pending catastrophe. While Faesch and other subordinates were struggling with the proposition in America and attempting as best they might to prop up the crumbling structure beneath which they found themselves, the capitalists at home held many an anxious conference, and forthwith began a nation-wide search for a man fitted for the emergency.

We are utterly in the dark as to the circumstances which led them into negotiations with Robert Erskine. It is quite probable, however, that his professional work in the neighborhood of London, his private commissions for various men of nobility, and his published communications to the newspapers regarding civic improvements, had brought him a sufficient measure of recognition to attract attention. During the winter of 1769-1770 he seems to have been approached upon the subject of taking the momentous step which was to result in changing his career from that of a British inventor, engineer, and scientist to that of an American patriot. With good reason he debated with himself for many months before making the fateful decision. His final choice, at which he arrived despite many misgivings, meant for him the relinquishment of a laboriously acquired foothold upon the rungs of the ladder of success, and a sinking of his life, his name and his fortune into the uncertainties of the new world—little dreaming that he was to have a most vital part in the evolution of the great American commonwealth of the future. Had Erskine remained in his native land, there is no doubt that he would have made a name for himself. As it transpired, the choice he made brought him little in the way of personal success save the consciousness of being a servant in a righteous cause. And for this reason, it should be the greater pleasure for you and for me to perpetuate his name among those of the patriot band who



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brought our republic into being and nurtured it into complete independence.

Having determined upon his course, Erskine found it expedient to fit himself for his new sphere of activity. Although a practical engineer, skilled especially in hydraulics, he was by no means a mineralogist nor did he consider himself sufficiently informed about mines and mining. Again, he knew only the general theoretical principles governing the manufacture of iron. Considering these things, it is more than ever apparent that he was chosen because of his character. As a business man he had failed; as the head of a great industrial enterprise he was without experience. Certain it is, therefore, that he possessed some manifestly exceptional traits which appealed to those who sought to employ him.

It is not all surprising, then, that one of Erskine's first moves, after deciding for the American adventure, was to arrange a two-months' tour of inspection through the mining regions of Great Britain. From early September to the end of October, 1770, he was continuously on the trail; beginning in the rich ore-bearing hills of the Welsh-English border near Monmouth and the estuary of the River Severn, and concluding his labors at Glasgow. We are enabled to trace his itinerary with great accuracy, because of the fortunate discovery of a packet of original letters,<sup>52</sup> covering this eventful period, written by him to Richard Atkinson, of Nicholas Lane, London—one of the principals of the London syndicate for whom he was soon to begin his work in America. I cannot do better than to quote freely from this copious source of information, because Erskine tells his story in an exceedingly interesting fashion. True, the letters were written for the acknowledged purpose of recording the necessary technical and mechanical details connected with the mines, forges and furnaces which he visited (and he seems to have had them returned to him, by pre-arrangement, before coming to America), but they abound in those observations upon men and affairs which always make letter-reading a pleasure. So it is, I suppose, that the collector of autographic material comes to a very close and intimate knowledge of his favorite characters, from

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<sup>52</sup>These were preserved for over a half-century by members of the Ryerson family, who found them in the manor house at Ringwood. They are now in the possession of Mr. Erskine Hewitt, of New York City and Ringwood Manor, to whom they were sold by the author; and by whose permission they are reprinted.

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whom he would otherwise be unavoidably separated by the gulf of years.

I copy the first of the series in its entirety, as it is typical of those which follow—from some of which I must necessarily limit myself to quotations:

Monmouth, Sept. 15th, 1770.

Dear Sir:

I have seen some furnaces and forges of which I beg leave to give you an account, and that I may not omit particulars which hereafter may be useful, I hope you will excuse me, in this and future letters, for giving a detail of my observations, in the same order in which they occurred; by following this rule, tho I may mention some things trivial and of no avail, yet I shall run the less hazard of overlooking things of importance.

About 10 or 12 miles from Gloucester the redish hue of the Rocks and stones seemed to indicate that the Country abounded with Iron, and at a village called Colford about six miles from this place, I observed a boy picking stones out of a Brook, as I supposed for the purpose of making Iron, because the banks and bed of the Channel had a very ochrey appearance; the boy told me they were to be carried to the furnace at Red Brook, about two miles from this place, and which to-day I have been to inspect.

They had run off and moulded their metal about an hour and a half before I got there, the number of Pigs were about 50 and the weight two Tons and an half. The Furnace was in Blast again, and from time to time they supplied it with ore and Charcoal; but first let me describe the Bellows, which were two, worked alternately by an overshot Water Wheel about 30 feet Diam.; they were upon the Common principle of Kitchen Bellows about 14 feet long, four feet at the Greatest end, and tapered to the nozel, they were expanded about 4 feet in order to be filled with air, by means of a Lever loaded at the opposite End, and four Coggs upon the axis of the Water Wheel pushed them down, alternately, to give the Blast, which was very strong. I have got sketches of the Machinery, etc.

The furnace was about 30 feet high, the widest part was about 10 feet from the bottom; there, it was 10 feet Diam. from thence to the Top it tapered to a Yard; at the bottom where the reservoir was for the melted Iron, it was two feet Diam. the reservoir being two feet wide and a foot deep. The nozzels of the bellows were upon a Level with the surface of the reservoir, and the air entered at a hole about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Inches Diam.

The Scoria (which they send to Bristol to make Bottles) began to run off while I was there (about 12 at noon), but it would be

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three or four next morning before the reservoir would be full of Iron, to draw off.

There were several sorts of ores, which they put in at the same time together with the Charcoal: they knew when to supply the furnace, by an Iron rod about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long suspended to another in the manner of a flail; when the materials had sunk that depth, then they put in more. There were put in, first 4 baskets of Charcoal, which held, I suppose, 3 or 4 Bushels apiece, afterwards there was put in by weight, 5 large scuttlesfull of ore from the forest of Dean (this did not require roasting) nearly the same quantity of old cinders, from works which had formerly been wrought, and about two large Scuttlesfull of ore from near Neath in Wales. Samples of the Different Ores I have sent to Dr. Fordyce<sup>53</sup> by his desire, a description of which I beg leave here to subjoin, because I have not time on account of the post going off to write two letters:

- No. 1. Is Welsh Ore, some dug and some picked up on the sea shore.
- No. 2. The same Ore Roasted. (N. B. it is roasted in a Reverberatory Furnace, and is 2 or 3 hours adoin).g).
- No. 3. Forest of Dean Ore dug out of Mines there, small and very magnetical; does not require Roasting.
- No. 4. Larger pieces of the same.
- No. 5. Some curious pieces from the Forest of Dean.
- No. 6. A flux which they do not use, as they say it is too hot, and there is flux enough in the Dean Ore to answer the purpose of lime, etc.
- No. 7. Sample of Cast Iron from Red Brook furnace.
- No. 8. Ditto of Ditto which produces *Red shot* Iron.
- No. 9. Ditto of Ditto which produces *Cold shot* Iron.
- No. 10. Cast Iron from America, (they could not tell the place.)
- No. 11. Ditto from Red Brook; makes Good Bar Iron.

The samples of the American, Red shot and Cold shot Irons I had from a forge within a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Mile of this, but as they were not to-day at work I shall not have an opportunity of seeing it till Monday, when they begin to Convert pig iron into Bar. By Saturday next I shall be at Built Brecknockshire. I am

Dear Sir

Your most obliged Humble Servant,

ROBERT ERSKINE.

(P. S. I am ashamed of the inaccuracies of the above letter, but hope you will excuse them as I have not time to copy it).

On the following day, still at Monmouth, he writes, among other things:

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<sup>53</sup>Evidently the American Iron Company's mineralogist. A subsequent letter conveys the impression that he was also an iron-master, operating works in Great Britain.



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. . . I omitted in my last of yesterday, to mention that the Welsh ore, which was roasted in a Reverberatory Furnace, was done by pit coal, or as the workmen called it, stone coal . . . The workmen seemed to smile at the ignorance of the question when I asked them whether or not they could make iron from one sort of ore only, answering "No Sire" . . . I found not the least difficulty of access, and the workmen were very communicative, and a few shillings was a very agreeable present to men who, with families of 6 or 7 children, earned only 12 shillings per week. If more workmen were wanted, I suppose it would not be difficult to procure them. . . .

P. S.—The samples (of ore, etc.) will be in town next Friday. The Monmouth Waggon puts up at the George on Snow Hill.

This postscript gives us an inkling as to the manner in which Erskine forwarded his collection of specimens to London. In lieu of a parcel post system, the express business must have been a profitable side-line for the stage and omnibus drivers whose lumbering passenger vehicles traversed the old highroads of Merry England in the eighteenth century, having fixed routes and stated halting places. They also carried the mails. From the postmarks on the Erskine letters, it is evident that three or four days were required for them to reach London from the places at which he wrote. In those days few envelopes were used. Usually the letters were folded square, and securely sealed with wax. The obverse bore the address and usually a note as to the number of written pages therein, upon which basis—and the distance traveled—the postage to be collected from the recipient was computed. The post-officials crudely hand-stamped the name of the sending office, while the day of the month was similarly imprinted at the town to which the epistle was delivered, with a hastily scribbled notation as to the fee. The "George, on Snow Hill" was evidently a London tavern.

Making Monmouth his headquarters, Erskine proceeded to find out everything possible to be learned as to the country round-about. He writes again from this place to Atkinson, under date of Sept. 19th, (1770):

I went yesterday to Abbey Tinton, (or "Trintorn," as it is on the maps) about ten miles south of this on the River Way.<sup>54</sup> As four or five miles of the road was very bad, hilly, narrow and stoney, I went round by Chepstow to come here again; at Chepstow the tide commonly rises about 54 feet per.—sometimes above 60 feet.

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<sup>54</sup>The River *Wye* is meant.



## THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

They are repairing the furnace at Abbey Tinton, so that I could not see it at work. I saw, however, the ore they smelted, which was of three kinds, viz., Forrest of Dean, Cinders and Lancashire. I have sent a sample of the Lancashire, (and to make up a package, four sorts of copper ore) to Dr. Fordyce. The ore at this furnace was not, as at Red Brook, put in by weight, but left to the judgment of the Workmen, who put it in by basket-fulls, about equal quantities of each. Between the furnace and the forge there were large works for Wire drawing, the whole process of which I saw.

Erskine goes on to tell of his observations of the forge at work, turning the pigs into bar-iron, etc. He says, further:

I think I have got such an idea of all the machinery that I need not describe it for the sake of recollections; . . . the construction of which I cannot forget. The workmen work by the ton, for which they have ten shillings; there are three to an hearth, and they can make about 3 tons a week.

The furnace at Abbey Tinton was about thirty feet high, and about 11 feet at the widest, which was about eight or ten feet from the bottom. . . . The bellows and water-wheel were the same dimensions as those at Red Brook, and at a forge about five miles from here I was informed that the Lancashire ore made the best iron, and they had their pig iron from Abbey Tinton on that account. They had likewise at this forge, which is called Newnair, AMERICAN PIG IRON from near New York, on which was marked "Forrest of Dean,"<sup>55</sup> which they used to make a coarse iron, they called mill iron. This forge consisted of four hearths and two hammers, besides a slitting mill, and making plates, etc., and they have the whole water of the River Way, which is larger than the Colne at Denham.

The Lancashire ore does not require roasting, therefore before I leave Wales I shall endeavor to see more of their iron works, because the nature of what is here called Welsh Ore comes nearer to that with which I am likely to have to do. I hear of so many different works in Wales that I cannot propose to see them all, the roads and accommodations being very bad. There are some considerable works near Cardiff, but, as that is upon the sea, they very possibly use Lancashire ore there. The works more inland are therefore more likely to answer my purpose better. To-morrow, God willing, I set out for Brecon, and by the end of next week hope

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<sup>55</sup>The only American locality known as the "Forest of Dean" was—according to the subsequently executed maps of Mr. Erskine—a region in the most southerly corner of Orange County, New York Province, about 3 miles to the west of the Hudson River and about this distance northwest of Bear Mountain.

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to have seen as much as necessary in Wales. This is my fourth letter, and I hope the preceding have come to hand.

On the 21st of September, Erskine is at Brecknock, in the heart of the Welsh hills. He has seen and made mental appraisements of several additional forges, one of them consisting of six hearths. His conversation with the workmen at these establishments afforded him much information and food for reflection. From them he gathered valuable data regarding ore mixtures. Reverting to the matter of the American pig iron which he had seen at Monmouth, and which interested him greatly, he says that the workmen supposed it to have been imported at Bristol. . . .

There were two letters upon it, I think "W. B." . . . This iron, I was informed, was so good that it might be beat from the first forging as small as my whip-cord, and was used for gun barrels. . . . I think I can know the same species again.

Speaking of the re-melting of the pigs preparatory to forging and hammering into malleable iron ("blooms"—so called) he says:

. . . they push the pig which was melting out of the blast, and keep stirring the metal till it unites in one mass about the size and shape of a round half-peck loaf. It is then lifted by mere strength of hand, under the hammer, by one of the forgemen; the other in the meantime regulating the stroke, which is at first slow and gradually increases to about two beats a second. Habit certainly increases their strength very much, as a lad—much more slender than I—can take a pig about an hundred and a half, carry it with seeming ease, and throw it behind the fire.

Singularly enough, the above paragraph gives the only known clue as to the personal appearance of Robert Erskine. Speaking as he does of comparative degrees of slenderness, we may presume that he was, himself, of average height and physique. Certainly his language would not justify the belief that he was a giant in stature, nor one inclined or used to unusually heavy manual labor.

As to the product of the forge,—which was in actuality a great anvil and trip hammer, he tells us:

. . . At the first operation they beat the iron into a mass of about 18 or 20 inches long, and about 4 inches thick, octangular: at the next they form it with great dexterity into what shape they please, such as bars, implements for Plows, Waggon, &c. . . .

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That Erskine was a prudent man is easy to be appreciated from what he says about the mines:

. . . I thought of going to the mines in the Forrest of Dean, but found the access difficult: they were in general very deep, and in some places it was necessary to creep through narrow passages upon hands and knees, I suppose as the strata of the ore lay . . . It would hardly have been prudent in a stranger, without attendance, or being recommended to some of the overseers, to trust himself above an hundred yards underground with miners of whom he knew nothing, especially as the passages must be intricate, and accessible only to those who by habit had acquired the dexterity of a Rat. . . .

The letter concludes in this characteristic fashion:

. . . It will be necessary for me to carry abroad with me some of each of the different samples I procure, in case some kind of ore be overlooked in America, which may be better than that they use. . . . I hope, God Willing, to be at Hereford on my way to Birmingham to-morrow night or sooner. It has rained almost incessantly all day, which, with bad roads, makes traveling disagreeable.

Erskine's letter from Birmingham, Oct. 11th, 1770, is devoted largely to explaining the manner of converting iron into steel. This is a matter of no surprise, for was not Birmingham then, even as now, a great center of industry, with the manufacture of steel first and foremost? Among other things the visitor from London observes that:

. . . It is only Swedish Iron that they here convert into steel. Steel made of English iron will not weld, etc. To make cast steel, it must be twice converted: there is no visible difference, however, between the steel which has once or twice undergone the operation.

It is in this letter that the writer makes reference to certain details of furnace construction, as being similar to that of Dr. Fordyce's, lending support to the theory that the latter controlled certain iron works independently. Undoubtedly Dr. Fordyce was well qualified to pass judgment upon the many samples which his trusty messenger ceased not to dispatch for his delectation. Erskine, on the other hand, seems to realize that he has much more to learn than he at first supposed:

. . . The science of knowing the different natures and

Dear Sir

Birmingham Oct. 11th 1770

Tho' I am in no immediate want of money, having a Bank note and some gold remaining, yet as I have received a letter from Dr. Hodge to go to Backbone before I go to your Brothers, in case I should run short, he is drawn for £100 Queneas rate. Oct. 10, at 7 days sight payable to Dr. Hodge.

I have given advice of this in a separate letter, because, that it has been included in my long letter of this date, it might have been overlooked, as I cannot suppose you are at leisure to read such letters on short receipt.

I am Dear Sir

Yours most obliged servt

Robt Erskine

Del. by Express following Dr. Hodge's, has not occurred  
12. 10. 1770





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properties of iron is not to be acquired in a day. I must content myself with knowing as much of it in general as I can, and the chief thing necessary seems to be to know how to make good Malleable Iron, neither red nor cold shot,<sup>56</sup> and how to make the best pig iron to produce this kind. . . .

Without question, the largest iron establishment and machine shop in all England at this period was that of Matthew Boulton—the celebrated Soho Engineering Works at Birmingham. The fact that Erskine visited this superbly equipped plant and had access to its various departments causes one to wonder whether or not he was acquainted with that other young inventor and fellow countryman, James Watt, in whom Mr. Boulton had already taken more than passing interest, and with whose great discoveries in the realm of science his name was soon to be associated. Erskine is enthusiastic in his recorded comments:

. . . . At Mr. Boulton's Works, mechanics are in perfection, both inanimate and alive, but I must give the preference to the machinery; some engines being so constructed that a man or a boy will execute the work equally well, and in many cases a blind man could do as well as either. At some machines the artist not only employs his feet and his hands, but his elbows—by pressing down of which a material movement is effected. Among the numerous branches here executed, none are more striking than the Derbyshire Spar, which is made into vases, urns, branches, candlesticks and a variety of ornamental pieces of furniture, highly decorated with chased and gilt ornaments; the spar; of a variety of colours, shining through which, has a very pleasing effect. I saw several things of this kind which were executing for his Majesty and the Queen.

Erskine, on the same day, supplements the foregoing communication to Mr. Atkinson with this delightful little "touch"; separately mailed:

Tho I am in no immediate want of money, having a Bank note and some gold remaining, yet as I have received a letter from Dr. Fordyce to go to Backbarrow before I go to your Brother's, in case I should run short, I have drawn for Ten Guineas dated Oct. 10, at 7 days sight, payable to Dr. Wm. Small or order.

I have given advice of this in a separate letter, because had it been included in my long letter of this date, it might have been overlooked, as I cannot suppose you are at leisure to read such letters on their receipt.

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<sup>56</sup>These technical terms are now usually rendered red and cold "*short*."

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P. S.—My expenses, including Drinkmoney, &c., has not exceeded 12 shillings per day.

The above reference to Dr. Small provides another link in the chain of circumstantial evidence. He it was who had introduced James Watt to Matthew Boulton; and from the foregoing letter it appears that Dr. Small was sufficiently well acquainted with Erskine to feel justified in cashing his draft on London for a considerable sum.

After Erskine's brief stay in Birmingham, he plunged again into the rugged fastnesses of the outlying districts where the iron was wrested from the rocks. Writing from Shrewsbury, England, October 15, 1770, at which point he re-emerged into civilization, he tells us of his visit to Bilstone:

. . . I luckily met Mr. Wilkinson at Birmingham (on his journey to London) who gave me an order to see his and several other works; had I missed him I should have been much at a loss. At his furnace near Bilstone, the bellows is an iron cylinder about 6 ft. diameter, worked by a fire engine. . . .

Then follows a detailed account of the mechanism of said bellows, which must surely convince every one unfamiliar with the progress of science, and the surprising attempts of this period to combine the powers of fire, water and air, that the world was on the very verge of the age of steam. Be it remembered, in this connection, that only a year previously (1769) James Watt had obtained his patent for the steam engine.

Erskine also relates the minutae incident to "the casting of a wheel for a circular fire engine"—of which operation he was a keenly observant witness; as well as the making of cast-iron pipe, now beginning to replace the much-used lead of picturesque medieval days. A burning coal pit, another unusual spectacle, draws forth the following dissertation:

. . . the furnace I have now described is surrounded with coal pits: the strata of the coal is amazingly thick, being above ten yards. While I was there, one of the pits was on fire, which they said had kindled itself, and about an hundred yards to the eastward of the furnace the surface (and to a considerable depth) of the ground was all on fire, and has been burning above ten years; the ground burnt may be about an acre. On viewing this conflagration and the effects of it, I could not help thinking that some centuries hence it may afford matter of speculation to a naturalist, who, in-

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stead of the world's having been *drowned*, may produce specimens to prove that it has been burnt; for here are calcined stones, beds of clay converted into brick, and other phenomena in abundance, perhaps native iron!—for bushes and shrubs fall down through the cracks, where they may soon be converted into charcoal, and meet with iron ore in plenty. . . .

In this last facetious remark, Erskine calls to mind the fact that in all furnaces an admixture of charcoal is necessary to separate the pure iron from the baser minerals in the ore, which eventually constitute the dross.

Of his adventures after leaving Bilstone, he says:

I went by Sturbridge to Brosely, crossing the Severn at Bridgenorth, which is the most curious romantic situation I ever beheld. Near Brosely there is a very large iron works, which has been five years idle. I had an opportunity, however, of inspecting the furnaces and machinery, which I dare say did not cost less than £10,000 or £15,000. From Brosely to Colebrook dale is about three miles: I crossed the Severn at an horse-ferry, the boat was connected with a rope about 200 yds. long, one end of which was fastened to a stake, and the other passed over a pulley at the top of the mast, so that my means of the rope and the rudder, the boat swung over by the assistance of the current only. . . .

The writer then describes certain nice castings which he saw at iron works in the vicinity of Colebrook dale (among them iron-pots “cast so thin as the 8th of an inch,” from brass patterns); speculates as to the value of “Mr. Wood’s patent” for making malleable iron from coke pig-iron; and closes with this informative statement: . . .

In this country there are waggon ways for several miles together in which the tracks for the wheels are all of cast iron!

This arrangement was, without doubt, a fore-runner of the horse-car railways of picturesque memory.

Another letter, begun at Lancaster on the 20th of October and concluded at Kendal on the 24th of that month, chiefly concerns the mode of casting cannon, and abounds in mechanical details. For example, Erskine describes the operation of rifling the guns in this wise:

. . . the borer or drill is fixed in the axis of a water wheel, and for cannon or things of a small diameter, performs an equal



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number of revolutions with the wheel. If the cylinders (to be bored) are very large, the borer is upon the axis of a small cog wheel, turned by a larger, on the axis of the water wheel, which gives the last a mechanical advantage of about 4 to one. The thing to be bored is fixed on a carriage, where it is adjusted parallel to the borer. The carriage is upon four wheels, and is moved forwards or back, by a rope or chain, made fast to the fore part, then passing once around a capstan, it goes under the carriage and round another capstan, when it is fastened to the back part of the carriage. A man thus easily moves the greatest weight with an handspike, and gradually advances upon the borer, &c., . . . Kendal, 24th October:

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I have been at Backbarrow, than which, with respect to water, there cannot be a better situation for a Manufactory in Europe; the River, which flows from a lake called Winander Mere, is about the size of the Colne, and on account of the great capacity of its fountain, is never lyable to be flooded at any season of the year, &c. . . . I met with a kind reception from the gentleman to whom your brother's letter was addressed, who showed me a charcoal furnace and forge. The furnace is blown with leather bellows the same in every respect as I have already described: at the forge their bellows are cast iron cylinders. The Ore is the same as the Lancashire of which I have already sent a sample. It is dug out of pits near Ulverstone, and is delivered on board ship at Twelve shillings a Ton, &c. . . .

The writer then plunges into a very lengthy treatise upon ore mixtures, fuel for furnaces, additions of limestone in the charging process, and his proposed visit to other furnaces and forges in the vicinity:

. . . however, as Mr. Dixon and I were on our way to see them, we met with a brother of Mr. Wilkinson's, with whom I turned back and spent the evening, thinking I should reap more benefit by discoursing with him than by seeing the same thing repeated. He, like his brother with whom he is connected, has been in the iron way all his days and has seen, I suppose, all the Iron Works in England, Scotland and Wales, and lately was in Ireland and saw several furnaces and forges there, which he went on purpose to look at. Among other works, he told me, there are furnaces at Glamorganshire, very large, particularly one belonging to Anthony Bakon, Merct, worked with Coke, which is sixty feet high, &c. . . .

Last year, at Back-Barrow furnace, Mr. Wilkinson tried the experiment for making Iron of coal made of Turf or peet, which succeeded very well, and I believe they are now providing a quantity of Turf, and going to build a furnace for working it somewhere in the neighborhood of this.

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On the 27th of October, Erskine is at Temple Sowerby, Cumberland County, in the far north of England, and we find him—this time in the role of surveyor—submitting to Mr. Atkinson a diagram of an upland region which he has carefully laid out for some unexplained reason. Inasmuch as it contains two or three witty and illuminating passages, the letter is given in its entirety. Attention is especially directed to his remarks, anent the “hatless old gentlemen,” and the eloquent postscript, wherein the traveler evidences such commendable concern as to the financial welfare of his helpmeet:

I yesterday measured the height, etc., of Cross Fell, etc., from a meadow at the bridge, the following are the data:

### (SKETCH)

The above is not laid down to any scale, because when I protracted the triangle to the summit, to a scale of 32 chains to an inch, it was near 16 inches long.

By calculation the distance to the summit from the N. point of the base is 680.90, which is 6 miles and 90 links, and its perpendicular height above the instrument, which was about 4 yds. higher than the water, is 3731, which wants only 269 of half a mile. To the altitude however should be added the dip of the earth, which in six miles, I believe, is nearly 17 yards. We only had time to take the altitude of Cross Fell by Hadley's quadrant, the other altitudes are by the Theodolet; however, as it agreed with Hadley's to three minutes in that of Cross Fell, I fancy the whole may be looked upon as pretty accurate. When the quicksilver was first poured out, there was such a scum upon it that totally prevented the reflection, and we were obliged to strain it through an handkerchief which took some time, etc.

The old gentleman was so civil as to remain uncovered during the whole of our operations, which was the more polite, as he had not been so long bare-headed for many days before; he put his cap on, however, so soon as we were done, and there it now remains.

Your brothers have been so kind as to give me letters for introducing me to two iron works between this and Carlisle. I have likewise drawn for £30, and shall write again to-day to mention some things I have hitherto omitted with respect to the iron works I have seen. The post now going away, I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obliged humb. Servt.,

ROBT. ERSKINE.

P. S. As I have been longer out than I expected, should be much obliged to you to desire Mr. Dixon or any of the Clerks to call on Mrs. Erskine, to see if she wants money.

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The last of this series of letters is the most lengthy—possibly the comforts of good lodgings in a fine city like Glasgow, where he had many friends and was, without doubt, very much at home, furnished the inspiration for his five sheets of manuscript. He had been wandering about for eight weeks, and was now drawing his journey to a conclusion, with a visit to his relatives at Dunfermline, mayhap.

Dear Sir:—

Last night I came here from Carron,<sup>57</sup> where I was from Wednesday afternoon till yesterday morning. Mr. Gascoigne was gone for London, which however was far from being a disadvantage, for he might have engaged me in other pursuits. Had he accompanied me through the works, my view must have been more cursory and superficial, nor could I, in his hearing, have taken the liberty to ask such questions of the workmen as I did when by myself. The mentioning my name and my acquaintance with him, I found a sufficient introduction.

They have great plenty and variety of ores, all procured in the neighborhood, or brought by sea from the coast of Fife. They had indeed a small proportion of Lancashire, of which they used only one basket in ten, but an ore in every way similar to this is now found a few miles north of Stirling, for which they have only to dig about 18 feet, and when this mine is worked, all the materials will be procured from within twenty or thirty miles of the works, chiefly water carriage.

Except the ore like Lancashire, the rest are either strata or nodule. The difference of the ores of the strata kind seemed to consist chiefly in their coming from different places, for in other respects they were very similar, and in general had much the appearance of the ore used at Kitley near Shrewsbury, being very black. The nodules come from the opposite coast of Fife, at a place called Lime Kilns, and are found on the side of an hill, lying amongst sand or clay. Besides these, there is another kind of iron stone picked up within high water mark on the coast of Fife, opposite to Edinburgh. Samples of several kind I have procured, and on my way here went to see a mine of iron-stone near Kilsyth, which they will have only to convey a mile by land carriage to the canal, when that communication is opened. This mine was found by the strata cropping out on the banks of a rivulet. I entered the mine by a passage in the side of the hill. There were two strata, an upper and a lower, about 5 or 6 inches apart, the upper about five and the lower about 4 inches thick. The substance above and between the strata was a

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<sup>57</sup>Dr. Roebuck, founder of the great iron works at Carron, Fifeshire, Scotland (near Falkirk), was another of the friends and financial supporters of James Watt.



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kind of blackish stone, which, when broke, has a gritty dark-grey appearance. There were ores from other places where the strata was 8 or 10 inches thick, and one kind found above or below a coal, from one to 3 or 4 inches thick. The stones from the seashore had a dark reddish appearance, though it was with difficulty I could find one which had not been burnt in calcining. All the ores are calcined on the ground with raw pit-coal, and in the furnaces are smelted with coke. The charge at one furnace was 6 baskets coke—about two bushels each—ten of ore, and four of limestone. They said it was 40 hours of descending to the blast, and if two baskets of Lancashire had been put in instead of one, it would make the iron thick, like tar.

(Then follows a lengthy description of the furnaces, etc.)

At Carron, I think I have almost finished my apprenticeship in moulding. I had before seen some moulds prepared for large boilers, and vats for soap boilers, etc., but did not see the manner of their being made. Give me leave, therefore, to describe the construction of a mould for a large boiler, that from thence things of a similar kind may be conceived: (He thereupon goes into another long technical description.)

Writing as to the process of casting a large vessel, he says:

The metal runs in at the center of the bottom, being cast the mouth downwards. The space which formed the thickness is filled with common air, this air cannot well escape at the hole where the metal runs. There are therefore three or four holes perforated in the outside cover to let it get out; and that it may evacuate the faster, so soon as the metal begins to run, lighted straw is held over the air-holes which immediately sets it on fire. These holes are filled up with metal, which is easily broke off, and the surface is chiseled smooth like the rest. But I should have mentioned that when the outside is replaced it is loaded with a great number of weights to prevent the liquid metal from buoying it up, which, if it did, the metal would escape at the bottom, run away among the sand and occasion explosions both terrible and fatal to every one near it; such accidents have happened. . . .

(Erskine then proceeds to explain the casting of iron cannon, pots, pans and their covers, bath-stoves, rollers, smoothing irons, gates, box-irons (in four-piece moulds), etc., and tells, incidentally, that the scoria from the blast furnaces was, on occasion, used for ship-ballast, being ordered for that purpose. He tells us that the anvils at the Carron works, instead of being fixed in a large block of wood, “stand in a mass of cast iron about a yard in diameter and



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near four feet thick. . . . There was, likewise, a water-wheel which turned a lathe and two grindstones." . . .

. . . Cannon here are moulded exactly as at Mr. Wilkinson's at Bersham (the iron rod for the cores is ground), but they are cast directly from the smelting furnace, which must require great care in the charges, and I should be affraid the metal of a cannon would sometimes turn out to be of different kinds in the same piece. The boring too is very similar, only the carriages do not run upon wheels: they have a separate wheel for cutting off the mass at the mouth of the cannon, at Mr. Wilkinson's the same wheel and carriage serves both purposes.

I saw the manner of moulding a variety of different things, such as iron pans and their covers, bath-stoves, rollers, smoothing irons, gates, box irons—the mould of which is in four pieces, etc., etc., which it is needless particularly to describe; for from knowing the general principles of casting, the manner of executing any particular piece of work, may with a little thought and attention be easily conceived. The fire clay is found above a coal and ground between rollers. The moulding sand is mixed with charcoal dust;—a fine sort of sand, the grain very small, is procured from the new Canal. If holes are required in plates (such as the cheeks of bath stoves), pellets of dried sand are stuck in the mould.

To this letter, moreover, is appended a list of fourteen samples of ore, &c., which Erskine states he has forwarded to "Mure, Son & Atkinson." It may be conjectured that the first named partner was the "Muir" to whom reference will be made in later pages of this biography.

Some two months now elapse. Of the activities of Erskine during this interval we have no record. In the early days of 1771, however, occurred an incident which must have caused him to waver in his determination to go abroad, for there came to him, as bleak January was drawing to its close, the coveted distinction of fellowship in the Royal Society of London—indication enough that, by dint of continued application and effort, his future was assured in the homeland. The reason for the award of this fellowship, and its surrounding circumstances, had for months been a subject of much speculation on the part of the writer. From Erskine's papers it was evident that his "Centrifugal Engine for raising water" had been exhibited before the Royal Society and that he had personally read a descriptive paper thereon, on which occasion "both engine

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and paper were universally approved.”<sup>58</sup> For further light, however, an inquiry was addressed to the officers of that erudite body—ancient, honorable and still very much alive—which elicited the following response, completely solving the question as to the why and wherefore of the “F. R. S.” which Erskine was entitled to append to his name:

The Royal Society,  
Burlington House,  
London, W. 1,  
May 24th, 1923.

Albert H. Heusser, Esq.,  
Paterson, N. J., U. S. A.

Dear Sir:—

In reply to your enquiry of the 7th instant, I have looked up the original certificate of Robert Erskine and find it recorded thereon as his qualification for election that he was “A Gentleman well versed in Mathematics and Practical Mechanics.” He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on January 31st, 1771, at which date his residence was stated to be Scotland Yard, London. Among the signatories of his certificate were Sir John Pringle, Bart.,<sup>59</sup> President of the Society from 1772 to 1778, and Benjamin Franklin.

I am, Yours faithfully,

F. A. TOWLE, Ass't Secretary.

No one but an amateur biographer can understand the thrill which came with the reading of this reference to great Franklin, opening up an entirely new field for interesting speculation. At once there ensued a hurried review of the latter's life story, involving many more absorbing surmises.

In 1753, the Royal Society of London had elected Benjamin Franklin to membership on the strength of his discovery that lightning and electricity were manifestations of the same natural force—this discovery being the result of the famous experiment of the key tied to a kite-string during a thunder storm. Franklin had been in London since 1764 representing the American Colonies (being their most distinguished spokesman), endeavoring to combat the short-sighted policy of the King and the British ministry. Not until 1775 did he return to America. In the interim, as may well be imagined,

<sup>58</sup>Item No. A 308.58 J—“Erskine Papers,” N. J. Hist. Society, Newark.

<sup>59</sup>Sir John Pringle (1707-1782), a distinguished physician and author of books and lectures upon Hygiene. He spent many years of his life in Scotland, and was at one time a professor in the University of Edinburgh. Undoubtedly he was a friend and patron of Robert Erskine.

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he moved in the most select and scientific circles; and it seems apparent that he and Erskine must somehow have met and formed a mutually-profitable acquaintance. As to the intimacy of these relations, we are not likely to know more than the inference to be drawn from the high compliment paid by the scholarly Franklin in his endorsement of Erskine as a desirable candidate for co-fellowship in the Royal Society. It is evident that Erskine had, by the exercise of his talents, made a place for himself among the chosen few of his day and age—the mental aristocrats who constitute the true “nobility.” Having gained the confidence of such men as Pringle and Franklin (the latter already internationally honored and esteemed), it is plainly to be seen that Erskine was himself a man out of the ordinary, and one whose future would have been a brilliant success had he chosen to remain an Englishman.

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Contingent upon the approval of the present proprietors of Ringwood Manor, Mr. Heusser expects to continue this biography of Robert Erskine in succeeding numbers of *AMERICANA*, carrying the narrative through the later years of his career in America, in which he distinguished himself as iron-master, patriot and Surveyor-General to the army of the United States. As a history of Erskine's early years, however, this installment may be considered as an article complete in itself,—a unique and unpublished chronicle of the youth of “the Forgotten General.”



# The Man From Oquawka

BY FRANCES HIGGINS, ASHEVILLE, N. C.

## I.



LITTLE has hitherto been known of the personal life and character of E. H. N. Patterson, admirer, partner-to-have-been, and defender of Edgar Allan Poe. It is as if he made his one overture to fame, received the indifferent reply, and thereupon lost himself from view before the world could comprehend his existence, much less his qualities of mind.

A few biographers of the poet, it is true, have referred to him casually as "a Mr. Patterson" or "the man from Oquawka, Illinois, who was to have published the 'Stylus.'" And one of them has gone so far as to include in his "Life and Letters" the correspondence relative to this Monthly Journal of Literature Proper, the Fine Arts, and the Drama, long cherished in the dreams of Poe, scheduled at length for a triumphant appearance into actuality January, 1850, then deferred to July, then postponed indefinitely by that "Fate whose name is also Sorrow."

For that matter the correspondence as it now survives—four complete letters of Poe's and the drafts of two replies by Patterson—has long been known. It, with some pertinent data, was placed before an incredulous public by Eugene Field in the eighties and furthermore preserved in reprint and fac-simile by courtesy of the Caxton Club. Yet even so the youthful party of the second part has remained throughout the years neither more nor less than the dream publisher of Poe's dream journal, a vague and visionary figure.

He, however, was less the man of mystery he has seemed than a man of supreme modesty. It was his gift to recognize an artist like Poe in an age when, as Dr. Erskine says, "so few of his countrymen had anything like the equipment for appreciating his genius"; likewise to foresee the benefit accruing to American literature from placing him at the head of an influential periodical, to conceive and develop the plan whereby this might have been accomplished, to see his plan hopelessly frustrated, and to pass calmly on to other things as if the same had never been.



## THE MAN FROM OQUAWKA

He announced the melancholy news of the death of Poe, a blow more personal than his readers could possibly have fathomed, in the Oquawka "Spectator," October 24, 1849. He followed this, November 7, with what is believed to have been the first public defense of the deceased, a scholarly reply to the prediction of the "Saturday Gazette" that Poe's fame would prove merely traditional. He saw his plan for publishing the complete works of his friend anticipated by the Rev. Dr. Griswold. With that his role of "the humble instrument," as he no doubt would have quaintly phrased it, ended. Exit E. H. N. Patterson.

Thereafter reference to this chapter of his life was of rare occurrence though the letters in Poe's exquisite hand and the "Stylus" page of his designing were cherished always with none knows what regrets. He planned to write the whole story but somehow never found the time, or it might have been, the courage for it. The sparse Oquawka and "Stylus" references of the biographers all came through Poe's friends, not his, until the publication of the correspondence years after his death.

Such reticence in a man is so uncommon as to be considered remarkable; in a boy it is little short of phenomenal. And Edwin Patterson, the instigator of the interesting correspondence, was scarcely more than that. He was younger by some years than the young Lowell who had written to Poe in 1843: "Your early poems display a maturity which astonished me, and I recollect no individual (and I believe I have read all the poetry that ever was written) whose early poems were anything like as good."

Truth to tell, he was but little older than Poe had been upon the publication of his second volume of poems, his "Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems," of unique position in America, and for that matter, English poetry. And like the litterateur of his devotions he was dark and striking in appearance as well as impatiently ambitious of literary fame.

When, in the little frontier town of Oquawka, known also as Yellow Banks, from its position on the Mississippi, he had first taken his pen in hand to formulate the proposition to be deemed "very flattering" and to display insight into the management of periodicals to be accounted "almost original," he had neither attained his majority nor yet concluded his term of apprenticeship to the Oquawka "Spectator."

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But he had, as it appears, been born to the profession and his prospects were in reality more bright than they at times seemed to him. His father, Col. J. B. Patterson, founder and owner of the "Spectator," was a journalist of experience and ability from the East. He had at the time of Edwin's birth, January 27, 1828, been engaged in publishing the "Winchester Virginian," his home town paper. Somewhat later he became the editor of "Jackson's American Argus" at Washington, D. C.

Further evidence of his literary ability was furnished by his "Life of Black Hawk," a standard history of early border times. He had interviewed the great Sac chieftain, Ma-ka-ta-ma-she-kia-kiak, during a visit to Rock Island after the close of the Black Hawk war, and his manuscript, written with the quill of a swan, was subsequently published in Boston where it had a great run. It is now a rare piece of Americana.

Thus it happened that Edwin Patterson found in his own home and in the environment so nearly approaching what young John Hay was to term "Boetian" the necessary encouragement for his enterprise. In due time, and that before the letter Mr. Putnam was requested to forward to Poe's place of residence had reached its destination, he celebrated his twenty-first birthday, finding beneath his plate that morning a deed to one-half interest in the "Spectator" and the job printing office connected therewith. When the belated but highly favorable reply reached him, he was ready for whatever course of action might be determined.

Other influences that entered into the shaping of Oquawka's marvelous boy might well be noted here. For truly he could have been no ordinary young journalist who wrote: "Our Literature is, just now, sadly deficient in the department of criticism. The Boston Reviewers are, generally, too much affected by local prejudices to give impartial criticisms; the Philadelphia Magazines have become mere monthly bulletins for book-sellers; Willis does not, with his paper, succeed even tolerably, as a critic; in fact, I seldom find any critique so nearly according with my own ideas of the true aim and manner of criticism as were yours, while you had charge of that department in 'Graham's and Burton's.' I wish (and am not alone in the wish) to see you at the head of an influential periodical."

His home training, as is so often the case, had been unusually wise and sympathetic. His mother, who was as far above the average parent of the frontier as was his father, became his first and

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best teacher. Arriving in Oquawka, where Col. Patterson had preceded her, in the days when the Sac Indians still outnumbered the white settlers and deer and wolves frequently stalked the sandy streets of the newly-platted river town, she found a home awaiting her but neither school nor schoolhouse for her eight-year-old son. That year and until the pioneer school was established she directed his studies in the elementary branches.

Though in her own home, as no doubt in the entire town, contemporary literature was represented chiefly by "Godey's Lady's Book," this mother fostered her son's natural taste for good reading. Her standard of literature was high, likewise her standard of scholarship. Even after she had given him over to the rule of the village schoolmaster and to a life colored by association with the boys of the frontier (the majority of whom were Whigs as her own son was not) her influence was strong. Edwin, a boy of eleven, desiring to attend the circus with his playmates, must first, within twenty-four hours, learn the multiplication table so as to be able to repeat any portion of it correctly and without hesitation. He did so and thereafter cherished the memory of the star rider as much as any boy in town.

Thus she maintained her oversight, setting the high standard which he followed until the days of his elementary schooling were concluded and after that directing the way to other heights. To this period must have belonged the "Graham's and the Burton's" of her boy's letter. That the ambition for further study had become a predominating influence in his life is shown by the fact that he took up Latin under a private tutor, the Rev. Stebbins, and that for the next two years he clerked in his father's store and also collected and sold the black sand from the banks of the Mississippi (this for blotting purposes) in order to accumulate a college fund.

The autumn of 1844, the year which had marked Poe's departure from the "Philadelphia Magazines" and removal to New York, found his youthful admirer, a boy of sixteen, enrolled as a freshman at Jubilee College, near Peoria, Illinois, a worthy institution of learning then under the direction of Bishop Chase. One of his schoolmates was the Episcopal Bishop of Maine, Albert Maley; another, James Anderson, became a leading attorney at Memphis; others were afterward prominent Episcopal clergymen throughout the country. There also the Whig boys predominated "4 to 1," as Edwin informed his parents in an early letter. But



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the atmosphere was all that could be desired, likewise the curriculum which was devoted mainly to the classics as were the others of that day.

The boy from Oquawka was not neglectful of his golden opportunity. Having been away from home only on occasional visits to Rock Island, Hannibal, and St. Louis, he proved a somewhat lonely young freshman, realizing for the first time the truth of his mother's prophecy that he would not miss his home until he was away from it, obeying her injunction to write often "to the letter," looking eagerly for her replies.

But he was moreover a very busy and ambitious student, continuing his study of Latin in earnest, beginning Greek and Philosophy, declaiming pieces once a month in lieu of compositions which were not required, joining with the young gentlemen of the college in a Literary and Debating Society. A letter to his parents in December 1844, just four years prior to the beginning of the Poe-Patterson correspondence, shows him to have been a wholly adorable and boyish boy.

He completed the four years' course at Jubilee in two, thus graduating in advance of his regular class. Nor did his scholarship suffer thereby. In Greek he stood on a par with the clergymen and bishops to be, having marched his parasangs until he could and did read the Greek Testament with any of them. In Latin he was not less proficient. In Botany and Geology his interest was profound. But in the literature of his mother tongue was his great delight—and his ambition.

From Jubilee he went for a term at Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois, one of the higher institutions of learning that was to write the name of Eugene Field on its list of famous sons in after years. But Knox in 1847 was less desirable than it afterwards became and young Patterson soon left. It was about this time that the "Spectator" was founded and his apprenticeship began.

This was perhaps as it should be. The pioneer weekly of Oquawka, a staunch Democratic journal, afforded a happy outlet for the abundant energy and ambition of the apprentice. He displayed from the first what his school work had foretold and what his associates throughout his life were to term his "facile pen," one that could be turned with equal skill to prose or verse. From the first, too, his business talents were apparent. For all his dreams he was no visionary but one to be trusted with the complete manage-



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ment of the "Spectator" from the day of his majority and to be encouraged in his undertaking of national scope

These busy formative years served but to increase his admiration for the eminent critic of "Graham's and Burton's." Boy that he was, he recognized in Poe the unique genius, the intense originality, almost without parallel in literary history. He followed his career to its zenith in New York, read with delight "The Raven and Other Poems," the "Tales," and the "Eureka" From his fascination grew the desire to serve, to aid, as well as to imitate. In Oquawka, that "comparatively unimportant point," he played the role of the humble instrument and played it well.

The readers of the "Spectator" were given "The Raven," "one of the most remarkable poems ever written," on the first page with the briefest of criticisms that somehow said all that Mr. Stedman was to say in his longer, later one. Again those fortunate readers were given "Sonnet to My Mother," by E. A. P. of which the youthful critic wrote: "For beauty of versification, and touching simplicity of expression, we have rarely seen its equal. It most admirably combines beauty and appropriateness of language, originality of thought and expression, and delicately worded Eulogy. If any sonnet has appeared, which taken as a whole, can surpass this in all that constitutes *true poetry*, we have yet to see it."

In these days, too, the "Spectator" was running serially a romance of more than passing interest. It was not contributed by the author of "William Wilson, Murders of the Rue Morgue," etc., though evidently inspired by him, but came from the facile pen of his admirer. It was a worthy product. In subtleness of atmosphere it showed a master's touch. Later it appeared in covers as

"Aztec Revelations  
or  
Leaves from the Life of the Fate-Doomed.  
An Autobiography  
Of an Early Adventurer in Mexico"  
Translated by an Officer of the Army.

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Oquawka, Ill.  
J. B. and E. H. N. Patterson  
1849.

Copies of it are almost as rare as Poe's "Tamerlane."

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Meanwhile in the midst of his other activities, which also included the loaning of "The Raven," the "Tales," and the "Eureka" to a gentleman from Boston, young Patterson was carrying on the correspondence with his partner-to-be. The magazine was quite definitely agreed upon—"a \$5 magazine, of 96 pp., monthly, page same size as 'Graham's,' in bourgeois or brevier (instead of long primer and brevier as first proposed)." The name of the "Stylus," cherished since Poe's proposed venture with Clarke in 1843, the title-page of his later designing, had been submitted and found acceptable. The question of publishing at Oquawka had been thoroughly discussed and a compromise effected. "Published simultaneously at New York and St. Louis" would be announced in the prospectus.

These plans were delayed by an attack of cholera suffered by Poe in Philadelphia, July, 1849, but were continued upon his recovery. He was then more confident of success than he had been for years, exultant with the thought of establishing the leading literary journal of the country, writing a critique of the poems of his friend, Mrs. Weiss, for the second number, rejoicing that his price for contributions would be more liberal than any other American editor's. Part of his expenses would be defrayed by a lecture tour terminating at St. Louis where he would confer with his publisher, the rest must be met by that young man himself.

As for E. H. N. Patterson, he had forwarded a hundred dollar bill toward these expenses. He had also made his arrangements for a press and type for the magazine-to-be. And he was planning a trip to St. Louis about October 15 for the proposed conference. Before that time, however, fate intervened. Poe died at Baltimore, October 7. The cherished plans became merely a tradition.

Thus the publisher-to-have-been wrote of them in the "Spectator": "The doings of the Supreme One are incomprehensible, and it is not for frail man to impugn his motives, else we might wonder why the lamented poet was removed so soon, and when he was upon the eve of realizing the cherished hope of his life. Had he lived, arrangements had been made by which he was, next year, to have been placed at the head of a large magazine which would have been entirely under his control. This statement may surprise even many of his friends, but it is nevertheless true. We are personally knowing to the whole arrangement. But death has removed him from

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us, and we can only lament the sad event which has deprived us of a noble and eminent man."

Then followed his defense of the poet under the title of "Literary Fame." This unsigned editorial in the columns of his little western weekly was E. H. N. Patterson's last service to his friend. The truth of his prediction has since been fairly attested both at home and abroad, Poe being the first American man of letters to be honored with a definite critical edition and also ranking high among those whose works are most widely translated into foreign languages. All this, however, Oquawka's youthful critic was not to see except prophetically. His own career ended suddenly some thirty years later while the din of controversy was still raging.

His role of the humble instrument, as has been said, was practically at its close November, 1849. A letter from Mr. John R. Thompson of the "Southern Literary Messenger," regarding unpublished manuscripts of the deceased and the publication of his complete works, offered no hope in that direction. There was nothing more to be done. Within the space of one short year the publishing scheme of the marvelous boy had had its inception and its ending. A final tribute to Poe by a local contributor graced the pages of the "Spectator." Then he, who in reality had not passed beyond the wings, made his bow and silently withdrew.

## II.

When he disappeared, however, or seemed to, in that modest, unassuming way of his, he was merely bent upon a second and wholly different adventure with all the ardor that he had applied to the first. The blood of the pioneer was strong in his veins even as that of the journalist. From the time of its arrival the news of gold discoveries in California had aroused his interest. After the abandonment of the "Stylus" dream this appeal could no longer be denied. In the spring of 1850, in company with friends from Oquawka, he outfitted a train and started for the New Eldorado.

The dark and striking young Argonaut who now followed the Mormon trail across the plains and the mountains was not perceptibly altered from his ambitious literary self of the former year. He was the enthusiastic student, the fledgling man of letters still. In one pocket was his "Greek Testament," covered with black broadcloth and embroidered by his mother, in another was his first



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edition of Poe's "Poems," both to be carried and read throughout the journey. Likewise close at hand was his writing pad and quill.

In his mind the dreams of the miner and the journalist mingled, the latter predominating and coloring his adventure as indeed his whole life. For he was essentially a journalist in temperament and training, instinctively finding copy in his daily surroundings and contact with his fellows, and as readily turning it into graceful, appealing prose. He never lost the common touch, never found any atmosphere "Boetian," and so in the small world of his influence became a primitive historian, if not indeed a near equivalent of the old epic bard. This is not once but many times revealed in the course of his subsequent career.

Upon leaving Oquawka he retained his interest in the "Spectator" and took it upon himself to furnish through its columns an account of the route and progress of his train, interspersed with vivid descriptive passages of the little-known regions of the Far West. In other words, he became a special correspondent and was to the little weekly journal what Bayard Taylor was to the great and far-circulating "New York Tribune." It was a position for which he was well fitted, his pen proving no less facile at the campfire of the Argonauts than in the office of the editor. And as it happened the experience served him well, was a stepping stone to further adventure.

He reached the mines after a wearisome and tedious journey, stopping near Colona about the middle of July. Here he took up a claim, as did the other members of his party, and at once began work upon it. In this region of fabulous wealth his largest day's work realized him \$11. However, it was not only as a miner that he was to be remembered in California, but rather as "Sniktau," a title bestowed by the Indians and meaning "ready for any emergency." This became his *nom de plume* of later years, and was of even wider fame in Colorado.

Going down to Sacramento City for his mail that summer of 1850, he chanced to call at the office of the "Placer Times," no doubt for exchanges and news of the outer world, was asked to write the story of his trip across the plains for that journal, and was subsequently offered the position of assistant editor at a salary of \$50 a week. The proprietor and editor-in-chief thereupon departed for a time leaving him in full charge. His manner of conducting the



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paper gave such satisfaction that he was retained at a still larger salary, while the editor prolonged his absence for a month.

Thus he was employed congenially and profitably, this very likeable young editor known as "Sniktau" in the diggings round about. He held the position until taken ill with the typhoid fever late in autumn. The doctors having assured him that he would never become acclimated and that a sea voyage would be beneficial for his health, he engaged passage for Rialjo on the schooner *Montague*. Before reaching San Francisco, however, cholera had broken out on board, a number of deaths occurring, the captain and the first mate among them.

But for the kindness of the steward, a Mason, E. H. N. Patterson would have been left sick and alone on the stricken vessel. He was taken ashore in a long boat, treated by a kind-hearted physician without pay, and by the time he was able to travel joined by a party of Oquawka boys likewise bound for Panama. They set sail together on the *Ellen Brooks* and were only thirty-three days in reaching the Isthmus. Here they crossed on foot, taking the steamer at Charges for Havana.

The rest of the homeward journey was marked by a series of disasters for the leader of the Oquawka Argonauts. The bag containing his manuscripts and poems was stolen before he reached New Orleans. In that city he himself was stricken suddenly with brain fever. In Springfield, Illinois, where he arrived early in the year 1851, he suffered an attack of phthisic. After enduring all manner of hardships he came at last to Oquawka, reduced in weight to eighty-one pounds and unable to leave the house until spring.

When sufficiently recovered he resumed his position on the "Spectator," in which he still held half-interest. Here he was employed for the next eight years, editorials, job-printing, various and sundry duties occupying his time and thoughts as he fell into the familiar routine. His interest in literature was as keen as ever, his skill at composition—prose and verse—no less evident.

At this period of his career, however, dreams of literary fame were superseded to a certain extent by those of domestic happiness. January 1, 1852, he married Laura Phelps, the daughter of Oquawka's leading citizen, himself a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. To one of Patterson's exceeding tenderness of heart home life made a strong appeal and his children—two sons and a daughter—were

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so dear to him that he might well have joined with the poet-father of Elizabethan days in eulogizing one or all as "his best piece of poetry."

But, as it appears, the even tenor of editorial days and happy home life did not long continue for the junior owner of the "Spectator." His health, so seriously undermined by his late experiences, became a subject of much concern. Nor did confining indoor life tend to improve it. In the spring of 1859 he was rapidly declining with tuberculosis and not expected to live six months. Just then came the report of rich gold discoveries in Colorado, the very thing to arouse the irrepressible prospector and send him forth.

A second time he organized his party of Oquawka gold seekers and departed, being slightly in advance of the heavy Pike's Peak Emigration. As much in search of health in the higher altitudes as of the alluring "pay dirt," it was this he found first. He walked every step of the way, shared the care of a team and wagon with his partner, and was not the worse but the better for it. At Fort Kearney, Nebraska, he suffered his last attack of the phthisic and never had it again while in the West.

A second time, too, he acted as special correspondent for his paper, contributing what must have been an invaluable log of the journey for those readers who were to follow, a highly diverting series of letters for the stay-at-homes. A portion of his campfire diary, neatly penned and religiously kept, is now a treasured manuscript of the Colorado Historical Society. Never a day's travel through the spring slush and mud of prairie roads, never an almost fruitless search for cattle feed, left him too tired and weary to set down the experience in his best style.

Simply and faithfully he recorded the crossing of the plains, not as it might have been or as his readers might have preferred it, but as it really was. Some days were more replete with adventure than others, yet it was at best but mild adventure. No Indian attacks! No feuds! No scenario plots!

In the pages of his diary the vast unbroken prairie appeared very much as it does in Miss Cather's novels, not interminable plains and monotony but possessing a peculiar beauty and value of its own. He saw it as a potential home for his fellowmen, became the first historian for many a straggling settlement and town, yet was not too engrossed to note the first representatives of "Flora's

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kingdom" along his way. Here and there occurred a touch of humor, an amusing incident, a bit of word play. The genuineness of his interest, however, was evident throughout. It was such a service as he had rendered the same country—Iowa and Nebraska—nine years before, such as he was now to render to Colorado.

He did not proceed by the most direct route to the diggings of fabulous report on Cherry Creek and Clear Creek, but with seventeen companions formed what they called the Northern Prospecting Party. Early in June they departed, via the Bridger's Pass Road and, prospecting as they went, for the headwaters of the Cache le Poudre River, intending to push their explorations into North Park. By July, however, they had turned southward and were prospecting at Left Hand and at Boulder.

Again in Colorado as in California was E. H. N. Patterson to prove his right to the title of "Sniktau," to be remembered less as a miner than as a man "ready for any emergency." He prospected widely, was more or less successful, and yet was never too much engrossed in his quest for gold to enjoy the grandeur of the mountain scenery, or to serve his fellows.

At Left Hand he was called on for a very special service. He was chosen to represent the precinct at the Constitutional Convention in Denver which was to frame the legal code for the now forgotten State of Jefferson. He threw aside his pick and gold pan, walked the entire distance, was admitted as delegate, registered his "yeas" and "nays" on reports and resolutions, served to the best of his ability, and submitted an expense account of \$3.20!

The State of Jefferson was never recognized. But fortunately the convention had brought Patterson in contact with the pioneer editors and journalists of the region and thus opened another field of service. Soon his interesting letters over the signature of "Sniktau" were appearing in the "Rocky Mountain News" of Denver and the "Mountaineer" of Golden. Thus was his work of Colorado historian begun. Moving frequently from diggings to diggings he served a fairly wide territory, becoming an authority for agricultural and geographical as well as mining data.

The summer of 1860 he was at work in the Ward District, the northern outpost of the gold fields. In the autumn he was prospecting in the Union District, having assays made in Chicago, prophecying a silver boom for the region which was to be most gloriously



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fulfilled five years later. His observations and adventures, complete to the christening of Breckinridge Peak by himself and a single companion, were printed in the "Mountaineer" for which he was then correspondent. They are almost invaluable source books for the historian of the present day. Until the pioneer artist arrived "Sniktau" filled the place with his vivid pen pictures.

The following year found the irrepressible prospector and journalist located at Gold Hill, a partner in the celebrated Horsfall mine. July 4 he walked seven miles to celebrate with his former comrades of Left Hand. There, as his letter to the "Rocky Mountain News" records, "the Declaration was read by E. H. N. Patterson, who introduced that Magna Charta of popular freedom by a few remarks pertinent to the time and the occasion." There in due order of events the following toast was proposed: "The Press of Colorado: Mightier than the sword; the sword will, if necessary, be drawn to defend it." This was like him very, mingling whole-heartedly in the simplest of pioneer celebrations and deeming it worthy of his ever facile pen.

In one of his Gold Hill letters that August he came very near to boasting: "I claim now that the Horsfall is ahead of Gold Dirt No. 3, and of any other lead in the mountains, taking the runs recorded in the "Great Pikes Peaks Weekly" as the criterion—Messrs. Patterson & Co. having recently obtained from their quartz from the No. 5 ground at the Union Mill \$630.40 per cord, none of it being taken from a greater depth than 32 feet." But it is quite as readily explained as his natural enthusiasm which so endeared him to his fellows, wherever he was, whatever his undertaking.

His attachment for Colorado was very deep, very genuine. Though he was soon to return to Oquawka and the "Spectator," his interest was henceforth divided. First came occasional visits to the mining districts he had known since their beginning, all duly recorded in characteristic letters to the "Rocky Mountain News." And then in 1873, after the death of Mrs. Patterson and the breaking up of his home, he disposed of his interest in the "Spectator" and settled permanently in the state.

This time he chose to identify himself wholly with journalism. He became the owner and editor of the "Colorado Miner," published at Georgetown in the Union District, developing it from a little moribund sheet into what his brother journalists were to term



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"one of the handsomest papers to be found anywhere," "one of the brightest and spiciest journals in the mining region," "one of the ablest edited papers in the west." His own title, though he often made use of the widely known and much beloved "Sniktau," soon became "the noblest exponent of Colorado journalism," "one of the most generally known men in the state." This in the Golden Age of Colorado journalism, when the names of Field, Dawson, Skiff, Rothacker, and Brown were coming into prominence!

Files of the "Miner" for the seventies attest its excellence under the Patterson regime. No city daily could have been more fair-minded in its dealings, more free from personal journalism, more devoted to the interests of the community which it served. Its mining reports were an authority. The editor responsible for this policy was likewise responsible for a very high order of prose and verse appearing in its columns. His own contributions were by no means limited to editorials. His contact with his readers was wider, of more general interest. Whenever business called him from town, then followed a letter or a series of them over the signature of "Sniktau" as of old. The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, visits to Chicago, sessions of the General Assembly in Denver were so reported. At times, too, there appeared what he chose to call "Short Patent Sermons" by "Sniktau," sage, friendly, half-humorous advice on principles of conduct, perhaps not out of place in a very prosperous silver camp.

His verse took various forms, was widely read, won for him the honor of poet for the state Press Club. Now it was a lyric greeting to the New Year for one of the imposing New Year editions of the "Miner." Now it was a ballad of mining adventure after the style of Bret Harte. Or again it was something more polished in imitation of the great N. P. Willis' scriptural poems.

The "Miner," worthy journal that it was, was a far cry from the "Stylus" of the dreams of Patterson and Poe. Nor is it to be thought that it ever made such pretention, or claimed to be other than the very best newspaper its owner could make it. Yet in its yellowed pages, cherished in Georgetown and Denver, is that which frequently brings to mind the youthful publisher-to-have-been, the boy of rare critical gift and great ambition. E. H. N. Patterson never discovered another such genius as Poe, but wherever he was, recognized literary ability and gave it all the encouragement in his



TWO VIEWS OF THE E. H. N. PATTERSON GRAVE IN THE LITTLE  
MOUNTAIN CEMETERY AT GEORGETOWN, COLORADO



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power. In this way his paper came to have a rather unique claim to fame.

Though it is the popular tradition that the "Denver Tribune" was the paper that discovered Bill Nye, a careful examination of the "Miner" files will prove this to be erroneous. Long before his fame had reached Denver, the Laramie humorist was contributing to Mr. Patterson's paper. To witness: his self-styled "little gems" and "sweet little things," among which is one entitled "Will You Love Me When I'm Old?" Not quite the style of his later years, but accorded space and encouragement as its due.

Another honor shared by Mr. Patterson and the "Miner" was the presentation of several poems and a serial by Agnes E. Mitchell, who is perhaps best known by a single poem—"When the Cows Come Home." This gifted woman lived in Georgetown in the seventies and though her work was appearing elsewhere, was not without honor and appreciation in the silver camp. There were others too, some of whom were never to be known beyond the circulation of the "Miner," who were accorded space and encouragement in its columns. Rather prominent are the poems of one Aaron Frost, cosmopolite, surveyor, mining reporter and poet, whose talent was of high order.

And so he lived, this man of supreme modesty who seemed to have vanished with the "Stylus" dream. It was not granted him to play the role of his choice, to become the publisher of America's leading literary magazine. Instead he became Colorado's beloved pioneer journalist, "Sniktau," and in the part, though all unconsciously, wore the mantle of the inspired historian, one of the epic tribe.





# Our Italians: Whence They Come, And Why; With Their Language and Names

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



EARLY seven-eighths of the Italians in the United States come from south of Rome. The percentage of emigration is highest in Calabria, which contains the original Italia; and is 4.4 for each 100,000 of the population; from Sicily in 1905, the percentage was 2.86, but in 1906 increased to 3.5 per 100,000, or a total of 127,000 emigrants; from the Basilicata (next north of Calabria), and eastern Italy, that is, Abruzzi, the Marches, and Venetia, 2.86 per 100,000 in 1905; from Campania (in which is Naples) and in Piedmont, 2.02 per 100,000; from Tuscany, 1.20; Latium (around Rome) 1.14; Apulia, the heel of the boot, 1.02; and Sardinia only 34 hundredths of 1 per 100,000. Of the Italian stock, which includes persons born in Italy and persons whose parents, one or both, were born in Italy, there were 2,098,360 in the United States in 1910.

The cause for emigration from Calabria, the Basilicata (otherwise known as the province of Potenza), Abruzzi, and the Marches, as well as from the mountainous parts of Venetia and Piedmont, is largely the ruggedness and poverty of the soil, and the deforestation, which not only takes away the timber industry but causes the further washing away of the soil; and the fact that most of the rainfall is in fall and winter, with drouth requiring irrigation in the growing season; combined in some of the provinces with rather rapid increase of population, due partly to early marriage, especially of the girls; of whom 44,647 were married under 20 years of age, 1900 to 1905 inclusive; 20-24 years old, 115,716; dropping to 45,976 for the period 25-29 years old; 23,069 for the period 30-39; and only 8,001 at 40-49. In consequence of the early maturity and marriage, and child-bearing, combined with manual labor, the Italians of the emigrating class age early.

The wages for unskilled labor in Calabria are from 17 to 25 cents per day; and for skilled labor, 38 to 50 cents per day of 13

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hours. Two-thirds of Calabria is held by a score of barons. The food of the peasants consists of boiled herbs and black bread. There are three great drawbacks to improvements: First, no railways and few roads in the interior, some villages being approached only by paths; secondly, deforestation; thirdly, there is no middle class; and the large number of communes, with small population, occasions a disproportionate number of official and professional people. These drawbacks exist in some degree in the other mountainous regions of Italy; in such, pasturing is now the chief occupation; the forests and forest industries having largely vanished. Besides, the coast strip of Calabria and the Basilicata, almost the only fertile portion, is very malarial.

The vine is cultivated in fair soils all over Italy. Wheat and maize are the chief crops in the north; though the average yield, 12 bushels of wheat per acre, is only moderate—not enough to supply Italy. Sicily and Campania have not the same cause of migration as the foregoing, since Sicily as a whole, ranks as a fertile country, and Campania is famed for fertility. Some consider the emigration as due to a gregarious migratory impulse, like that of a flock of sheep following the foremost. Sicily is chief in the cultivation of the orange and lemon, both introduced in comparatively modern times, and with the valleys of Sardinia, also chief in production of olives, native. Except in the mountains, and in the swamps of Rome and Tuscany, almost every living thing above the size of an insect is killed, either for food or wantonly. The people in and around Naples live in a simple, unconventional way, the poor easy as to filth, and as in the most of southern Italy without regard to sanitation, which however is being introduced by the municipal government. As to illiteracy, Italy shows considerable improvement since it came under the government of “United Italy” in 1870. The census of 1871 gave 73 per cent illiterate; the census of 1881 gave 67 per cent; that of 1901 gave 56 per cent. The lowest rate was in Piedmont, 17.7 per cent; the highest in Calabria, 78.7 per cent. The law of 1877 made education compulsory for children 6 to 9 years old, inclusive; but from various obstacles only 65 per cent of these were found registered in schools, for the school year 1901-02; or in public and private daily elementary schools, 3,733,349 children. Until 1860, women in the southern provinces were purposely left ignorant of reading and writing, and both sexes were very supersti-

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tious; now, both religion and superstition are feeble. In 1901, 57.5 per cent of Italians were unmarried, 36 per cent married, and 6.5 per cent widowed. According to recent returns, 97.12 per cent of the population of all Italy are nominally Roman Catholic. As to traits distinguishing the southern Italians from the northern, they are more hot-blooded and excitable, but less stable or capable of governmental organization; which goes to account for the former republics in Northern Italy, and the subordination of Southern Italy to despotic and often foreign rulers; which condition of servitude, coupled with the strong desire for revenge characteristic of the so-called Mediterranean peoples, accounts for such a secret conspiracy as issued in the "Sicilian Vespers" in 1282, and such secret associations as the Camorra in Naples and the Mafia in Sicily, the candidates of which are sworn to defeat governmental justice—by the Sicilian private code called omerta (that is, "manliness" from Sicilian *omu*, a man), the rule of the vendetta, or private redress of wrong, for the sake of which the injured will conceal the identity of the injurer himself from the police and the courts. The Camorra (the name Spanish, meaning quarrel) existed in Spain long before it was adopted in Naples, probably under the Spanish Bourbon rulers (1734-1860) of the "Two Sicilies" (one of which was the kingdom of Naples, which possessed from Naples southward to meet the original Sicily, from about 1300 to 1860); as the Mafia was organized in the disorder which followed the expulsion of the ruler of the Two Sicilies by Napoleon, as a state-wide secret organization; though it had had its local predecessors, under various names, long before. The Camorra was first publicly known in Naples in 1820; in 1848 becoming a Neapolitan "Tammany," which was all-powerful in elections, 1860-1862, and is still vigorous; the Mafia has shown similar activities, for example, in Palermo. Brachelli and Juraschek, *Die Staaten Europas*, 1907, contains the following on Italian crime: Punishable crimes, 1896-1900 for all Italy, 2,547 per 100,000 population; Piedmont, 1,234; Lombardy, 1,335; Venetia, 1,447; Sicily, 2,798; Campania, 3,545; Sardinia, 4,645, and Latium, 9,179 per 100,000 population.

The anticipation indulged by some American journalists, that our Italian immigrants will increase the artistic genius of America, is not warranted by the history of the chief geographical sections represented here, compared with the history of art. Italian art is



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dominantly Tuscan, both in great artists and in great schools of painting, as the Florentine, Sienese, and Umbrian; Michel Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Giotto and Andrea del Sarto, are some of the Florentine painters. Tuscan success stirred up the neighboring regions, especially Venetia, hence we have Titian, Tintoretto, and the Venetian school; Raphael; also a branch Roman school, but southern Italy, except about Naples, had practically no share in it. The virtues of the southern Italians seem to be, love of home and country, frugality, temperance in eating and drinking (though not in resentment), and a good degree of business honor and honesty; the homely rather than the brilliant qualities; Calabria also is said to have furnished ninety Saints, seventy beati, and ten popes to the Roman Church.

Italy, at the time of Julius Caesar's crossing the Rubicon, extended north to that river and the Arnus; but under Augustus, had nearly its present territory. It was divided into many ethnic or race groups, marked by a dozen language-groups, besides the isolated Etruscan; of which the first nine, counting from the south, are Neo-Latin peculiar to Italy, and may be re-grouped as Tuscan-Venetian, Sardinian-Corsican, and Neapolitan-Sicilian in our day; and north and northwest Italy has the Gallo-Italic dialects, namely: the Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard, and Emilian. The standard literary language of Italy, sometimes called "the pure Tuscan," originated in the Florentine dialect. Italian dialectic variations are so wide, however, that a native of Sicily finds it difficult to make himself understood in northern Italy. One marked tendency of the people of Naples, Calabria, and Sicily, as it was of the old Oscan about Naples, is to assimilate the second of two unlike consonants to the first, as *mm* for *mb*, *nn* for *nd*, etc. For example, Neapolitan *chiumme*, Sicilian *chiummu*, for standard Italian *piombo*, lead; *granmé*, for *grande*, great; and *'ntennere* for *intendere*, to intend. So Sicilian *parrari* for *parlare*, to talk; *minnitta* for *vendetta*, and *vracce* for *braccio*, arm; and Neapolitan *janche*, Sicilian *jancu*, for *bianco*, white. A peculiarity in the north of Italy, as Piedmont, Lombardy, and Emilia, is the dropping of any final vowel except *-a*; this was early noticed in the Piedmontese immigrants in the United States, and attributed to Italians in general, in dialect talk; as *mon'* for *money*; *vsin'* for Italian *vicino*, neighbor; but this "dialect" is wasted on addressing it to southern Italians. Physically,



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the southern Italian seldom is taller than five feet six inches, and the men are usually rather lean, but wiry; the northern Italian not infrequently reaches six feet; though dark hair is generally characteristic of Italy, some northerners, especially Lombards, are blonds, the Lombards being a Germanic people.

The Italian personal names and family names derived from them are remarkable for expressing nice shades of meaning, and various feelings of the bestower, as is usual in pet names and nicknames: with the richest development of diminutives. The usual West-European saints and heroes are represented in the christen-names; such as Giovanni, John; so common that it is probably the reason why any unknown Italian is called "Joe"; J being represented in Italian by Gi. Shortened forms are Gian, and Gianni. Giambattista, John the Baptist: Giuseppe, Joseph, with its pet name Beppo: Pietro and Piero, Peter: Guglielmo and Gulielmo, William: Filippo, Lippo, Pippo, Philip: Davide, Danielle, Niccolo, Tommaso, Marco, Antonio, Stefano, Raffaele, Mich(a)ele, Ferdinando, Teodoro, Samuele, Cipriano, Matteo, Emanuele, Ernesto, Leonardo, Martino, Carlo, Bartolomeo, Lucrezio, Giorgio or Georgio, Augusto, Cristoforo, Sigismondo, and many others, explain themselves. Giacomo is our James; Giulio, Julius; Paolo, Paul; Francesco, Francis or Frank; Alessandro, Alexander; Enrico and Arrigo, our Henry and Harry; Uberto, Hubert; Orazio, Horace; Ruggiero, Roger; Ambrogio, Ambrose; Vittorio, Victor; Vincenzo, Vincent; Gualtiero, Walter; Federico, Frederick; Luigi, Louis; Andrea, Andrew. Of the diminutives,—ello, feminine—ella, and—illo,—illa, express ordinary smallness; as in Agnello, which originally meant, little lamb; emphatic or dwarfish smallness is expressed by—uolo,—uola, and—olo,—ola; e. g. Pollaiuolo:—ino,—ina, expresses tenderness; or if used insincerely, flattery or cajoling; e. g. Petrosino, pretty little Peter:—etto,—etta, express nicety or neat appearance; e. g. Giovanetto, nice little Giovanni;—uccio,—uccia, or—uzzo,—uzza, express compassion or contempt; e. g. Petrucci(o), poor (or rascally) little Peter. A shading toward the larger is expressed by—otto,—otta,—ozzi, somewhat small; e. g. Angelotti, Piozzi. Italian also has endings to express bigness;—one, in Marcone, big Marco;—accio, accia; e. g. Petraccio, big, ugly Peter. One of the foregoing endings may be added to another; as, Puccinello, pretty and tiny Jacob. Most Italian family names ending—i, have sprung from the

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collective name of the family: for example, de' Medici, degli Amati; that is (one) of the Medico or the Amato family: others from the known confusion of—i with—o and even—a, among uneducated Italians formerly: the de, di has usually disappeared.



## Card and Allied Families

BY EDW. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

*Caird-Card Arms*—Ermine, a demi-lion couped azure, collared or.  
*Crest*—A demi-lion rampant.



THE Card family has never been a numerous one either in this country or in England, but that its members attained distinction is evidenced by the fact that at least two family groups bearing the name were entitled to bear arms. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded by Burke in his "General Armory" for Card or Caird, without designation of locality, and are similar to those of Card of Grey's Inn, which show a different crest and bear, in addition to the lion, three torteaux (red roundles).

I. *Joseph Card*, who was born in Rhode Island, removed from Rhode Island to Connecticut and located first in Lebanon, but later in Bradford, where he died at the age of ninety-two years. He was a farmer, who conducted a saw mill while in Lebanon. He was twice married.

Children: 1. Clarissa, never married. 2. Maria, married Erastus Newell and lived in Lebanon. 3. Nancy, married Cromwell Kingsley, of Lebanon. 4. William, married Sarah Babcock. 5. Thomas, of whom further. 6. Charles, married Mercy Perry, of New London, Connecticut.

II. *Thomas Card*, son of Joseph Card, was born in Lebanon, where he spent most of his days, engaged in farming, but during his declining years he lived in Windham, near the Lebanon line, where he was tenderly cared for by his son, Martin. For thirteen years before his death he was blind, but retained all other faculties to the age of ninety-two. He married Hannah Greenman, a native of Mansfield, daughter of John Greenman.

Children: 1. Samuel, of Springfield, Massachusetts. 2. Ann. 3. Clarissa, who died young. 4. Martin, of whom further. 5. Lucy, died young. 6. Catherine, who married Joseph Hendricks, lived in Bridgeport, and died, aged sixty-seven. 7. Cecilia, married (first)

CAIRD (CARD).

*Arms*—Ermine, a demi-lion coupé azure, collared or.  
*Crest*—A demi-lion rampant.

BURDETT (BURDICK).

*Arms*—Azure, two bars argent (or, in some branches).

WILCOX.

*Arms*—Argent, a lion rampant between three crescents sable, a chief vair.  
*Crest*—Out of a mural coronet or a demi-lion rampant sable, collared vair.

MAYNE (MAIN).

*Arms*—Argent, on a bend sable three dexter hands coupé of the field.  
*Crest*—An oak tree proper.

HUBBARD.

*Arms*—Quarterly, argent and sable, on a bend gules three lions passant or.

BROWN.

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron sable, between three cranes azure, as many escallops or.  
*Crest*—On a mount vert a hare courant argent.



[illegible]



Card  
(Card)



Wilcox



Burdett  
(Burdick)



Mayne  
(Main)



Hubbard



Brown



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Darius Wood; (second) Warren Palmer; (third) John Rood, of Windham.

*III. Martin Card*, son of Thomas and Hannah (Greenman) Card, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, April 10, 1821, and died at his farm in South Windham, Connecticut, November 19, 1904. He attended the district schools, and at an early age became his father's helper on the farm, "Being a worker from his earliest years." He early left home and leased a farm at Columbia, on the share plan, and by hard work saved one hundred dollars, with which he made a first payment on a small farm in Lebanon, on which he lived for six years. In 1855 he bought a farm in South Windham and there continued a farmer and butcher for thirty-three years. His meat business became very important. With the assistance of his son he killed his own cattle, serving five routes with dressed meats. It is said of him that in one day he killed and dressed, unaided, eighty three-year-old steers, and in that one week his profits were four hundred dollars. He continued in business many years, his son, William Clinton, continuing to serve as his assistant, and his daughter, Lydia Ann, his business and office assistant. He kept two teams busy serving routes in Windham, Franklin, Columbia, Lebanon and Willimantic. As his profits accumulated, he invested wisely in real estate in Windham and Willimantic, purchasing tenement houses and considerable desirable property. He retired from business several years before his passing, Lydia Ann Card attending to his business. Mr. Card was a Democrat in politics, but one of those who, in spite of party affiliation, cast his vote for President McKinley. It is recorded of him that he was a "plain-living, self-made man, and won his way to a competence from a very small beginning." He stood high in the esteem of his fellow-citizens, was "popular with all classes" and was regarded by all as an "influential man and a useful citizen." Martin Card married, March 30, 1845, in Lebanon, Connecticut, Lydia Smith Fitch, who died December 4, 1916, at the great age of ninety years, daughter of William Fitch, and granddaughter of Joseph Fitch, a farmer of Lebanon, who died, aged seventy-nine years. Joseph Fitch married Esther Murdock, and they were the parents of an only child, William Fitch, who married Abbie Ford, daughter of Jacob and Lydia (Smith) Ford, the latter living to the age of ninety-one years. William and Abbie (Ford) Fitch were the parents of two children: 1. Esther, who married William



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Card, and had two children: i. Edward. ii. Mary Ella, who married Franz Walker, of Lebanon. 2. Lydia Smith, born May 12, 1826, who married Martin Card.

Children of Martin and Lydia Smith (Fitch) Card: 1. Lydia Ann, born February 25, 1849, resided at the old home in South Windham, and managed her father's business. 2. William Clinton, of whom further.

*IV. William Clinton Card*, son of Martin and Lydia Smith (Fitch) Card, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, May 21, 1852, and died in South Windham, Windham County, Connecticut, April 18, 1921. When he was about three years of age his parents removed to South Windham, and in public schools of that town he received his earliest training. Later, he became a student in Dr. Fitch's Academy on the hill, and finished his studies at Natchaug Academy, in Willimantic. As a boy he assisted his father both on the farm and in the butcher business, but neither occupation proved to be congenial, and when he became of age he entered the employ of Smith, Winchester & Company. There his ability found ample field for exercise and won for him steady advancement. As foreman of the foundry department he continued his connection with the firm until 1912, when he retired after nearly forty years of continuous service. His home and his business were the two centers of his interest and to both he gave loyal devotion and untiring service. His home life was especially happy, and to his wife as "a true help-mate" he always gave the credit for his success as well as for his happiness in life.

William C. Card married, in South Windham, November 8, 1881, Ella A. Lewis (see Lewis IX), who was born at Packerville, near Plainfield, Connecticut, daughter of Prentice (3) and Lydia Ensworth, or Elizabeth (Bliss) Lewis. (See Bliss VIII and Lewis VIII.)

(Bliss Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a bend cottised azure, three garbs or.  
*Crest*—A garb or.

The Bliss family is believed to be the same as the Blois family of Normandy, gradually modified in spelling to Bloys, Blusse, Blisse and in America, to Bliss. The family has been in England, however, since the Norman Conquest, but is not numerous and never appears to have been. The ancient family tradition represents the



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*William Clinton Card*









Bliss

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

seat of the Bliss family in the South of England, and belonging to the yeomanry, though at various times some of the family were knighted. The name is not found on record in England until the year 1272, when two men, each named John Blisse, were tenant landholders, one in the county of Buckingham, the other in the county of Cambridge. From John Blisse, of Tyringham, in Buckinghamshire, the family armorial bearings traced below are believed to be descended.

*I. Richard Blisse*, of Daventry, born about 1460-65, had a son, Richard, of whom further.

*II. Richard Bliss* (or Blisse), son of Richard Blisse, also of Daventry. He had a son, William, of whom further.

*III. William Bliss*, son of Richard Bliss, also of Daventry, a blacksmith, was born in 1530-35, will proved 1574.

*IV. John Bliss*, son of William Bliss, was born in Daventry, in 1562, died at Preston Capes, in 1617. He was twice married, his first wife, name unknown, being the mother of several children, two of whom emigrated to New England. These were: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. George, of Newport, Rhode Island. Their first cousin, Thomas Bliss, also settled at Rehoboth, Massachusetts.

(The Family in America).

*I. Thomas Bliss*, son of John Bliss, was a brother of George Bliss, who settled at Newport, Rhode Island, and a cousin of Thomas Bliss, who married Dorothy Wheatley, and settled at Rehoboth, Massachusetts. The first-named Thomas (son of John) was born in Daventry, England, 1580-1590, and died in Hartford, Connecticut, before February 14, 1650. He is believed to have lived at Preston Parva, England, when his first nine children were born, but a search of "the records of the entire deanery" does not discover the baptism of any of them. "Excommunication alone," says Mr. Hoppin, the genealogist, whose mother was a Bliss, "could have been Thomas Blisse's legal or likely reason for not complying with the law" that all infants should be baptized into the Church of England. "We miss," says he, "the records of baptism, but we prize higher than if we had them the independence and courage of the father and mother, Thomas Blisse, blacksmith, and his wife, Margaret." On the map of Hartford, Connecticut, as drawn from the original land records, the land of Thomas Bliss is shown as lying

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

between the lands of Thomas Bliss, Jr., on the south, and Thomas Selden's on the north. Bounding the rear of his lot was that of Paul Peck, and the land of Thomas Richards lay across the road, which led from J. Barnard's to Little River. The records of 1639 name Thomas Blisse and Thomas Blisse, Jr., with six acres each, as among "such inhabitants as were granted lotts to have onely at the town's courtesue, with liberty to fetch wood and keepe swine or coves on the Common." On the list of the original and early members of the First Church of Hartford are these entries: "Thomas Blisse"; "Thomas Blisse, Jr., died April 15, 1688, moved to Saybrook." Thomas, Sr., died intestate, but the settlement of his estate, on record at Hartford, mentions seven children: Lawrence, John, Sam, Hester, Eliz., Hannah, Sarah. His widow, Margaret, made her will June 25, 1684.

Children of Thomas and Margaret (Lawrence) Bliss: 1. Ann, married, April 29, 1642, Robert Chapman. 2. Mary, married, November 26, 1646, Joseph Parsons. 3. Thomas, of whom further. 4. Nathaniel, married, November 20, 1646, Catherine Chapin. 5. Lawrence, born in England in 1676; married Lydia Wright. 6. Hesther, married, December 26, 1661, Edward Foster. 7. Samuel, born in England, in 1624; married Mary Leonard. 8. Sarah, born at Boston Mount about 1635-36; married Miles Morgan. 9. Hannah, born at Hartford, in 1639, died single, in 1662. 10. John, born at Hartford in 1640; married Patience Burt.

*II. Thomas Bliss*, son of Thomas and Margaret (Lawrence) Bliss, was born in England and came with his father to America in 1635. Soon after his father's death, he removed to Saybrook, Connecticut, then to Norwich, Connecticut. The homestead in Norwich was still (in 1880) occupied by his descendants. Seven generations of the same name had successively inherited it and lived there. The property is held under the original deed, and the house itself in its frame work is doubtless the original habitation built by the first grantee.

Thomas Bliss' will, dated April 13, 1688, two days before his death, made provision for his wife Elizabeth, six daughters, and his only living son, Samuel, who was at that time thirty-one years of age. His estate was estimated at £182, 17s. 7d. He married, October 30, 1644, Elizabeth, surname unknown.

Children: 1. Elizabeth, born in Saybrook, Connecticut, No-

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

vember 20, 1645; married Edward Smith, of New London, June 7, 1663. 2. Sarah, born at Saybrook, August 26, 1647; married (first), in December, 1668, Dr. Solomon Tracy, of Norwich. 3. Mary, born in Saybrook, December 7, 1649; married, in 1672-73, David Caulkins, son of Deacon Hugh and Ann Caulkins. 4. Thomas, born in Saybrook, November 3, 1652, died January 29, 1682, probably unmarried. 5. Deliverance, born in Saybrook, August 10, 1655; married, June 8, 1682, David Perkins, of Norwich. 6. Samuel, of whom further. 7. Anne, born in Norwich, September 15, 1660; married, April 8, 1688, Josiah Rockwell, of Norwich; died February 19, 1714-15. 8. Rebeckah, born in Norwich, November 18, 1663; married, April 8, 1686, Israel Lathup.

*III. Samuel Bliss*, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Bliss, was born in Saybrook, Connecticut, December 6, 1657, and died December 30, 1729. He purchased lands of the Indian Chief Oweneco, 1704-07, and located in Lebanon, Connecticut. He married, December 8, 1681, Anne Elderkin, daughter of Deacon John Elderkin, one of the early settlers and proprietors of Norwich. She was considered one of the finest young ladies in the town—"fine" in those days usually denoting a person of thrift, intelligence and usefulness. Anne (Elderkin) Bliss died May 17, 1748.

Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Samuel, born November 13, 1684, died September 20, 1763. 3. Elizabeth, born February 28, 1687; married, April 25, 1710, Captain Daniel White, of Hatfield, Massachusetts. 4. John, born October 23, 1690, died February 1, 1741. 5. Pelatiah, born November 17, 1697, died in 1765. 6. Thankful, born March 7, 1700; married, April 6, 1719, Joseph Willoughby, of Norwich.

*IV. Thomas Bliss*, son of Samuel and Anne (Elderkin) Bliss, was born September 6, 1682. He married, at Norwich, Connecticut, May 27, 1708, Mary Loomer. He was bitten by a rattlesnake, and died in June, 1719.

Children: 1. Thomas, born June 26, 1709, died in June, 1719. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Elijah, born March 30, 1715. 4. Elizabeth.

*V. Samuel Bliss*, son of Thomas and Mary (Loomer) Bliss, was born July 13, 1712. It is said that he moved to the northern part of Preston (now Griswold), Connecticut, near the present village of



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Jewett City, and died there July 30, 1804. His wife, Mary (Bushnell) Bliss, died March 7, 1776, aged sixty-five years.

Children: 1. Mary, born July 29, 1737, died November 23, 1763. 2. Ezra, born October 4, 1738, died March 4, 1764; married Anne Roath, daughter of David and Elizabeth Roath, of Norwich. 3. Zupporah, died December 3, 1763. 4. Samuel, born July 8, 1743, died May 27, 1823. 5. Abigail, born May 23, 1746. 6. Jonathan, of whom further. 7. Zephaniah, born August 29, 1750. 8. Silas, born January 17, 1753, died in 1809-10. 9. Eunice, born December 15, 1754. 10. It is thought there was a daughter, Alice, who married Silas Spalding, of Plainfield, Connecticut, about 1778.

*VI. Jonathan Bliss*, son of Samuel and Mary (Bushnell) Bliss, was born June 17, 1748, and died March 17, 1800. He lived near the present site of Jewett City (formerly part of Preston). He married Lydia Ensworth, who died April 18, 1817.

Children: 1. Septimus, of whom further. 2. Paris E., born September 18, 1778, died May 5, 1783. 3. William, born March 3, 1788, died April 11, 1843.

*VII. Septimus Bliss*, son of Jonathan and Lydia (Ensworth) Bliss, was born in Preston, Connecticut, September 2, 1772. He married, in 1803-04, Nabby Phinney, who died in Canterbury, Connecticut.

Children: 1. Francis, born May 6, 1805; married Lydia M. Hopkins, of Coventry, Rhode Island, died April 12, 1879. 2. Alexander, born May 26, 1808; married Abby S. Branch, daughter of Elisha Branch, of Lisbon, Connecticut. 3. Abby Kingsby, born July 31, 1812; married, December 1, 1839, William Harvey, of South Canterbury, Connecticut. 4. Joshua, born April 25, 1815; married, November 18, 1838, Emiline Nelson, of New York. 5. Lydia Ensworth, of whom further.

*VIII. Lydia Ensworth Bliss* (some records say Lydia Elizabeth), daughter of Septimus and Nabby (Phinney) Bliss, was born May 1, 1822, and died February 21, 1898. She married, October 31, 1847, Prentice (3) Lewis, jeweler, of South Windham, Connecticut.

(Lewis Line).

*Arms*—Or, three bars azure interlaced by a pike in pale, sable, head downwards.

*Crest*—An eagle's wing or, charged as in arms.

*Motto*—*Unbestechlich*.

The family name Lewis is from the Christen-name and Welsh-Norman variation of the Frankish *Chlovis*, French *Louis*, originally



Lewis



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

*Hluodovch*, famous holiness, Latinized, *Chlodovisus*. It was adopted by the Welsh as an equivalent of Llewellyn. Lewis ap-Owen was archdeacon of Cardigan, 1487. Llewellyn ap Madoc, alias Lewis Rede, archdeacon of Brecon, 1437.

(The Family in America).

*I. John Lewis* came from England with four brothers and is on record among the earliest settlers of Misquannicut (now Westerly), Rhode Island, in 1661; freeman, October 28, 1668. He died in 1690, and is buried near the road leading from Westerly to Watch Hill. He was married, and probably had one or two children before 1661. The name of his wife is not on record.

Children: 1. Jonathan, died about 1708; married (first) Jemima Whitehead, of Huntington, Long Island. 2. John, Jr., of whom further. 3. Daniel, married Mary Maxson, daughter of John Maxson, and settled in Hopkinton, Rhode Island. 4. James, married Sarah Babcock, daughter of James Babcock, Jr., and died in 1745; eight children. 5. David, married Elizabeth Babcock, daughter of James Babcock, Jr.; five children. 6. Israel, married Jane Babcock, daughter of James Babcock, Jr.; had Jane. 7. Samuel, will dated August 5, 1734; married Joanna, surname unknown. 8. Dorcas, married Robert Burdick.

*II. John Lewis, Jr.*, son of John Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, and died there in 1735. He took the oath of allegiance May 3, 1681; was grand juror June 12, 1688, deputy to the General Assembly at Newport, October 25, 1704, and in 1709 and 1710. He married, in 1682, Ann, surname unknown.

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. Joseph, born October 12, 1683, died in 1764; married Mary Wilcox, daughter of Edward Wilcox. (See Wilcox IV.) 2. Sarah, born August 17, 1687; married ——— Bemis. 3. Mary, born May 4, 1689; married ——— Dake. 4. Anna, born January 6, 1691; married, April 18, 1711, William Ross. 5. Abigail, born May 20, 1693; married ——— Slack. 6. John, of whom further. 7. William, born February 1, 1701-02. 8. Jerusha, born January 11, 1706-07.

*III. John Lewis*, son of John, Jr., and Ann Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, January 30 (Lewis letter says 13), 1698, and died there. He married, March 12, 1718, Mary Burdick, daughter of Benjamin and Mary Burdick. (See Burdick III.)



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Elisha, born December 30, 1722. 3. Mary, born January 22, 1724. 4. Joseph, born March 2, 1728.

IV. *John Lewis*, son of John and Mary (Burdick) Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, April 9, 1719. He married, November 23, 1738, Thankful Lewis. (See Wilcox V.)

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. John, born July 17, 1739. 2. Chloe, born August 26, 1741. 3. Ruhamah, born May 19, 1743, died in 1781; married, in 1766, Captain Oliver Lewis. 4. Hezekiah, of whom further. 5. Elias, born November 25, 1746. 6. Simeon, born December 25, 1753, died in 1823. 7. Hannah, born September 7, 1755. 8. Bernice, born February 1, 1758. 9. William, born June 24, 1760. 10. Jephtha, born May 17, 1763. 11. Anna, born September 22, 1765.

V. *Hezekiah Lewis*, son of John and Thankful (Lewis) Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, October 24, 1744, and died there. He married, at Stonington, Connecticut, March 16, 1766, Anne Main, of Stonington. (See Main VI.)

Children, except the first, born at Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. Jared, born in Stonington, March 6, 1767. 2. Anne, born in Westerly, September 10, 1768. 3. Prentice, of whom further. 4. John, born April 28, 1776. 5. Maxson, born December 13, 1782; married, October 21, 1805, Polly Maine. 6. Amy, born January 18, 1784. 7. Josiah, twin, born July 31, 1789. 8. Hezekiah, twin, born July 31, 1789.

VI. *Prentice Lewis*, son of Hezekiah and Anne (Main) Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, March 16, 1772, and died at Clarksville, New York, January 1, 1842. He married, December 7, 1794, Polly Thompson.

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. Polly, born October 23, 1795. 2. Prentice, of whom further. 3. Bridget, born December 21, 1800, died November 14, 1801. 4. Rhoda, born February 21, 1802. 5. Anna, born April 2, 1805.

VII. *Prentice Lewis, Jr.*, son of Prentice and Polly (Thompson) Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, September 27, 1797, and died in Canterbury, Connecticut, September 18, 1883. He married, December 19, 1819, Temperance Brown, of Groton, Connecticut, who was born November 9, 1798, and died in Canterbury, Connecticut, in August, 1865.





*Prentice Lewis*



*Lydia E. (Bliss) Lewis*

*Prentice Lewis*

*Ella A. Lewis*

*(now Mrs. Wm. C. Card)*





## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Children, born in Groton, Connecticut, except the last: 1. Temperance E., born September 15, 1821. 2. Mary A., born September 15, 1824. 3. Caroline, born July 14, 1826. 4. Prentice, of whom further. 5. Permelia (twin), born August 31, 1828. 6. George W., born March 19, 1830. 7. Richard T., born March 20, 1832. 8. Hannah A., born in Canterbury, Connecticut, March 18, 1836.

*VIII. Prentice (3) Lewis*, son of Prentice and Temperance (Brown) Lewis, was born in Groton, Connecticut, August 31, 1828. He was a jeweler; settled at South Windham, Connecticut; member of the Baptist Church, and had charge of the Windham Cemetery. He married, October 31, 1847, Lydia Ensworth, or Elizabeth, Bliss (see Bliss VIII), born May 1, 1822, daughter of Septimus and Nabby (Phinney) Bliss, of Canterbury. She died in South Windham, February 21, 1898.

Children: 1. Annette, born June 18, 1849, died September 7, 1851. 2. Ella A., of whom further.

*IX. Ella A. Lewis*, daughter of Prentice (3) and Lydia Ensworth, or Elizabeth, (Bliss) Lewis, was born at Packerville, in Canterbury, Connecticut, May 1, 1858. She married, November 8, 1881, in South Windham, Connecticut, William C. Card. (See Card IV.)

(Burdick Line).

*Burdett-Burdick Arms*—Azure, two bars argent (or, in some branches).

The family name Burdick is a variation of Burdett, earlier Burdet, a Norman name. Hugh and Robert Burdet are in the Domesday Book, A. D. 1086. It is probably a place name. Le Bourdet is a commune in the department Deux-Levres, Western France. John de Burdet was of the Isle of Guernsey, 1294, and Peter Burdet in the county of Leicester; earlier, William Burdet is in the Hundred Rolls of County Leicester, A. D. 1273.

(The Family in America).

*I. Robert Burdick* was baptized in Newport, Rhode Island, November 19, 1652, and was made freeman May 22, 1655, and after the purchase from the Indians of deed, June 29, 1660, by five Newportmen, he was one of the first to occupy, about September 1, 1661; but his house was found to be within the limits of Southertown, then under Massachusetts jurisdiction. He retired to Newport, in July, 1675, in King Philip's War, but returned a little later and was deputy from Westerly to the General Assembly in 1680-83-85.

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He died in the latter part of 1692. He married, November 2, 1655, Ruth Hubbard. (See Hubbard II.)

Children, the older born in Newport, the rest in Westerly: 1. Robert, married Dorcas Lewis, daughter of John Lewis. 2. A son, died in 1683. 3. Hubbard, died in 1758; married Hannah Maxson, daughter of John and Mary Maxson. 4. Thomas, died in 1752; married (first) Martha, surname unknown; (second), in 1738, Penelope Rhodes. 5. Naomi, married Jonathan Rogers, son of James Rogers. 6. Ruth, married, in 1682, John Phillips. 7. Benjamin, of whom further. 8. Samuel, died in 1756; married Mary, surname unknown, who died in 1752. 9. Tacy, died in 1747; married Joseph Maxson, son of John and Mary (Mosher) Maxson. 10. Deborah, married Joseph Crandall, died in 1737, son of John Crandall.

*II. Benjamin Burdick*, son of Robert and Ruth (Hubbard) Burdick, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, and died there, in 1741, leaving a will which was proved April 27, 1741. On March 28, 1692, he had one hundred acres granted to him, and was one of thirty-four who purchased five thousand three hundred acres of land, October 2, 1711. In 1716 he was deacon of the Seventh Day Baptist Church. He married (first) Mary, surname unknown; (second) Widow Jane Shelby.

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island, all by first marriage: 1. Mary, of whom further. 2. Rachel, born July 5, 1701. 3. Peter, born August 5, 1703. 4. Benjamin, born November 25, 1705. 5. John, born March 24, 1708. 6. David, born February 24, 1710. 7. William, born June 12, 1713. 8. Elisha, born September 22, 1716.

*III. Mary Burdick*, daughter of Benjamin and Mary Burdick, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, July 26, 1699, and died there. She married, March 12, 1718, John Lewis. (See Lewis III.)

(Wilcox Line).

*Arms*—Argent, a lion rampant between three crescents sable, a chief vair.

*Crest*—Out of a mural coronet or a demi-lion rampant sable, collared vair.

The family name Wilcock, Wilcocks, or Wilcox, is a pet or diminutive for William. Willecoc Rossel is in the Hundred Rolls of Devonshire, A. D. 1273; Rudolphus Wylock is in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379.

*I. Edward Wilcox*, possibly of Devonshire ancestry, appears in a list of inhabitants forming the civil combination, May 20, 1638; for the government of the island of Aquidneck (later Rhode Island).

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

His residence was at Portsmouth, and later at Kingstown, Rhode Island. He was married, but his wife's name does not appear.

Children: 1. Stephen, of whom further. 2. Daniel, died July 2, 1702; married, November 28, 1661, Elizabeth Cook, daughter of John Cook.

*II. Stephen Wilcox*, son of Edward Wilcox, was born in 1633, and died at Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1690. He had a grant of land at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, December 10, 1657, and was a freeman there May 18, 1658. On May 18, 1669, his name was in the list of inhabitants of Westerly, Rhode Island, and he was deputy or representative from Westerly in 1670 and 1672. He married, in 1658, Hannah Hazard, daughter of Thomas and Martha Hazard, receiving with her from her father thirty-four acres of land as dower.

Children: 1. Edward, of whom further. 2. Thomas, died in 1728; married Martha Hazard, daughter of Robert and Mary Hazard. 3. Daniel, born in Kingston; married, in 1697, Mary Wordell, and died in Stonington, Connecticut. 4. William, born in Westerly, Rhode Island, died in Stonington, December 27, 1757; married, in 1698, Dorothy Palmer. 5. Stephen, died in Westerly; married, in 1704, Elizabeth Crandall, daughter of John and Elizabeth Crandall. 6. Hannah, married Samuel Clark, son of Jeremiah and Ann (Audley) Clark. 7. Jeremiah, married Mary Mallett, daughter of Thomas and Mary Mallett.

*III. Edward Wilcox*, son of Stephen and Hannah (Hazard) Wilcox, was born in 1662, and died at Westerly, Rhode Island, November 5, 1715. He settled in Westerly, and married (first) Mary Hazard, daughter of Robert and Mary (Brownell) Hazard. He married (second), May 1, 1698, Thomasin Stevens, born July 3, 1677, daughter of Richard Stevens.

Children, born in Westerly, Rhode Island, by first marriage: 1. Mary, of whom further. 2. Hannah. 3. Stephen. 4. Edward. By second marriage: 5. Sarah, born May 30, 1700. 6. Thomas, born February 18, 1702, died January 15, 1721-22. 7. Hezekiah, born April 4, 1704. 8. Elisha, born July 9, 1706. 9. Amy, born October 18, 1709. 10. Susanna, born April 4, 1712.

*IV. Mary Wilcox*, daughter of Edward and Mary (Hazard) Wilcox, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1688, and died there, November 27, 1762. She married Joseph Lewis, who was born in



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Westerly, Rhode Island, October 12, 1683, son of John, Jr., and Ann Lewis. (See Lewis II.)

Children (Lewis), born in Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. Jerusha, born July 13, 1707; married, April 4, 1734, George Brown, Jr. 2. Joseph, born December 25, 1709. 3. Thankful, of whom further. 4. Absalom, born November 25, 1724. 5. Hannah, born November 21, 1726.

V. *Thankful Lewis*, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Wilcox) Lewis, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, June 15, 1720. She married, November 23, 1738, John Lewis. (See Lewis IV.)

(Main Line).

*Mayne-Main Arms*—Argent, on a bend sable three dexter hands couped of the field.  
*Crest*—An oak tree proper.

The family name Mayne or Maine is sometimes from the Christen-name Mayne, from Old Franklin *magin*, "powerful." Radulphus, also Walterus, *fil.* Main occur in a Pipe Roll of 1159 A. D., and Matilda Meyn in the Hundred Rolls of Oxfordshire, A. D. 1273. Sometimes from Maine, an old French province, Joel de Meyn, in the Hundred Rolls of Devonshire, Emulphus de Maine, Standard Bearer of William the Conqueror, received grants of land in Devonshire, and Joel de Meyn obtained from Henry I., in 1140, property in King's Nymet, near Chumleigh, Devonshire, whence the Maynes of Tiffont Ewyas, in Wiltshire, arms only slightly differing from the above.

(The Family in America).

I. *John Maine (Mayne, Main)*, born in York, England, in 1614, came to America in 1629 and settled at York, Maine.

II. *Ezekiel Main*, son of John Maine, of York, Maine, was born in Maine (?), in 1641, and died in Stonington, Connecticut, June 19, 1714. He removed to Stonington in 1669 and received, in 1670, 1672 and 1680, grants of land from the town in the present North Stonington. He married, probably a short time before settling in Stonington, Mary, surname unknown.

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Ezekiel. 2. Mary, baptized July 1, 1677, died young. 3. Jeremiah, of whom further. 4. Thomas, baptized September 22, 1679, died young. 5. Phebe, baptized August 7, 1681; married Ephraim Kingsbury, born in 1681. 6. Hannah.

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

*III. Jeremiah Main*, son of Ezekiel and Mary Main, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1678, and died there, November 11, 1727. He married, October 11, 1699, Ruth Brown, widow, with a daughter.

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Hannah, baptized May 17, 1702. 3. Elizabeth, born February 22, 1702-03; married Ebenezer Brown. 4. Lydia, born April 19, 1705. 5. Sarah, born May 19, 1706. 6. Jeremiah, born April 10, 1708; married (first) Abigail Worden; (second) Thankful Brown. 7. Hephzibah, born March 24, 1710. 8. Nathaniel, born August 4, 1714. 9. Anna, born August 21, 1715. 10. John, born May 20, 1716; married Sarah Morgan. 11. Peter, born August 5, 1718; married Mary Egglestone.

*IV. Deacon Thomas Main*, son of Jeremiah and Ruth (——— Brown) Main, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, July 19, 1700, and died there in 1771. He married (first), April 20, 1720, Anna Brown (see Brown III). He married (second), May 14, 1766, Elizabeth Hewitt, who was born April 12, 1709, daughter of Thomas and Perces (Cleveland) Hewitt.

Children, all by first marriage, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Thomas, born February 12, 1721; married, February 3, 1742, Mary Pendleton. 2. Andrew, of whom further. 3. Timothy, born April 8, 1727; married, January 27, 1749, Elizabeth Brown. 4. Joshua, born April 5, 1729; married, November 2, 1752, Rachel Peckham. 5. Anne, born July 3, 1731; married, December 20, 1749, Deacon Zebulon Brown. 6. Jonas, born February 7, 1735; married (first) Patience Peckham; (second) Content Bromley. 7. Elizabeth, died young. 8. Ezekiel, born July 8, 1742; married, November 25, 1761, Deborah Meacham. 9. Phebe, born November 16, 1747; married, March 31, 1763, Samuel Meacham.

*V. Andrew Main*, son of Deacon Thomas and Anna (Brown) Main, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, August 5, 1723. He married, January 5, 1743-44, Fear Holmes. (See Holmes V.)

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Bethiah, born April 6, 1745. 2. Fear, born August 13, 1747. 3. Anne, of whom further. 4. Andrew, born July 6, 1749. 5. Ruth, born September 23, 1750. 6. Rachel, born January 8, 1753. 7. Molly, born August 6, 1755. 8. Joshua, born October 3, 1757. 9. Elias, born October 6,

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1760. 10. Reuben, born January 22, 1762. 11. Eunice, born March 17, 1764.

VI. *Anne Main*, daughter of Andrew and Fear (Holmes) Main, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, November 18, 1748. She married, March 16, 1766, Hezekiah Lewis. (See Lewis V.)

(Hubbard Line).

*Arms*—Quarterly, argent and sable, on a bend gules three lions passant or.

The family name Hubbard is a variation of the Christen-name Hubert, the French for Hugibert (meaning "bright thought") bishop of Liege, and patron saint of hunters. Hubertus de Vall is in a Pipe Roll of 1159 A. D.; Hubert le Priur in a Close Roll of 1268; Petrus and Alicia Hubard are in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379.

(The Family in America).

I. *Samuel Hubbard*, son of James and Naomi (Cocks) Hubbard, was born in 1610, at Mendelsham, County Suffolk, England, and came to Salem, Massachusetts, arriving in October, 1633. In 1634 he went to Watertown, Massachusetts, and in 1635 joined the congregation which emigrated to Wethersfield, Connecticut. On May 10, 1647, he was in Fairfield, Connecticut, but becoming a Baptist he was ordered to change or remove. He chose to move and started for Newport, Rhode Island, October 2, and arrived October 12, 1648, and on November 3, he and his wife were baptized as Baptists by Rev. John Clarke. In 1665 the family became Seventh Day Baptists and entered into a church covenant and organization, December 23, 1671. He died in 1689. He married, at Windsor, Connecticut, January 4, 1636, Tacy Cooper, who died in 1697.

Children, except first two and last, born at Springfield, Massachusetts: 1. Naomi, born November 18, died November 28, 1637, at Wethersfield, Connecticut. 2. Naomi, born October 19, 1638, died May 5, 1643. 3. Ruth, of whom further. 4. Rachel, born March 10, 1642; married, November 3, 1658, Andrew Langworthy. 5. Samuel, born March 25, 1644, died young. 6. Bethiah, born December 19, 1646, died April 17, 1707; married, in 1664, Joseph Clarke. 7. Samuel, born November 30, 1649, died January 20, 1670, unmarried.

II. *Ruth Hubbard*, daughter of Samuel and Tacy (Cooper) Hubbard, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, January 11, 1640.



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and died in Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1691. She married, November 2, 1655, Robert Burdick, at Newport, Rhode Island. (See Burdick I.)

(Brown Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron sable, between three cranes azure, as many escallops or.  
*Crest*—On a mount vert a hare courant argent.

The family name Brown, Browne, is from the personal name given on account of the brown complexion of the bearer of the name. Brun is in the Domesday Book, A. D. 1086; Hugh le Brun is in the Hundred Rolls of County Suffolk, 1273; and Robert Brown in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D., 1327.

(The Family in America).

*I. Thomas Brown, Sr.*, born in England, in 1628, married, in Lynn, Massachusetts, Mary Newhall, born in 1637, youngest child of Thomas and Mary Newhall, of Lynn. Most of the early settlers of Lynn were from Salem, and largely from Dorsetshire, England.

Children, born in Lynn, Massachusetts: 1. Thomas, married, February 8, 1677, Hannah Collins, and settled in Stonington, Connecticut. 2. Mary, born February 10, 1655, died May 18, 1662. 3. Sarah, born September 20, 1657, died September 1, 1658. 4. Joseph, born in 1658; married, January 22, 1680, Sarah Jones. 5. Sarah, born October 13, 1660, died April 11, 1662. 6. Jonathan, born April 12, 1662, died September 12, 1666. 7. John, removed to Stonington, Connecticut. 8. Mary, born August 28, 1666; married, August 24, 1685, Thomas Norwood. 9. Jonathan, born January 24, 1668. 10. Eleazer, of whom further. 11. Ebenezer, born March 16, 1672, died in 1700. 12. Daniel, born in 1673, died young. 13. Ann, twin, born January 4, 1674, died January 7, 1674. 14. Grace, twin, born January 4, died January 7, 1674. 15. Daniel, born February 1, 1676, bought old homestead in Lynn.

*II. Eleazer Brown*, son of Thomas and Mary (Newhall) Brown, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, August 4, 1670, and died in Stonington, Connecticut, November 30, 1734. He removed, when a young man, to Stonington, and married, October 18, 1693, Ann Pendleton. (See Pendleton III.) They lived first in Westerly, later in (North) Stonington.

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Jonathan, born July 12, 1694; married Elizabeth Pendleton. 2. James, born June



## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1, 1696; married, May 15, 1718, Elizabeth Randall. 3. Eleazer, born May 4, 1698; married Temperance Holmes. 4. Anna, of whom further. 5. Ebenezer, born June (January) 28, 1702, died March 4, 1725; married Elizabeth Main. 6. Mary, born November 26, 1703; married, in 1727, Elder Wait Palmer. 7. Hannah, born December 12, 1705, died January 4, 1727; married, in 1725, William Wilcox. 8. Patience, born December 28, 1707; married, December 17, 1725, Clement West. 9. Abigail, born February 3, 1713; married James Pendleton, Jr. 10. Ruth, born June 30, 1714, died May 20, 1791; married, in 1733, Benjamin Randall.

*III. Anna Brown*, daughter of Eleazer and Ann (Pendleton) Brown, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, February 1, 1700, and died there March 11, 1766. She married, April 20, 1720, Deacon Thomas Main. (See Main IV.)

(Pendleton Line).

*Arms*—Azure, on a fesse gules three garbs or, a chief argent.  
*Crest*—A lion's paw sable holding a battle-axe or.

The surname Pendleton originated in Pendleton (earlier Penelton), formerly a chapelry in the parish of Eedes near Manchester, Lancashire. Thomas de Penelton is in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, A. D. 1379, and William Pendleton, of Pendleton, is mentioned in the Wills at Chester, 1588.

*I. Brian "Pembleton" or Pendleton*, is on record at Watertown, Massachusetts, August 23, 1634, when he and William Jennison and John Eddie, were chosen by the freemen to order the civil affairs of the town, and at the town meetings August 30, 1635, and August 10, 1636, was one of those elected to conduct the civil affairs of the town. In 1647 they began to be called selectmen. He was chosen deputy to the General Court, March 3, 1636; April 18, 1637; March 6, 1638, and May 2, 1638. In 1638 he, with others, petitioned for liberty to form a new plantation to the westward, a few years later called Sudbury, set off September 4, 1639. He was one of the early selectmen there, but returned to Watertown, purchased on September 3, 1646, the lands of Robert Lockwood, and became a member of the artillery company of Massachusetts. He was elected deputy to the General Court May 26, 1647, and reëlected May 10, 1648. On March 26, 1648, he sold much of his property at Watertown, removing first to Ipswich, and about 1651 to Strawberry

PENDLETON.

*Arms*—Azure, on a fesse gules three garbs or, a chief argent.

*Crest*—A lion's paw sable holding a battle-axe or.

HOLMES.

*Arms*—Barry of eight or and azure, a border nebulée ermine, on a canton of the second a chaplet of roses proper.

*Crest*—Out of a crown vallery or, the rim charged with three annulets in fess azure, a stag's head ermine, attired gold.

RICHARDSON.

*Arms*—Argent, on a chief sable three lions' heads, erased, of the field.

GILBERT.

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron gules three roses of the field, with a bordure gules.

*Crest*—A squirrel sejant gules, cracking a nut or.

STURGIS.

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron between three crosses crosslet fitchée or, a bordure engrailed of the last.

*Crest*—A talbot's head or, eared sable.

HOWLAND.

*Arms*—Argent, two bars sable, in chief three lions rampant of the second.

*Crest*—A leopard passant sable, ducally gorged or.

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Pendleton



Holmes



Richardson



Gilbert



Sturgis



Howland





## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Bank; (1653) Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he was made associate justice. He was selectman, 1652-54 and 1657-62; town treasurer, 1654-1663; deputy to the General Court of Massachusetts, 1653-54-58-60-61-63. On May 17, 1652, he was chosen commander of the team band, and called captain, though his commission was not made out until twelve years later. In 1664 he was appointed surveyor of highways throughout the province of Maine, and received from the General Court for surveys about Kittery, York and Wells, two hundred acres of land above Dover. In addition to considerable property at Portsmouth he bought from 1655 on, several tracts in Maine, until he became the greatest landholder in the province. In 1665 he left Portsmouth and settled at Winter Harbor, Maine, at the mouth of the Saco River. The supporters of Massachusetts jurisdiction in Maine chose Brian Pendleton one of the Associates of York County and appointed him major of the York Regiment in 1668, and in October made him magistrate to keep the County Court. He lived in quiet at Winter Harbor, and October 23, 1672, asked to be relieved of his office of major, but was associate or magistrate, 1672, 1675, and 1676. He, with others, was granted on May 12, 1675, a tract six miles square above Saco, but nearly every settlement in York County was destroyed by the Indians, and Pendleton lived at Portsmouth for a year and a half and then returned to Maine. In the new government inaugurated at York, March 17, 1680, Pendleton was made Deputy President, and was still active in October, but died not long after, his will being proved April 23, 1681. He was engaged for nearly fifty years in public affairs and was the chief leader of the Puritans in Maine. He was married before coming to New England, but only the Christen-name, Eleanor, of his wife appears. She died in 1688.

Children, born probably in England: 1. Mary, married Rev. Seth Fletcher, probably before 1655. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Caleb, married Judith, surname unknown, died before August 9, 1677, in Westerly.

II. *Captain James Pendleton*, son of Brian and Eleanor "Pembleton," or Pendleton, was born in England, in 1627-28, and died in Westerly, Rhode Island, November 29, 1709. He was admitted freeman at Watertown, Massachusetts, May 10, 1648, and deposed July 26, 1672, when he was forty-four years of age. He sold land at Watertown, October 21, 1650, and soon settled in Sud-

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

bury, where he lived for about ten years. On June 10, 1661, he was chosen constable at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and on March 2, 1663, was chosen selectman and town clerk. He was reëlected selectman March 1, 1663-64, March 8, 1666-1667, and March 9, 1667-68. He was chosen captain of Portsmouth Company, October 10, 1666. In 1671 he began to dispose of his Portsmouth property, and in 1673 or 1674 departed to look over a seven hundred acre tract his father had bought for him on the east side of the lower Pawcatuck River in Rhode Island, and on September 10, 1674, was present at the ordination of the Rev. James Noyes, as pastor of the First Church of Stonington, Connecticut. He had laid out to him one thousand acres of land in Westerly, Rhode Island, April 28, 1675. He saw active service in King Philip's War, and was granted therefor Lot 13 in Voluntown, Connecticut. He was chosen a selectman of Stonington, 1677-78, and joined Stonington church November 7, 1680, but was an inhabitant of Westerly in 1679 and was Town Councilman there 1699 and 1709. He married (first), at Sudbury, Massachusetts, October 22, 1647, Mary Palmer, who died at Sudbury, November 7, 1655. He married (second), at Sudbury, April 29, 1656, Hannah Goodenow, daughter of Captain Edmond (of Dunhead, Wiltshire, England) and Hannah Goodenow. She was born in Sudbury, November 28, 1639, and died in Westerly after 1725.

Children, by first marriage: 1. James, Jr., born in Watertown, Massachusetts, November 5, 1650, died before 1698, unmarried. 2. Mary, born about 1653; married three times. 3. Hannah, born about 1655; married, January 13, 1679, John Bush. Children by second marriage: 4. Brian, born July 23, 1659, at Sudbury, died without issue. 5. Joseph, born December 29, 1661, at Sudbury; married (first) Deborah Minor; (second) Patience Potts. 6. Edmund, born June 24, 1665, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; married Mary, surname unknown. 7. Ann, of whom further. 8. Caleb, born August 8, 1669, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; married Elizabeth, surname unknown. 9. Sarah, baptized in Stonington, Connecticut, April 18, 1675, died young. 10. Eleanor, baptized in Stonington, July 20, 1679; married William Walker. 11. Dorothy, baptized in Stonington, October 3, 1686; married Nicholas (3) Cottrell.

*III. Ann Pendleton*, daughter of Captain James and Hannah (Goodenow) Pendleton, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, November 12, 1667, and died in Stonington, Connecticut, before

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1732. She married, at Westerly, Rhode Island, October 18, 1693, Eleazer Brown, son of Thomas and Mary (Newhall) Brown. (See Brown II.)

(Holmes Line).

*Arms*—Barry of eight or and azure, a border nebulée ermine, on a canton of the second a chaplet of roses proper.

*Crest*—Out of a crown vallery or, the rim charged with three annulets in fess azure, a stag's head ermine, attired gold.

The surname Holmes originated to designate a dweller at a *holm*, an island in a river, especially Holme, near Liverpool. Gosalin de Holme is in the Hundred Rolls of County Suffolk, in 1273; Robert del Hohn, in Yorkshire, in 1294.

I. *Robert Holmes* came from England to Wequetaquock, later called the Pawcatuck tract, Massachusetts, and in 1659 named Southertown, which in the new charter granted to Connecticut April 22, 1662, was assigned to Connecticut. He was on this tract before May, 1666, when the name was changed to Stonington, and was registered December 29, 1670, as an inhabitant, a land holder and a taxpayer. He served in King Philip's War. He married, but his wife's name does not appear. He had one son, Joshua, of whom further.

Joshua Holmes, son of Robert Holmes, was born about 1655, and died in Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1694. He served in King Philip's War, bought land in Westerly, and built a house, which he occupied for the rest of his life. He married, June 15, 1675, Abigail (Ingraham) (?) Chesebrough, widow of Samuel Chesebrough, born in Boston, England, son of William Chesebrough, the first permanent white settler of Stonington, Connecticut. Her first husband died in July, 1673. She married (third), July 4, 1698, Captain James Avery, and died after September 9, 1715.

Children: 1. Mary, married Isaac Thompson, of Westerly, in 1696. 2. Joshua, Jr., of whom further.

III. *Joshua Holmes, Jr.*, son of Joshua and Abigail (Ingraham) (?) (Chesebrough) Holmes, was born in Westerly, Rhode Island, August 20, 1678, and died in Stonington, Connecticut. He bought and received large tracts in the northern part of Stonington, which, in 1807, made the town of North Stonington, eastern part, near the Pawcatuck Bridge-Voluntown highway, where he built a house and lived for the rest of his life. Before he was of



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age he became acquainted with Fear Sturgis (see Sturgis III), who he married, November 21, 1698.

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Joshua, of whom further. 2. John, born June 10, 1702; married three times. 3. Abigail, born February 28, 1703; married Jedediah Brown. 4. Temperance, born January 29, 1707; married, in 1727, John Smith; (second) J. Treadway. 5. Thankful, born November 12, 1708; married William Swan. 6. Thomas, born January 19, 1711; married Margaret Frink. 7. Mary, born March 19, 1713; married (first) Elias Palmer; (second) John Randall. 8. Bethia, born July 29, 1715. 9. Marvin, born November 17, 1717; married Asa Swan.

IV. *Joshua* (3) *Holmes*, son of Joshua, Jr., and Fear (Sturgis) Holmes, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, August 14, 1700, and died there. He married, December 6, 1721, Mary Richardson, daughter of Stephen and Lydia (Gilbert) Richardson. (See Richardson III.)

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Fear, of whom further. 2. Prudence, born February 27, 1724; married Jonathan Palmer. 3. Mary, born May 6, 1725-26. 4. Joshua, born December 28, 1726; married Mrs. Prudence Wheeler. 5. Sarah, born March 9, 1729; married ——— Walworth. 6. James, born April 17, 1731; married Surviah (Zervick) Mason. 7. Anna, born June 24, 1733; married Jedediah Brown. 8. Thankful, born October 7, 1735. 9. Abigail, born October 18, 1741; married Russel Smith. 10. Joseph, born 1743; married Martha Wheeler.

V. *Fear Holmes*, daughter of Joshua (3) and Mary (Richardson) Holmes, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, July 8, 1722. She married, January 5, 1743-44, Andrew Main, son of Deacon Thomas and Anna (Brown) Main, of Stonington. (See Main V.)

(Richardson Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a chief sable three lions' heads, erased, of the field.

The family name Richardson is the northern English for Richard's son, derived from the favorite Christen-name Richard, earlier Ricard. Adam Ricard is in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327.

I. *Amos Richardson*, whom Savage describes as "merchant tailor, perhaps one of that great London Guild," appears on record at Boston, Massachusetts, May 22, 1639, as a witness to a deed from

## CARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Governor Winthrop to Thomas Purchase. He was born about 1623, as the Boston Court records have his affidavit when he was "aged forty years or thereabouts," on a case which was on trial in 1663. He was agent for the Winthrop family for many years; and became a general trader throughout the colonies, and with his own vessels to the West Indies; and also acquired large tracts of land, probably as many as five thousand acres, at Stonington, New London, and in the Narragansett country, and was one of the three most active attorneys in the Massachusetts law courts, while he lived in Boston, where he bought on July 6, 1642, a house and lot, an acre more or less, of George Bromer, for seventeen pounds, on what became the north side of Summer Street, laid out in 1645. Here was his home for more than twenty years. He began to acquire grants of land at Pequot, now New London and Stonington, in 1651, several hundred acres in 1653, next to Hugh Caulkin's land, and in October, 1661, bought the large tract, "Caulkin's Neck," from Antipas Newman, of Wenham, Massachusetts. He moved to Stonington about 1663. The diary of Thomas Minor notes under June 19, 1661, that Mr. Richardson's house-frame was raised, and on June 22, 1663, that his son was to finish it that day. Amos Richardson was one of the most active members of the so-called Ather-ton company, later called the Narragansett company, whose grant was in the present town of North Kingstown, Rhode Island, the ownership of which was disputed between Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. He was a deputy from Stonington to the Connecticut General Court from 1676 to 1681, and died at his residence "Quiambog Farm," Stonington, August 5, 1683, on what is now Palmer's Hill. He married, in Boston, Mary, surname unknown. She united with the first Church in Boston, December 26, 1647, when the family records begin.

Children, born in Boston, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born about 1645, married, in June, 1663, Jonathan Gatcliffe. 2. John, born October 28, 1647, died July 23, 1696; Harvard College, 1666; pastor, Newbury. 3. Amos, baptized January 20, 1650, probably died young. 4. Stephen, of whom further. 5. Catharine, born January 6, 1655, died in 1701; married, in 1671, Captain David Anderson. 6. Sarah, born July 19, 1657; married Timothy Clark, sea captain. 7. Samuel, born February 18, 1659; married, in 1693, Anna Chesebrough, of

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Stonington. 8. Prudence, born January 21, 1661-62; married, in 1683, John Haldam, sea captain.

*II. Stephen Richardson*, son of Amos and Mary Richardson, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, June 14, 1652, and died about 1694, in Stonington, Connecticut. He is in a list of owners of house-lots at Stonington, December 29, 1670. He was well acquainted with the Indian language, and was often employed as an interpreter. He served from Connecticut in the Great Swamp Fight, December 19, 1675, and shared in the Voluntown grant made in 1696. He was a representative to the General Court in 1687. He lived on a tract extending nearly a mile along the Pawcatuck River, opposite Westerly, purchased by his father in 1663. He married, in 1673, before September 25, Lydia Gilbert. (See Gilbert II.)

Children, born in Stonington, Connecticut: 1. Jonathan, born in 1674, before September 10; married, in 1696, Ann Edwards. 2. Stephen, born about 1676, died August 11, 1749; married twice. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Amos, baptized June 19, 1681, died young. 5. Samuel, baptized March 18, 1683; married Sarah Stanton. 6. Rachel, baptized May 30, 1686; unmarried in 1703. 7. Samuel, baptized August 12, 1688; married, in 1709, Mehitable Chapman. 8. Jemima, baptized June 19, 1692; married G. Hungerford and M. Fuller. 9. Nathaniel, mentioned in a deed, in 1696.

*III. Mary Richardson*, daughter of Stephen and Lydia (Gilbert) Richardson, was baptized in Stonington, Connecticut, June 19, 1681. She married (first), in January, 1700, Richard Carder, who was lost at sea in 1707, leaving three daughters. She married (second), December 6, 1721, Joshua (3) Holmes. (See Holmes IV.)

(Gilbert Line).

*Arms*—Argent, on a chevron gules three roses of the field, with a bordure gules.  
*Crest*—A squirrel sejant gules, cracking a nut or.

The family name Gilbert originated from a shortened form of the Norman Christen-name Gislebert, found in Domesday Book, A. D. 1086, and also the name of the Arch-deacon of Buckingham, in 1100. Gislebert means "bright pledge." Eustace *fil.* Gilbert and Robert Gilbertus are both in the Hundred Rolls, 1273.

(The Family in America).

*I. Jonathan Gilbert*, born in England, probably in the western counties, about 1617, came with his brothers, Thomas, of Windsor



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and Springfield; John, of Hartford, and Josiah, of Whethersfield, to New England, some years before 1645, when Jonathan Gilbert appears on record as an owner of land at Hartford, Connecticut. He was engaged in difficult negotiations with Uncas and other Indian chiefs in 1646, and was an interpreter with the Indians in April, 1647. He was the chief inn-holder of Hartford, also engaged in trade and coasting business, collector of customs at Hartford, marshal of Connecticut Colony, and deputy to the General Court, which usually met in his house when it did not sit in the meeting house. He was a messenger to Ninigrate, chief of the Narragansett Indians, during their war, in 1654, with the Long Island Indians, and in 1657, with his brother John, to settle the matter of murders by Pacomtuck Indians at Farrington, Connecticut, and in March, 1658, Jonathan Gilbert was one of the troopers from Hartford under Major John Mason. In August, 1661, the court granted him three hundred acres of upland and fifty of meadow. He died December 10, 1682, leaving possessions inventoried at £2484, 17s. 9d., a large estate for those days. He married (first), January 29, 1646, Mary White, daughter of Elder John White. She died in 1650, and he married (second) Mary Welles, daughter of Hugh and Frances Welles, and niece of Governor Thomas Welles. She died July 3, 1700, aged seventy-four, and lies beside him in the ancient burial ground at Hartford. She conducted the inn for many years after her husband's death.

Children, born in Hartford, Connecticut, by first marriage: 1. Jonathan, born May 11, 1648, died in Middletown, February 1, 1698; married Dorothy Stow. 2. Mary, baptized December 17, 1649; married (first) John Rossiter; (second) Samuel Holton.

Children by second marriage: 3. Sarah, born July 25, 1651, died January 26, 1689; married Captain Andrew Belcher. 4. Lydia, of whom further. 5. Nathaniel, died unmarried, at Meriden, Connecticut. 6. Thomas, married (first) Lydia Ballett, (second) Mrs. Mary Trowbridge. 7. Samuel, born about 1663, died August 5, 1733; married Mary Rogers. 8. Ebenezer, mentioned in his father's will. 9. Rachel, married, September 22, 1686, Josiah Marshfield. 10. Hester, married Charles Dickenson.

*II. Lydia Gilbert*, daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Welles) Gilbert, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, October 3, 1654, and died after 1703, the widow of a second husband named Chapman.



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She married (first) Stephen Richardson, of Stonington. (See Richardson II.)

(Sturgis Line).

*Arms*—Azure, a chevron between three crosses crosslet fitchée or, a bordure engrailed of the last.

*Crest*—A talbot's head or, erased sable.

The family name Sturgis, Sturges, is derived from the Christen-name Turgis (Thurgis), as found in a Pipe Roll of 1164, and in the Hundred Rolls of Lincolnshire, A. D. 1273. Richard Turgis is in the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire, and Johannes Sturgys in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379.

*I. Roger Sturges*, of Clipston, in County Northampton, left a will dated November 10, 1530. He married Alice, surname unknown, and had children: 1. Richard, of whom further. 2. Robert. 3. Thomas. 4. Ellen. 5. Agnes. 6. Clementina.

*II. Richard Sturges*, oldest son of Roger and Alice Sturges, married and had children: 1. Roger, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Thomas.

*III. Roger Sturges*, oldest son of Richard Sturges, left a will dated, September 4, 1579. He married Agnes, surname unknown, and had sons: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. John.

*IV. Robert Sturges*, oldest son of Roger and Agnes Sturges, was church warden at Faxon in 1589, and was buried at Faxon Cemetery, Northampton, January 2, 1611. He married and had children: 1. Philip, of whom further. 2. Alice.

*V. Philip Sturges*, or *Sturgis*, son of Robert Sturges, church warden, was of Hammington, County Northampton, and left a will dated 1613. He married twice; he married (second) Anne Lewes.

Children by first marriage: 1. Edward, of whom further. 2. Robert. 3. Elizabeth. Children by second marriage: 4. Alice, born in 1608. 5. Anne, born in 1609. 6. William, born October 10, 1611.

(The Family in America).

*I. Edward Sturgis*, oldest son of Philip Sturges by his first marriage, removed to Massachusetts and was in Charlestown, 1634-36; in Yarmouth, 1639, where he was constable, 1640, 1641, and 1662; and deputy to the General Court in 1672. He died at Sandwich, Massachusetts, in October, 1695, but was buried at Yarmouth. He married Elizabeth, surname unknown, who died February 14, 1691. He married, in April, 1692, Mary, widow of Zach. Rider.

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Children, first four born in England, all by first marriage: 1. Alice, born December 23, 1619. 2. Maria, born October 2, 1621. 3. Edward, Jr., of whom further. 4. Rebecca, born February 17, 1627; married Joseph Otis, brother of James. 5. Samuel, born in 1638. 6. Thomas, mentioned in Yarmouth, in 1695. 7. Mary, baptized January 1, 1646. 8. Elizabeth, born in Yarmouth, April 20, 1648. 9. Sarah, married Joseph Gorham, born in 1653, son of Captain John Gorham, the emigrant. 10. Joseph, buried March 29, 1650, aged ten days. 11. Hannah, married (first) ——— Gray; (second) Jabez Gorham, and lived in Bristol, Rhode Island. (Otis thinks John Sturges of Fairfield, Connecticut, a son of Edward.)

*II. Edward Sturgis, Jr.*, son of Edward and Elizabeth Sturgis, was born in England, April 10, 1624, and died in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, December 8, 1678. His estate was valued at nine hundred pounds, a large one for those times. He married Temperance Gorham, who was born at Marshfield, May 5, 1646, daughter of Captain John and Desire (Howland) Gorham, the latter a daughter of John and Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland, both "Mayflower" passengers, 1620. (See Howland II.) She married (second), January 16, 1679-80, Thomas Baxter, and died March 12, 1715.

Children (Sturgis) born in Yarmouth, Plymouth Colony: 1. Joseph. 2. Samuel, born in 1665, married Mercy Howes. 3. James, born in 1668, died January 3, 1718; married Rebecca Thacher. 4. Desire, married (first) Thomas Dimmock; (second) John Thacher. 5. Edward, born 1673; married, November 5, 1703, Mehitable Hallett (Maine branch). 6. Fear, of whom further.

*III. Fear Sturgis*, daughter of Edward, Jr., and Temperance (Gorham) Sturgis, was born in Yarmouth, Plymouth Colony, about 1675, and died in Stonington, Connecticut. She married, November 21, 1698, Joshua Holmes, Jr. (See Holmes III.)

(Howland Line).

*Arms*—Argent, two bars sable, in chief three lions rampant of the second.

*Crest*—A leopard passant sable, ducally gorged or.

The surname Howland is evidently a place-name, but its nearest living form is in Hoyland Parish in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Ralph de Hoyland is on record in the Hundred Rolls of Lincolnshire, A. D. 1273; and John de Hoyland in Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," 1347. The name means land on the "how"

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or "hill." The researches of the noted antiquarian, Colonel Joseph Chester, show that the surname from 1496 on is found in no other county than Essex.

I. *John Howland* was one of five brothers mentioned by one of them, Humphrey of London, in his will proved July 10, 1646, three of whom, Arthur, John, and Henry, were to be paid by "Mr. Ruck of New England," who was made a freeman of Plymouth Colony in 1640. Henry Howland is mentioned in the allotment of cattle at Plymouth in 1624, and Arthur Howland in 1659. John Howland was the second mentioned in Humphrey's will, and the thirteenth signer of the memorable compact in the cabin of the "Mayflower," November 21, 1620. At this time he was twenty-eight years of age, and a member of Governor Carver's family. He was one of ten "principal men" sent out from Cape Cod Harbor to select a place for a settlement, and who chose Plymouth. His first record after settlement was in a list of freemen and in the Governor's "council" of seven members. In 1633 and 1634 he was an assessor; in 1635 on the Council of Governor Bradford; in 1636 and later he served as jurymen. He was selectman in 1666, and deputy of Plymouth at the General Court, 1652-56, 1658, 1661, 1663, 1666, 1667, and 1670. He was for a time in charge of a trading post on the Kennebec River, Maine, and was on Plymouth committees of every description. He lived at what was called Rocky Nook; and died February 23, 1672-73.

John Howland married, about 1623, Elizabeth Tilley, daughter of John Tilley, of the "Mayflower." She died "21st of the 12th month, 1687, aged 80 years."

Children, born at Plymouth, Massachusetts: 1. Desire, of whom further. 2. John, born April 24, 1627. 3. Jabez, died in Bristol, Rhode Island; married Bethia Thacher, daughter of Anthony Thacher. 4. Hope, born in Plymouth, October 30, 1629, and died at Barnstable, January 8, 1683-84. She married John Chipman, in 1646, who came from Barnstable, Devonshire, England, to Plymouth, in 1630. 5. Elizabeth, married (first), November 13, 1649, Ephraim Hicks; married (second), 1651, John Dickerson. 6. Lydia, married James Brown, son of John and Dorothy Brown, of Plymouth. 7. Ruth, married, January 17, 1664, Thomas Cushman, grandson of Rev. Robert Cushman. 8. Hannah, married, September 6, 166—, Jonathan Bosworth. 9. Joseph, died in March, 1704;



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married, December 7, 1664, Elizabeth Southworth. 10. Isaac, born January 15, 1649, died May 9, 1724; married Elizabeth Vaughan.

II. *Desire Howland*, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland, died October 13, 1683; she married, in 1643, Captain John Gorham. Their daughter, Temperance Gorham, married Edward Sturgis, Jr. (See Sturgis II.)

REFERENCES—(Card) "American Biography," Vol. XVI, pp. 258, 259; Biographical Records of Tolland and Windham Counties, Connecticut, Vol. I, p. 248. (Bliss) "Central New York Genealogy," Vol. I. (Lewis) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Yonge's "Christian Names"; "Lewis Letters," Vol. I; Austin's "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island"; "Lewisiaana," Vol. XVI. Babcock's "Babcock Genealogy"; Arnold's "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. V. Bliss Family. (Burdick) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Austin's "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island"; Austin's "New England Genealogical Register," Vol. I; Arnold's "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. V. (Wilcox) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Austin's "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island"; Wilcox's "Wilcox-Brown Medbury Genealogy"; "Lewis Letters," Vol. II. (Main) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Brown's "Genealogical Record of N. Babcock, S. Main, Isaac Miner, Ezekiel Main"; Wheeler's "History of Stonington." (Hubbard) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Austin's "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island"; Stiles' "Ancient Windsor." (Brown) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Wheeler's "History of Stonington, Connecticut"; Lynn (Massachusetts) "Vital Records"; Pendleton's "Brian Pendleton and His Descendants." (Pendleton) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Pendleton's "Brian Pendleton and His Descendants." (Holmes) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Wheeler's "History of Stonington"; "Stonington Town Records in New England Register"; Avery's "Groton Avery Clan." (Richardson) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. III; "Amos Richardson, of Boston and Stonington," by Richardson; Wheeler's "History of Stonington." (Gilbert) Burke's "General Armory"; "New England Register," Vol. IV; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Richardson's "Amos Richardson," etc. (Sturgis) Burke's "General Armory"; Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Sturges' "From 1530 to 1900, Complete Lineage of the Sturges Families of Maine," etc. (Howland) Burke's "General Armory." "Howland Genealogy."





## Messenger and Allied Families

BY HERBERT A. HULL, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



THE family name Messenger is derived from the office of messenger, Anglo-Norman *message*. Reginald le Messenger is in the Hundred Rolls of County Norfolk, Jacob and Thomas le Messenger in those of Counties Somerset and Cambridge respectively, A. D. 1273, Ricardus le Missanger, in Freeman of York, 1320, and William Messenger in Poll Tax of Yorkshire, A. D. 1379. The coat-of-arms blazoned herewith is recorded by Burke for Messenger without designation of location, and is the only Messenger coat-of-arms on record.

*Arms*—Argent, a chevron between three esquires' helmets sable.

*Crest*—A pegasus courant argent, ducally gorged and chained or.

(The Family in America).

I. *Edward Messenger*, emigrant from England, had land granted to him in Greenfield, now Bloomfield, Connecticut, in 1650. He is recorded as "a married man." His wife may have been Dorcas.

Children, born at Greenfield, in Windsor, Connecticut: 1. Dorcas, born September 23, 1650; married Peter Mills, a Dutchman. 2. Nathaniel (Nathan), of whom further. 3. Deliverance (son), baptized April 7, 1655.

II. *Nathaniel (or Nathan) Messenger*, son of Edward Messenger, was born in Windsor, Connecticut, June 18, 1651. He married, April 5, 1678, Rebecca Kelsey.

Children, born in Simsbury, Connecticut: 1. Hannah, born in September, 1682. 2. Nathan, born April 7, 1683, died December 30, 1684. 3. Rebecca, born February 11, 1684-85. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. John, born November 24, 1689. 6. Return, born August 4, 1691.

III. *Joseph Messenger*, son of Nathaniel (or Nathan) and Rebecca (Kelsey) Messenger, was born in Simsbury, Connecticut, September 2, 1687, and died in West Simsbury, Connecticut, in 1763. He married, January 22, 1707-08, Catherine Holcomb, daughter of



Messenger









THE MESSENGER HOME  
ALTON, ILL.

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Nathaniel Holcomb, of Simsbury, and lived in that part of Simsbury, now Granby, until 1742, when he settled in West Simsbury.

Children, born in Simsbury: 1. Sarah, born January 11, 1710-11. 2. Joseph, Jr., born April 25, 1713. 3. Jehiel, born November 11, 1715. 4. Isaac, born March 29, 1717; married Hannah Alford. 5. Catherine, born September 29, 1720. 6. Elijah, born January 21, 1722-23. 7. Nathaniel, of whom further.

IV. *Nathaniel Messenger*, son of Joseph and Catherine (Holcomb) Messenger, was born in Simsbury, Connecticut, June 8, 1725, and died in Windsor, Vermont. He was among the earliest settlers of Norwich, Vermont, and enlisted from Norwich in the New Hampshire company of Captain John House, under Colonel Baldwin, in September, 1776, and again in Captain Solomon Cushman's company of Colonel Timothy Bedel's regiment of volunteers for an expedition against Canada, serving as private from January 19, 1778, to March 31, 1778, two months and eleven days. He lived in Norwich until about 1805, when he deserted his family and was last heard of in New York. Wife's name unknown.

V. *Oliver Messenger*, son of Nathaniel Messenger, was born in Norwich, Vermont, and died there. He married, in 1803, Charlotte Smith.

Children: 1. Erastus, of whom further. 2. Nelson.

VI. *Erastus Messenger*, son of Oliver and Charlotte (Smith) Messenger, was born in Norwich, Vermont. He lived for many years in the Hatch house, built in 1773, married Sarah Hatch, daughter of Alpheus and Sarah (Hutchinson) Hatch, of Norwich, Vermont. (See Hatch VII.) Erastus Messenger had a large family, of whom George, town clerk, of Norwich, Vermont; Charles and Nelson, who settled in New Hampshire, and Benjamin F., of further mention, are on record.

VII. *Benjamin Franklin Messenger*, son of Erastus and Sarah (Hatch) Messenger, was born in Norwich, Vermont. He served in the Civil War, with the Vermont Volunteer Regiment. He married Helen Elizabeth Boardman, who was born in Orleans County, Vermont, daughter of Dr. Jonas and Nancy (Root) Boardman. (See Boardman II.)

(The Hatch Line).

The surname Hatch is usually from residence at a hatch, or half-door. Richard de la Hacche is in the Hundred Rolls of Wilt-

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

shire, and John *atte* Hache in those of Oxfordshire, A. D. 1273. It may be occasionally for Hack or Hake, a personal name introduced with the Daws in England. Burke records eleven coats-of-arms for various branches of the Hatch family, nine of which show two demi-lions as principal charges. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are recorded by Burke for Hatch of County Devon. They are similar to those recorded for counties Berks, Cornwall and Surrey.

*Arms*—Gules, two demi-lions passant guardant or.  
*Crest*—A lion's head cabossed argent.

*I. Thomas Hatch*, of Sandwich, County Kent, England, brother of William Hatch, emigrated to Massachusetts, and was in Dorchester in 1634, but soon moved with William to Scituate in Plymouth Colony, where he died about 1646. He was married and left five children.

Children, probably born in England: 1. Jonathan, possibly son of a contemporary Thomas. 2. William. 3. Thomas, of whom further. 4. Alice. 5. Hannah.

*II. Thomas Hatch*, son of Thomas Hatch, married, February 4, 1662, Sarah Elmes, daughter of Rodolphus Elmes.

Children, born in Scituate, Massachusetts: 1. Returah, born April 8, 1672. 2. Hannah, born July 26, 1673. 3. Rodolphus, of whom further.

*III. Rodolphus Hatch*, son of Thomas and Sarah (Elmes) Hatch, was born December 26, 1672, baptized in 1682. He married, December 16, 1701, Elizabeth Tilden, probably left Scituate, last on record in 1705.

Children, born in Scituate, Massachusetts: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Joseph, born May 14, 1705.

*IV. John Hatch*, probably son of Rodolphus and Elizabeth (Tilden) Hatch, was born in Scituate, Massachusetts, March 16, 1702-03, and died in Preston, Connecticut, in 1751. He married, at Preston, Connecticut, August 31, 1726, Jerusha Herrick, daughter of Ephraim and Judith Herrick, of Beverly, Massachusetts.

Children, born in Preston, Connecticut: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born March 12, 1731; married Major Thomas Murdock. 3. Benjamin, born August 23, 1733. 4. Rufus, born December 5, 1735. 5. Joseph, born May 13, 1738, died in Norwich, Vermont, in 1811; married (first) Elizabeth Brown, (second), in



## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1773, Hannah Freeman. 6. Jerusha, born August 29, 1740. 7. Eunice, born June 16, 1741; married, in November, 1769, Lieutenant Elijah Gates.

V. *John Hatch*, son of John and Jerusha (Herrick) Hatch, was born in Preston, Connecticut, June 9, 1727, and died in Norwich, Vermont, April 24, 1806. He was a land surveyor, made the survey of Norwich, Vermont, into lots in 1766, and laid out most of its highways during the first twenty-five years after its settlement. He was selectman in 1769, and town clerk continuously until 1780, except in 1766. He was county surveyor of Cumberland County, appointed by the Governor and Council of Vermont in 1778, when he was employed to make a survey of the town of Hartford, Vermont, into lots; and justice of the peace of Gloucester County, 1772-1778. He married, at Preston, Connecticut, April 7, 1748, Sarah Richards, who died April 13, 1806, aged seventy-eight years.

Children, born in Preston, Connecticut: 1. Benjamin, born December 16, 174— . 2. Alpheus, of whom further. 3. Asher, born August 27, 1752. 4. Rizpah, born September 30, 1754. 5. Adrian, born July 7, 1756. 6. Naomi, born December 9, 1758; married, December 9, 1799, Jeremiah Percival. 7. John, born June 8, 1761, settled in Norwich, near his father. 8. Harper, born August 12, 1763. 9. Sarah, born December 9, 1769; married, March 19, 1789, Jehiel Boardman.

VI. *Alpheus Hatch*, son of John and Sarah (Richards) Hatch, was born in Preston, Connecticut, December 22, 1750, and died in Norwich, Vermont. He married Sarah Hutchinson, daughter of Samuel, Jr., and Hannah (Burr) Hutchinson, of Ashford, Connecticut.

VII. *Sarah Hatch*, daughter of Alpheus and Sarah (Hutchinson) Hatch, was born in Norwich, Vermont. She married Erastus Messenger, of Norwich. (See Messenger VI.)

(The Boardman Line).

Bardsley in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames" calls this patronymic, with its variations, Boarder, Bordman, and Border, "a curious memorial of a past state of life." They were the tenants of lands which their Lord kept expressly for the maintenance of his table, the rental being paid in kind. Hence the English law-books speak familiarly of bord service, or bord-load, or



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bord-land, and the term "still lingers in the common tongue" in such phrases as "frugal board" or a "board plentifully spread," and in the term "boarders" sometimes used to designate those who, though not of the family, are, for a price, fed and sheltered. The name also appears as Boreman.

Burke records three coats-of-arms for Boardman, one for the Lancaster family and two without designation of locality. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded for Boardman without designation of place of residence.

*Arms*—Argent, a chevron vert bordered gules.

*Crest*—A lion sejant collared and lined or.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Boremans were most numerous in the County of Kent. The fact that the earlier homes of the Boremans were mainly in the extreme south of England tends to confirm the theory that the family originated there. So far as research has extended, with two or three exceptions, the only Boremans found in more northern counties were those in Claydon, Oxfordshire, and the adjacent parts of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. Here they were far less numerous than in Kent and may easily be supposed to have been all descendants of some ancestor who at an earlier, but not very remote, day left his more southerly house and came to these parts.

Thomas Boreman, of Claydon, near Banbury, Oxfordshire, England, is the one from whom the American family is traced. The name of his father, William, is found in a Lay Subsidy list for Banbury Hundred in the sixteenth year of Henry VIII (1525). He is the only Boreman in all the towns included in Banbury Hundred in this Subsidy list of 1525. The line of descent from William is William, Thomas, Thomas and Christopher, who had Samuel, who settled in New England.

Local historians state that the Norwich (Vermont) family of Boardman is descended from Samuel, of Wethersfield, whose great-grandson married Esther Carver, and in 1775 removed from Bolton, Connecticut, to Norwich, Vermont.

I. *Jonas* (some records say John) Boardman was a resident of Norwich, Vermont. He married Elizabeth Jewett. (See Jewett VI.)

Children: 1. Eleazer, born March 15, 1789, died in September, 1846. 2. Betsy, born September 9, 1790, died July 17, 1829. 3



Boardman



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Sally, born May 6, 1792; married William Hutchinson, and had a son, Rev. Charles Hutchinson, of New Albany, Indiana. 4. Elijah, born in Norwich, Vermont, July 24, 1784; graduated from Dartmouth with the degree of M. D., in 1831; married, June 26, 1832, Martha A. Huggins. 5. Lorana, born July 14, 1796. 6. Jonas, of whom further. 7. George, born April 11, 1800, died September 12, 1825; graduated from Dartmouth, class of 1823.

II. *Dr. Jonas Boardman*, son of Jonas (or John) and Elizabeth (Jewett) Boardman, was born in Norwich, Vermont, and settled in Orleans County, Vermont. He and also his brothers, Elijah and George, graduated from Dartmouth College. He was a highly respected physician, whose advice was much sought and highly valued throughout the State. He married Nancy Root. (See Root VII.)

III. *Helen Elizabeth Boardman*, daughter of Dr. Jonas and Nancy (Root) Boardman, was born in Orleans County, Vermont. She married Benjamin Franklin Messenger, a Civil War veteran. (See Messenger VII.)

Children: 1. Benjamin Hatch, who married Alice Stevens. They have children: i. Charlotte. ii. Benjamin. 2. Charlotte, who married John Horton. Child: Dorothy, who married Joseph Dromeli. 3. John, who married Grace Powell. They have children: i. John. ii. Elizabeth Powell. 4. Dora, who married Laurence M. Berry. Children: i. Helen Boardman. ii. Laurence Merchant. iii. Edward Benbow. iv. George Mills.

The home in Upper Alton, occupied by Mrs. Messenger, is historically interesting, dating back three-quarters of a century. The floors are of black walnut, and the grounds, shaded by several fine old trees, include an ancient Indian mound.

(The Jewett Line).

The surname Jewett, Juet, Jewitt, etc., is derived from the baptismal name Jewett, which came from the diminutive *Jouliat*, meaning "the son of Juliana," popularly used in the North of England as Juet. The family is doubtless of Norman origin, but its earliest history seems to be unknown.

In a series of articles entitled "American Armorial Families," arranged by Mortimer Delano, Pursuivant of Arms, published in 1896, he gives "American families that have a well established right



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to court armor by inheritance, grant or otherwise." In this list is Jewett, Massachusetts, Gentlemen "Descent: Maximilian & Joseph Jewett, from Bradford 1638 to Rowley, sons of Edward Jewett, of Bradford, Yorkshire, married 1604, died 1615; descent from Henri de Juatt 1096-99." The armorial bearings of the House of Juatt, England, are in the same series of articles recorded as those blazoned herewith, but with a crest added. The armorial bearings described herewith are those recorded by Burke in his "General Armory" for Juet.

*Arms*—Argent, on a cross gules five fleurs-de-lis of the field.

The English progenitor of the American family was Edward Jewett, who was born about 1590, in Bradford, West Riding, Yorkshire, where he was a cloth manufacturer. He lived and died in Bradford, England, where his will, dated February 2, 1614, was proved by his widow, July 12, 1615. His son, Deacon Maximilian Jewett, came to America in the ship "John" with a colony under the leadership of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers. They arrived at Boston about the first of December, 1638, spent the winter in Salem, and in the spring of 1639 founded the town of Rowley, Massachusetts.

Edward Jewett married, in Bradford, England, October 1, 1604, Mary Taylor, daughter of William Taylor, as shown in the Bradford "Parish Register."

Children, born in Bradford, England: 1. William, baptized September 15, 1605. 2. Maximilian, baptized October 4, 1607, immigrated to America as stated above: married (first) Ann ———; (second) Elinor Boyton. 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Sarah.

(The Family in America).

*I. Joseph Jewett*, son of Edward and Mary (Taylor) Jewett, was born in Bradford, West Riding of Yorkshire, England, and was baptized there December 31, 1609. With his wife Mary, and one or two children he came to America with his elder brother, Maximilian, in the ship "John," in the fall of 1638, and settled in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1639. He was made freeman, May 22, 1639. He became a large landowner and one of the leading men of the town, was representative to the General Court in 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, and 1660; and was one of the two stewards for each of these sessions. Joseph Jewett was styled clothier in 1656, later merchant.

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He was buried February 26, 1660, and his will was proved March 26, 1661. He married (first), in Bradford, England, October 1, 1634, Mary Mallinson. She was buried in Rowley, Massachusetts, April 12, 1652, and he married (second), in Boston, Massachusetts, May 13, 1653, Ann Allen, widow of Bozoan Allen, of Boston. She was buried February 8, 1661.

Children by first wife: 1. Jeremiah, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born in 1639; married Captain Philip Nelson. 3. Hannah, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, April 15, 1641; married (first) John Carlton, (second) Christopher Babbage. 4. Nehemiah, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, April 6, 1643; married Exercise Pierce. 5. Faith, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, March 5, 1645, died in infancy. 6. Patience (twin) born in Rowley, Massachusetts, March 5, 1645, married (first) Shubeal Walker; (second) ——— Dole. Children by second wife: 7. Mary, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, February 4, 1654, died in infancy. 8. Joseph, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, February 1, 1656; married Ruth Wood. 9. Faith, born in Rowley, Massachusetts; married John Pingry.

*II. Jeremiah Jewett*, son of Joseph and Mary (Mallinson) Jewett, was born in Bradford, England, about 1637, and died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, May 20, 1714. He was brought to this country by his father in 1638. His home was in Ipswich, in the first parish of Rowley, near the Rowley line, and he was one of the soldiers from Ipswich in King Philip's War. He married, in Rowley, Massachusetts, May 1, 1661, Sarah Dickinson, who was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, and died January 30, 1724, daughter of Thomas and Janet Dickinson.

Children, born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, baptized in Rowley: 1. Jeremiah, born December 20, 1662; married (first) Elizabeth Kimball, (second) Elizabeth Bugg. 2. Joseph, born April 17, 1665; baptized November 23, 1673. 3. Thomas, born January 29, 1667-68; baptized November 23, 1673; died July 1, 1742, in his seventy-fifth year, unmarried. 4. Eleazer, of whom further. 5. Sarah, baptized March 23, 1673; married William Hobson. 6. Mary, born January 27, baptized March 31, 1674-75; married Abner Dole. 7. Nehemiah, born about 1678; married Priscilla Bradstreet. 8. Ephraim, born February 2, 1679-80; married Elizabeth Hammond. 9. Caleb, born in 1681.

*III. Eleazer Jewett*, son of Jeremiah and Sarah (Dickinson)

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Jewett, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, baptized November 23, 1673, and died in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1748. He settled in Norwich, Connecticut. He married (first) Mrs. Sarah (or Mary) Lamb, widow of Ebenezer Lamb. She died in 1714, and he married (second), September 3, 1717, Mrs. Mary (Griswold) Tracy, who was born at Saybrook, Connecticut, August 26, 1656, and died September 8, 1723, daughter of Francis Griswold, of Norwich, and widow of Jonathan Tracy.

Children, born in Norwich, Connecticut, all by first wife: 1. Mary, born December 22, 1700. 2. Sarah, born July 19, 1702; married, June 29, 1730, Thomas Perkins. 3. Eleazer, of whom further. 4. Hannah, born August 30, 1707; married Benjamin Knowles. 5. Caleb, born June 25, 1710; married (first) Rebecca Cook, (second) Faith Brewster.

*IV. Eleazer Jewett*, son of Eleazer and Sarah (or Mary) (Lamb) Jewett, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, September 22, 1704. He married, in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1726, Elizabeth Griggs, and they lived in Norwich, Connecticut, where he died January 5, 1747, and she died, April 15, 1781.

Children, born in Norwich, Connecticut: 1. Eleazer, of whom further. 2. Mary, born March 2, 1733; married, about 1775, John Smith, of Canterbury, Connecticut. 3. Thomas, born July 19, 1736; married Eunice Slafter. 4. Ichabod, born February 5, 1738-39; married (first) Mary Carpenter, (second) Elizabeth Miner. 5. Elizabeth, who married Joseph Smith, of Lisbon, Connecticut. 6. Hannah, born August 30, 1741; married, in Norwich, June 21, 1764, Cyprian Downer, of Shaftbury, Vermont. 7. Sarah, born August 5, 1743; married Thomas Hutchins, of Lisbon, Connecticut. 8. Peggy, who married ——— Walbridge, of Stamford, Connecticut. 9. Elam, born March 5, 1746; married Eunice Richardson.

*V. Eleazer Jewett*, son of Eleazer and Elizabeth (Griggs) Jewett, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, August 31, 1731. With his second wife he removed to and settled in what is now known as Jewett City, Connecticut. In Miss Calkin's "History of Norwich, Connecticut," Eleazer Jewett is referred to as "the founder of the thriving and beautiful village of Jewett City, a man of sterling worth, marked business tact, and as enterprising as he was honest." He married (first), in 1754, Sarah Farnham, who was born in 1737. He married (second) Elizabeth ———.



## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Children by first wife, all born in Norwich: 1. Orthniel, born August 31, 1754, died February 5, 1757. 2. Lydia, born January 15, 1756; married Captain John Wilson. 3. Olive, born October 22, 1757; married (first) Pharez Clark; (second) Jabez Bills. Children by second wife: 4. Elizabeth, of whom further. 5. Eleazer, born December 11, 1760, died November 16, 1766. 6. Joseph, born December 12, 1762; married (first) Sally Johnson, (second) Betsy King. 7. Sally, born August 8, 1768; married, January 25, 1790, Constant Murdoch, of Norwich, Vermont, and had a son, Thomas Jewett Murdoch.

VI. *Elizabeth Jewett*, daughter of Eleazer and Elizabeth Jewett, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, April 11, 1759, and died March 7, 1843. She married, June 12, 1788, Jonas (or John) Boardman, of Norwich. (See Boardman I.)

(The Roots—Root Line).

The patronymic Root, Roote, Roots is from the baptismal name meaning "the son of Root." There is no prefix to early examples denoting a local derivation. No doubt Root was a personal name, Roots being the genitive form. Various spellings are Rote, Roote, Rootes, Root.

The four American ancestors of the Root family in America are Josiah, Thomas, John and Ralph. Thomas Roote, believed to be the son of John Roote and Ann Russell, of Badby, England, came to this country about 1637 and was among the first settlers in Hartford, Connecticut, where he lived many years, and where his children were born, but owing to the incompleteness of the ancient records of Hartford, the birth of only one of them (John) is recorded. This Thomas Roote is to be distinguished from the Thomas Rootes who was a resident of Salem, Massachusetts, about the same period and who remained there until his death.

Thomas Roote, of Hartford, owned considerable land there. After about fifteen years' residence he removed with his six sons and one daughter to Northampton, Massachusetts, May 9, 1654, as one of the planters of what was then called Nonotuck. He was a farmer and weaver of cloth, also appointed selectman; and in 1661 became one of the pillars of the parish under Rev. Eleazer Mather. The Root family coat-of-arms is as follows:



## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

*Arms*—Or, three lozenges gules.

*Crest*—A tree proper.

I. *John Root* came from a small parish by the name of Badby, in Northamptonshire, England. He married, in 1600, Ann Russell, and lived at Badby, where he probably died.

II. *Thomas Root*, believed to be the son of John and Ann (Russell) Root, of Badby, England, was born January 16, 1605, came to America about 1637, and was among the first settlers of Hartford, Connecticut. On May 9, 1654, he went to Northampton, Massachusetts, as one of the planters of what was then called Monotuck. The old Root homestead in Northampton was on King Street. The name of Thomas' wife is not known. He died at a very advanced age, July 17, 1694, naming his children in his will.

Children, all born in Hartford, Connecticut: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Thomas, born about 1644; married, July 3, 1666, Abigail Alvord. 3. John, born January 10, 1646, died September 19, 1677; married, about 1676, Mehitable, widow of Samuel Hinsdale. 4. Jonathan, died December 25, 1741; married, March 22, 1680, Ann Hull, who died September 4, 1746. 5. Hezekiah, who married, July 12, 1682, Mehitable Frary. 6. Jacob, who married, February 2, 1680, Mary Frary. He died August 9, 1731. 7. Sarah, born about 1660; married, March 20, 1679, Samuel Kellogg.

III. *Joseph Root*, son of Thomas Root, was born about 1640, at Hartford, Connecticut, and died at Northampton, Massachusetts, April 19, 1711. He removed with his father to Northampton, where he resided. He married (first), December 30, 1660, Hannah Haynes, daughter of Edmund Haynes, of Springfield, Massachusetts. She died, January 28, 1691, and he married (second) Mary (Holton) Burt, daughter of Mr. Holton and widow of David Burt. She died in 1713. His record of land is dated February 29, 1659.

Children, all by first marriage: 1. Hannah, born July 9, 1662; married, December 27, 1682, John Hutchinson, of Lebanon. 2. Joseph, born January 15-20, 1664, died October 23, 1690. 3. Thomas, born April 13, 1667, died in 1726. 4. John, born September 11, 1669, died in 1710; married, about 1692, Mary Woodruff. 5. Sarah, born March 4, 1671, died in infancy. 6. Sarah, born March 4, 1672; married, in 1691, Samuel Hutchinson. 7. Hope, born September 25, 1675; married in July, 1699, Sarah Wright. 8. Hezekiah, of whom further.

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

*IV. Hezekiah Root*, son of Joseph and Hannah (Haynes) Root, was born in January, 1676-77, at Northampton, Massachusetts, where he lived, and died in 1766. He married, March 23, 1713, Martha Bridgeman, who died June 4, 1760, daughter of John and Mary (Sheldon) Bridgeman.

Children, probably not in exact chronological order: 1. Hezekiah, born January 29, 1714, died in 1792; married Widow Mary (Bridgeman) King. 2. Dorothy, born October 7, 1715; married April 24, 1740, Charles Phelps. 3. Simeon, born April 20, 1718, died March 7, 1752; married Sarah ———. 4. Martha, who married John Miller, of Williamsburg, Massachusetts. 5. Jemima, born April 1, 1722; married ——— Allen. 6. Hannah, died unmarried. 7. Miriam, died February 20, 1736. 8. Joseph, of whom further. 9. Esther, died September 14, 1747. 10. Orlando, born July 29, 1734, died in 1805; married Mary Worthington.

*V. Joseph Root*, son of Hezekiah and Mary (Bridgeman) Root, was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1728, and died there November 4, 1802. He married, May 9, 1754, Eunice Clapp, of Northampton, Massachusetts. Mrs. Eunice (Clapp) Root died April 21, 1802, in her sixty-ninth year.

Children: 1. Eleanor, born December 31, 1755; married (first) William Pomeroy; (second) William Colton, of Longmeadow. 2. Eunice, born December 1, 1757; married January 16, 1782. 3. Simeon, born March 25, 1760, died June 8, 1813; married, June 27, 1782, Elizabeth Clark, who was born in 1759, and died in March, 1832. 4. Arminia, born in 1764; married (second), February 23, 1800, Silas Root, of Westfield. 5. Martha, born in 1766; married, October 9, 1783, Serrieon Clapp, Jr. 6. Amelia, born in 1768; married, March 9, 1791, Silas Root, of Westfield. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Sarah, born September 15, 1773; married, October 2, 1793, Abner Hunt. She died March 4, 1827, aged fifty-three. 9. Dorothy, born in 1775; married (first), March 27, 1796, Ansel Goodrich; married (second) ——— Bush, of Westfield, Massachusetts.

*VI. Joseph Root*, son of Joseph and Eunice (Clapp) Root, was born February 28, 1769; married (first), December 25, 1794, Martha Russell; he married (second) in December, 1822, Susan Waterman, who died in October, 1857. This last family of the original stock of Roots in Northampton removed to Norwich, Vermont, where Mr. Root died.

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Children born in Northampton: 1. Eunice, born January 5, 1797; married, February 17, 1820, John Waterman. 2. Amelia, born February 25, 1799; married, April 15, 1830, Deacon Asa Lord. 3. Martha, born October 6, 1803; married, December 18, 1834, Lyman Pattrell. 4. Samuel, born October 21, 1805; married (first) October 28, 1830, Maria Brewster. He married (second), February 15, 1860, Lucy M. Woods. 5. Jonathan, born October 12, 1807; married, January 10, 1850, Mary F. Butts, of Foxboro, Massachusetts. He died February 23, 1855. 6. Joseph, born April 30, 1810; married (first), December 6, 1835, Leantha Hedges, who died August 20, 1850; he married (second), in 1852, Leonora F. Davis. 7. Nancy, of whom further. 8. Mary A., born December 3, 1814; married November 19, 1853, Charles Rogers. 9. William, born February 9, 1816; married, May 10, 1841, Lucinda C. Waterman. He removed to Manchester, New Hampshire, and died there March 15, 1854.

*VII. Nancy Root*, daughter of Joseph and Martha (Russell) Root, was born August 2, 1812, in Northampton, Massachusetts, from which place her father removed to Norwich, Connecticut. She married, November 10, 1843, Dr. Jonas Boardman, of Glover, Orleans County, Vermont, and died in that town, September 21, 1845, aged thirty-three years. (See Boardman II.)

(The Benbow Line).

For more than half a century Amos E. Benbow was an important factor in the development of Madison County, Illinois, and a prominent figure in the political life of that section. His death, which occurred November 14, 1922, closed a long and picturesque career of unusual initiative and of noteworthy achievement.

Mr. Benbow was born of distinguished ancestry, being a collateral descendant of Admiral John Benbow, a famous officer of the English Navy. His paternal grandfather, a life-long resident of England, owned an estate in Riffle, Worchester, where he conducted the Stafford Bridge Inn. This worthy English gentleman had resolved to educate three of his sons for the Episcopal ministry, one of these being Richard Benbow, father of Amos E. Benbow.

Richard Benbow, however, had an adequate will of his own and also resourcefulness and courage. Dutifully enough he set out on his journey to the chosen preparatory school, but instead of beginning a life of study, he boarded a steamer for America. After







Amos E. Bectow

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

working in St. Louis, Missouri, for a time, he settled at Fort Clark, on the Illinois River, but later purchased a tract of land near the mouth of Wood River, in Madison County, and there his son was born.

Amos E. Benbow, son of Richard Benbow, was born in Wood River Township, Madison County, Illinois, February 20, 1850, and died in Upper Alton, Illinois, November 14, 1922. He attended the public schools of his native district and then further prepared for an active career by continuing his studies for three years in Shurtleff College, in Upper Alton. Like many other enterprising young men of his time, Mr. Benbow began his career as a pedagogue, securing his first position as teacher of the Hull School and continuing in that profession for six years. At the end of that time he engaged in the real estate business. The tract of land purchased by his father increased in value, and in 1908 the son "platted" Benbow City, of which he was elected mayor. As head of that town he made his famous fight against the encroachments of Wood River, insisting that the place was Benbow City, not Wood River. Several years later, however, he disposed of some of his land to the Standard Oil Company and Benbow City ceased to exist.

From the beginning, Mr. Benbow was actively interested in political affairs. He early gave his allegiance to the Democratic Party, and his ability, resourcefulness, and tenacity of purpose soon made him a power in the political affairs of county and State, as well as a dominant factor in business. In the old days when county tickets were nominated at party conventions, Mr. Benhow, or "Judge," as he was known to his intimates, was one of the most prominent members of the Democratic party. He knew "the political game" thoroughly and had the faculty of gathering around him men who would follow his leadership. A large man, towering more than six feet and weighing more than two hundred pounds, he was truly a dominant figure, and an opponent worthy of any man's steel. Those who engaged him in political warfare knew, when the fight was over, that they had competed with an adversary who fought so long as there was the slightest chance to win, and fought with every ounce of his energy.

It was an unusual trait of the character of Judge Benbow that he rarely carried his political enmities outside the party. Some of his warmest friends were men of opposite political belief, or men he

## MESSENGER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

had opposed vigorously in his own party. As president of the Upper Alton Village Board, Mr. Benbow is specially remembered for a proposition to give Upper Alton a water works system of which he was the originator. That was about 1889, when Upper Alton had no water, light nor any other convenience afforded now by public utilities. According to the proposition Upper Alton was to issue bonds for \$50,000 and a complete water works system was to be installed in the town. In those days \$50,000 was a big sum and it looked so big that it staggered the Upper Alton people. The proposition was known at that time as the "Benbow Water Works Scheme" and it was one of the most important questions that had ever been submitted to the people of Upper Alton up to that time. Many prominent people investigated the plan of Benbow and after studying it from many angles, endorsed it. A great political fight followed, and the water works scheme was fought bitterly by what turned out to be the majority when the election was held, while many others fought hard with Benbow to carry the bond issue. It was one of the bitterest fights, politically, Benbow ever experienced. While he lost in his water works campaign he made a fight that was not forgotten, and for many years afterwards Upper Alton people regretted that "Benbow's plan" for a water system was not carried out. In 1900, eleven years afterward, the mains of the Alton Water Company were extended to Upper Alton and water service given.

The bond issue election in the fight to put through Benbow's water works scheme created factions among Upper Alton's voters, the effects of which were felt for years afterward, in fact as long as the village remained a separate corporation from the city of Alton. Years after Mr. Benbow went out of office as village president and even after he was out of politics altogether in Upper Alton the two factions continued to fight, and when any question came up or any individual was running for an office the two factions continued to take opposite sides. Mr. Benbow served two years as mayor of Upper Alton, and also served as constable, justice of the peace, assessor, collector and deputy sheriff. He represented his district in the Forty-fourth Illinois General Assembly and during President Cleveland's first administration he was Deputy United States Marshal for the Illinois District, which included sixty-nine counties.

Mr. Benbow was a deep student of history and was well informed on politics and government. Though confined to his room

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for more than two years prior to his death he continued to discuss current topics with his visitors and displayed his usual vigor in denunciation of acts that displeased him as well as in praise of those he approved. He continued to follow world events with his customary close attention and keen insight, showing special interest in the question of German reparations. For half a century he was a member of the Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Upper Alton, and one of his most cherished possessions was the Veterans' Jewel presented to him by that body.

A man of strong character and decided opinions, and always tenacious of purpose in achieving his goal, he drew to himself firm friends and loyal followers, who gave to him not only the esteem which his ability inspired, but also the love and admiration which his generous nature and his warm-hearted sympathy easily won.

Mr. Benbow was never married, and during the later years of his life he resided at the home of Mrs. Helen E. (Boardman) Messenger, No. 1406 Washington Avenue, Upper Alton, Illinois.

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## Rev. Charles London Arnold

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



FOR nearly forty years a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Rev. Charles London Arnold was widely known in his later years as the founder and general manager of the Arnold Homes for Old People at Detroit, Michigan, where had been the scene of his ministerial and philanthropic service for more than three decades. His was a singularly beautiful and helpful life. He was known in the United States and Canada as a vigorous and gifted preacher, possessed of literary talent and student powers of a high order, and a remarkable organizer. He had that uncommon but invaluable combination of keen insight, quick estimate, and sound judgment which we call sagacity, and which in matters lying outside the pale of Divine Revelation, where reason is the proper and only guide, enabled him to appeal so effectively to the common sense of men. Above all, was he led by his philanthropic spirit into a large enterprise unique in its conception, remarkable for the execution of its mission and for the immeasurable benefit to the city of Detroit and the State.

Charles London Arnold was born in Louisville, Kentucky, October 14, 1854, and died in Detroit, Michigan, February 25, 1925, son of the late James Patterson and Emma (Tanner) Arnold. His father was a prosperous manufacturer of rope and bagging for baling cotton, doing a thriving and highly profitable business with the cotton growers of the South up to the breaking out of the war, by which he suffered the destruction of his business and the loss of a considerable fortune. This misfortune changed totally the prospects of the son. From fourteen years of age he struggled with poverty to gain a college education.

He entered the Jubilee Preparatory School and later Racine College, where he was prepared for Hobart College in Geneva, New York. He was graduated from Hobart College in June, 1875. He was the valedictorian of his class, later receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He took a post-graduate course in the years 1875 and 1876; also a course at the Delancy Divinity School. While



*C. H. Arnold*



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attending Hobart College he was largely influenced by Rev. Dr. Stephen Perry, who at that time was rector of Trinity Church at Geneva, New York. Dr. Perry later became Bishop of Iowa. Through Bishop Perry's influence, Mr. Arnold finally entered the Ministry of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. Arnold married December 3, 1875, at Geneva, N. Y., Lurana M. Richardson, born December 19, 1857, in Meadville, Pa., daughter of the late Rev. Chester Chever and Ann Eliza (Rabell) Richardson. She was reared in Geneva, New York. Her father was a Universalist clergyman, a native of LeRoy, New York, and of English (Plymouth Rock) ancestry. Her mother, a descendant of an old English family, was a native of New York State. To Rev. Charles London and Lurana (Richardson) Arnold was born one daughter, Mabel Edna, who married John T. Thompson, a grocer and former Councilman of the City of Detroit.

An account of his early career must follow as he valued those years, and often remarked he could not have succeeded as he did later without it. His gift as a ready speaker was a great asset. Hence, the experience of these years from the time he left his Alma Mater until his entrance into the ministry must follow.

In the spring of 1876 he returned to Louisville with every intention of preparing for the bar. In the meantime, he found it impossible to go on with his preparation for the bar because of financial reasons. September, 1876, he returned to the North, and entered upon his duties as superintendent of public schools in Tidioute, Pa., in the oil regions of Pennsylvania. During the second year of his professorship he brought before the County Institution, assembled at Warren, Pa., the original idea of manual training in the public schools, out of which grew the Tidioute chair factory, which is still in existence, greatly enlarged. In 1880 he was elected superintendent of public schools at Kittanning, Pa., this giving him a larger scope for his work. During these eight years he was also preparing to enter the Bar of the State of Pennsylvania. The Summer of 1884 he was prevailed upon to enter the bar and newspaper work at Warsaw, N. Y.

He was a staunch Democrat, naturally, as he hailed from the State of Kentucky. At Warsaw he became the editor and publisher of "The Democratic Review." As the editor of this newspaper he was brought prominently into the first Presidential campaign of



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Grover Cleveland. He was chairman of the Senatorial Convention held at Batavia, N. Y. He stumped Western New York for Cleveland and Hill. The spring of 1886 Mr. Arnold went West to edit and publish a newspaper at Wilton, Iowa.

Finally, at this time in his career through the constant urging of Bishop Perry of Iowa, he surrendered most of this world's goods, entered upon his preparation for the ministry at Davenport, Iowa, taking a professorship of Latin and Greek at Griswold College; also holding the same chair at Berkley Divinity School at a salary of forty dollars a month. He and his family barely eked out an existence during his preparation. November 7, 1886, he was ordained deacon at the Cathedral at Davenport. Bishop Perry's keen interest in his welfare permitted him to spend the six months between his ordinations, as minister in charge at Galena, Ill. Ash Wednesday, 1887, he entered upon these duties. He returned to Davenport for his ordination to the priesthood on All Saints Day, May 18, 1887. On July 4, 1887, he was called upon to make an Independence address. This was no small honor, as Galena was the oldest town in Illinois. It has been said that no other small town in the State, or in the country, contributed so many distinguished men to the country and its interest. His rectorship at Galena was of short duration. He was called in November, 1887, to return to the South as rector of St. Paul's, Wilmington, North Carolina. Mr. Arnold met with great success, here building a new church and otherwise putting an old dead parish on its feet once more. He did a splendid missionary work awakening old parishes throughout the Diocese of East Carolina.

His third charge was at St. Stephen's Church at Goldsboro, N. C., November, 1890. This charge was of short duration, he having been urgently called three times to the rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Detroit. Finally, after six months, he entered upon his duties as rector, September 6, 1891. St. Peter's, in rank of importance of Episcopal Churches, stood eighth with less than 200 communicants. It became third, due largely to his ability as a brilliant preacher and organizer. He continued his missionary work upon his entrance as rector of St. Peter's. He again revived churches, one of the most prominent was the reopening of the little Episcopal Church at Dearborn, now one of Detroit's best suburbs. This church had been closed for more than twenty years. It has ever

prospered since that time. Several missions of the city were organized during his rectorship at St. Peter's. They are large and flourishing parishes today.

Mr. James E. Scripps, the generous donor of Trinity Reformed Episcopal Church, wished to return with its members to the fold of the Episcopal Church. He turned as many more did to him in their hours of need. Mr. Arnold's untiring efforts brought this to pass. This caused much hard comment from some of his fellow clergymen, they not being in sympathy with the move. He prepared a brief, at the request of the Bishop of the Diocese, to present to the general convention, whereby all reformed churches should come back to the fold.

During all these busy years, especially, he took and kept a fatherly interest in young men, particularly those whom by example and council he influenced to prepare for the Christian ministry. He was often heard to speak with happy satisfaction of "my boys," some of whom like St. Paul he had begotten in Christ for the church; also one young woman, a deaconess, made her life work of richest blessing as a missionary in the Philippines.

Thus he reproduced and handed on his ministry, which will continue to serve on earth, long after he departed to his Heavenly reward. Having died in the Lord, thus his works follow him.

He was called upon to preach in the neighboring diocese at the Coronation Sermon of the Free Masons in honor of King Edward VII at Leamington, Ontario, in June, 1902. Quoting from the Leamington papers: "For nearly an hour and a half the speaker held the audience spell-bound by his eloquence and earnestness."

Dr. Arnold preached at many of the Canadian Border cities, always bringing forth much comment of his exceptional brilliant powers as an orator, a profound thinker and interpreter of God's message in a most pleasing manner. Several times he returned to the Diocese of East Carolina as missionary. At Charlotte, North Carolina, he met with unusual success. Quoting from the Charlotte paper: "At the close of a ten days' mission, Dr. Arnold, yet in the prime of young manhood, has attained such success, which comes to so few men of God so early in life."

A mission held at St. Matthew's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., was attended with highest possible success. It was stated that such an awakening had seldom been felt. All were inspired by his eloquent

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words, his endeavor to interpret the gospel, as a true disciple of Christ.

During his sixteen years as rector of St. Peter's, that church was rebuilt three times. His popularity was felt far and wide, not only in his work at the church, but throughout the city.

Dr. Arnold was one of the arbitrators in settling the strike at Pingree and Smith Shoe factory in the early nineteens, he being third arbitrator. His gift as a pleasing talker, as in the past, caused him to be called upon to address many public gatherings, among the most prominent was the Hoo Hoo Order (Lumbermen) convention. He made a great address. At the close of that convention he was made honorary member. He probably welcomed more conventions than any other private citizen in Detroit. Dr. Arnold was a man of large literary attainments, he being chosen with C. M. Burton and George Catlin to compile the historical section of the program of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the City of Detroit. He was a poet of no mean ability, having written many beautiful and touching poems.

Dr. Arnold's reputation of being a ready and sympathetic listener to all who came to him first brought him into connection with the founder of the Visiting Nursing Association of Detroit, he being its first President, holding this office for six years; said to be the only man to have held this office in the United States. The founder of the now Michigan Children's Home found refuge in his kindly heart. He assisted her with the establishing of this noble work. He was ever ready to help all he met upon the pilgrim's way.

Other philanthropic work he endeavored to establish failed because it was impossible to find men interested enough to accomplish this. A Boy's Hotel which would care for boys from 14 to 18 with no homes, allowing them to live in pleasant surroundings, and give them a Christian environment, was one of his projects which failed to materialize. If this had been accomplished and had grown with this great city, today it would have been a mighty factor in the problem of caring for boys and young men. The great Jacob Reis, of New York, reformer, writer and philanthropist, said of the project: "It would be a thing of great benefit and importance, a most original idea. I think of none better."

The late Dr. Thomson Jay Hudson, the author of "The Law of



Psychic Phenomena," dedicated his last book, "The Law of Mental Medicine" to him.

He and his parish were prominent in the Red Cross work done during the Spanish-American War. It was he who read the beautiful Episcopal services at the Light Guard Armory, where he paid tribute at the last sad rites of Miss Ellen May Tower, Spanish-American nurse, styled "The Sister of Liberty."

His efforts to purify the city morals were outstanding in the history of the city of the early nineties, as the files of the newspapers will reveal. He plead for the city's needy poor, went to the State Legislature to urge the Sunday closing of baseball, and the placing of the Bible in the public schools. He was largely instrumental in the closing of the most wicked vice, the gambling at the race track, and many other civic laws for Christian uplift.

During the last years of his rectorship at St. Peter's he published a remarkable book with a new theory of the universe, "Cosmos the Soul and God," a monistic interpretation of the facts and findings of science. At the time of his death he had practically completed his last book entitled "The Life Beyond."

In 1907 the Arnold Homes had grown to such a proportion that it was necessary for him to resign his rectorate to give more of his personal touch to this noble work, and his literary efforts. With his usual faith in God, that He would provide a way for him to make a livelihood, Dr. Arnold and his family took up their abode at the Homes, at 110 Fort Street West, this being where they labored together to accomplish his purpose to make the Arnold Homes an institution of permanent worth to the city. He received no salary for the time he gave to the Homes. It has been said of him that he was one of the greatest humanitarians the world has ever known because he gave his all freely for this philanthropic work.

At this time and for a number of years he wrote the Inter-Denominational Sunday School leaflet, published weekly in the Detroit Journal, and which was used in many of the Sunday Schools throughout the State.

He was a member of the Detroit Board of Commerce, 32nd Degree Masons, the American Historical Association, the American Archeological Society, Medico-Legal Society, Theta Delta Chi and the Michigan Authors' Association.

He was a charter member of the Michigan Authors' Association,



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the president for six years. Quoting from a letter at the time of his death from Dr. George Fuller, of the Michigan Historical Commission, the now president: "I cannot associate a man like Dr. Arnold with death. The great personality of the universe, in whom our personalities live and have their being, is taking care of it all. Dr. Arnold's life, like the accents of a sweet love, will long vibrate in memory. He was among those who bring love into their homes and loyalty and integrity into their citizenship. 'But none knew him but to love him, and none will name him but to praise.' "

In 1911 he was requested to take temporary charge of St. Stephen's Parish, which was in a very depleted condition. They had called a rector, who not being a church resuscitator, he had resigned at the close of a month. Dr. Arnold received an unanimous call, and after several years of successful ministry, united this strong and prosperous parish with a mission in 1916, remaining in this larger work one year.

During the following year he became associate rector of Trinity Church, due to the illness of its rector. Thus he ended his life work of the ministry in the parish, combining his ministry with his philanthropic work.

October 14, 1924, Dr. Arnold administered his last rite as a clergyman of his beloved church, officiating at the marriage of the youngest of three sisters, having formerly married the others. He officiated at their mother's death several years ago.

Charles London Arnold had a strong personality, a noble Christian character, undaunted courage, tireless industry and devotion to great principles. Few men in modern times have so completely won the hearts of the people as Dr. Arnold had by his transparent sincerity, his unaffected goodness, and unbounded human sympathy.

He passed to the life beyond on Ash Wednesday, February 25, 1925. This was a remarkable coincidence, his entrance into the ministry having occurred on Ash Wednesday, 1887. At the request of the vestry of his former parish, St. Peter's, the service held in that church was a great tribute to him. It was fitting that, after severing his connection with that parish eighteen years before, such resolutions as the following should be passed:

"During the sixteen years he was Rector at St. Peter's, he endeared himself to his people by his genial personality, his earnest work as pastor and his ability as a preacher.





ARNOLD HOME  
DETROIT, MICH.

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“He took more than an ordinary interest in the sick and older people. It was during his last years as rector of St. Peter’s that he laid the foundation and inaugurated the Arnold Home, to whose care he devoted the later years of his life. We place on record here our appreciation of the ministry of the Rev. Charles London Arnold to the people of this parish, and the larger communities of the City of Detroit. As pastor and friend, he has left as memory a long record of ministry which will ever remain an endearing memorial of his life.”

This memorial most fittingly may be concluded with the tribute made by the Michigan Authors’ Association:

TO THE IMMORTAL MEMORY OF  
REV. C. L. ARNOLD

Men of all kinds we meet from day to day,  
The rich, the poor, along life’s busy way;  
Some wedded to their business, some to art,  
Some follow idle sport with all their heart.  
At times we meet a consecrated man  
Who does for others all the good he can;  
We doff our hats and say of such a one,  
“We love him for the good that he has done!”

In reverent mood we gather here today  
To honor him who lately passed away,  
Who freely gave his noblest and his best  
To aid the poor and succor the distressed.  
Through good and evil fortune, year by year,  
He pressed on to the goal to him so dear:  
A daily feast for hungry mouths to spread,  
A roof to shelter every aged head!

Freely he gave his talents, means and time  
Unto fulfilling of his task sublime;  
Leaving his home and family so dear  
To bring to darkened lives new joy and cheer!  
For all beneath the shades of earthly woe  
Brothers and Sisters were to him, we know;  
Gladly he took their hands in sweet accord  
’Neath gracious Fatherhood of God the Lord!

He gave unto the task the best in him,  
Till strength and vigor failed, and eyes grew dim;  
But as we sit ’mid summer flowers in bloom  
We feel his spirit with us in this room!  
Then let us speak his praises full and free  
In earnest tribute to his memory;  
And loving friends re-echo, every one,  
“We love him for the good that he has done!”

PETER GRANT.

Detroit, May 24, 1925.

*The Arnold Homes*—The great philanthropic institutions founded by the late Rev. Charles London Arnold, and quite prop-



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erly named for him, the Arnold Homes, had their beginning as such in December, 1899, when some half-dozen aged people, who had been cared for in different parts of his parish by Dr. Arnold, then rector of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, Detroit, Michigan, were brought together in a haven of refuge, in the former residence of the Episcopal Bishop, No. 226 West Fort Street, Detroit. This move was made so that the founder and manager might with greater facility look after the needs of his charges. It was soon noised abroad by well meaning friends that Dr. Arnold had embarked upon his enterprise in a more centralized form.

Within a month of the time of opening, all the accommodations in the Home were taken, showing the great demand at the time for such an institution.

In January, 1901, the corporation of the Arnold Home for the Aged and Hospital for Incurables was organized under the laws of the State of Michigan. Fifteen gentlemen of high standing in the commercial and professional life of the community constituted the board of trustees.

May, 1902, it was found necessary to provide a more commodious place, and at the request of the founder, the trustees of the estate of the late Henry P. Baldwin gave to the corporation the free use of the residence of the late governor, on the corner of Cass and Fort Streets. Some seventy-five people were housed here.

About this time, the corporation came into possession of a bequest of the late Mrs. Hanna Titus of this city, amounting to nearly six thousand dollars. A little later, in May, 1901, a residence at No. 114 Selden Avenue was purchased for a home for aged ladies. This building had accommodations for about twenty persons. It became necessary within the following year to enlarge the same, and as money had been received from those who had bought life-homes in the institution, an addition was built with accommodations for about twenty more. To this building, successive additions have been made, until now it is able to accommodate a few more than eighty inmates.

In November, 1908, it again became necessary to remove from the building at No. 110 West Fort Street, as Baldwin estate trustees had leased the property for business purposes. The Corporation, through its founder, again procured a place to transfer its

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members under the same terms as the Baldwin Estate, to the residence of the late Peter Henkel, at No. 706 West Fort Street.

This building was in such condition that to make it a proper abode for the inmates it was necessary to expend some two thousand dollars in repairs. This not only involved an added expense, but a curtailment of the income, as only forty people could be housed, for the house was smaller than the Baldwin home.

The Henkel Estate disposed of the property in 1916, again making it necessary to move. At this time the Board of Trustees thought a permanent home should be purchased. Dr. Arnold then received the great assistance of "The Detroit Journal." The public answered the S. O. S. call for help. Some \$16,000 was raised. This amount was inadequate to purchase the property at No. 15,270 Grand River Avenue and pay for remodeling the building. It was necessary to put a mortgage on the Selden home, also to carry one on Grand River. This put much expense of interest and smaller provision for caring for the old people. At this time the Detroit community came to the assistance of Dr. Arnold and his noble work.

In the face of all these exigencies, Dr. Arnold's faith never wavered, and his zeal and enthusiasm were communicated to the board of trustees and the co-operating staff. With renewed courage he pursued his way undeviatingly, always with the goal in mind of obtaining better and larger quarters to meet the ever-increasing demands of those who would enter the homes. In the two homes that then were in existence there were gathered some ninety men and women, many of them bed-ridden. To quote from Dr. Arnold's report given on the twentieth anniversary of the incorporation of the Arnold Homes: "It was the object of the homes from the first to care especially for the aged, sick, and incurables of all ages who were not generally accepted by the general hospitals or other homes for the aged.

"From the beginning we have cared for an average of one hundred persons yearly, a number of whom have been life members. We have, from the beginning of our work, received those who were not financially able to purchase life-homes, as boarders, for whose support friends or relatives could pay a few dollars per week, also some charity patients. It will be seen that the Arnold Homes do not duplicate the service of other homes of the city."

The institutions founded by Dr. Arnold were both practically

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self-supporting until the period of the high cost of living swept the country. The Arnold Homes successfully weathered the difficult situation incidental to the World War, and the corporation was not compelled to curtail its efforts in carrying out its program of service. Strange as it may seem, the management did not press the needs of the home upon the attention of the public through all that harrowing period, despite the many emergencies that arose to tax their courage and wisdom. The elements of faith and hope lifted the manager and his staff over many a hill of difficulty.

Dr. Arnold included in his report these words, which were characteristic of him: "We must, at this time, again recognize and acknowledge our indebtedness to the Community Fund for its aid, without which our work would have been seriously crippled. To those who have so ably, honorably and efficiently managed this beneficent enterprise, and to a generous public, who so amply supplied the funds, our grateful acknowledgment is made.

"Brighter days are before us. Friends are increasing in number as they become better acquainted with our work and its needs, so that now we face the future with confidence and abiding faith.

"Through the assistance of a number of generous benefactors who bequeathed sums to the Home we have erected buildings and bought property amounting to some \$500,000."

There are now two Homes, known as the Arnold Homes, a monument to Dr. Arnold's labors, one for aged women, located at No. 456 Selden Avenue, having accommodations for eighty persons; the other at No. 15,270 Grand River Avenue, for men. Both Homes are equipped for the care of the well and of the sick, and there is an adequate force of competent nurses on duty.

The Arnold Homes are the only institution in this country conducted according to the plan laid down by Dr. Arnold. There is one of the kind in Florence, Italy, founded by an archbishop more than one thousand years ago. The aim of the corporation is to do the largest amount of good, without asking outside assistance—that is, to make the Homes altogether self-supporting.

This was the plan that governed the Arnold Homes: "To receive a certain number of persons as life members upon the payment of sums ranging from three hundred dollars to one thousand dollars. This money, which is paid into the hands of the treasurer of the corporation has been used for the building purposes and



permanent improvement of the property. Some expense for repairs and furnishings of the Homes was also paid out of these funds when necessary, but not at the present time. Such funds are not available for current expenses, unless, upon urgent necessity, the Board shall determine such use of them. These life-members, then, place the roof over the heads of all of the members, while the running expenses are paid out of the sums received from boarders in the Homes at a rate from twelve dollars to thirty dollars per month. Due to the high cost of living, some changes were necessary in the amounts charged for payment of life-members and boarders.

“If the proper ratio is maintained between those who are members for life and those who are boarders, it is seen that the investment on the part of the life-members is perfectly safe and the perpetuity of the institution is secured. The property now owned by the corporation is of sufficient value, in case of failure to continue the work, to refund all money paid into the Homes by the present life-members of the household.”

These remarkable institutions, permeated as they are with the spirit of its late revered founder, are among the happiest of the great City of Detroit. Within its portals the sunshine of love warms the hearts of the aged and cheers the infirm. In these Homes many a poor soul has passed his or her declining days with renewed courage and a hope revived for entrance into that larger sphere of love and service and devotion to Him whose spirit moved the founder to plant for them this oasis in life's desert of cares and woe. Thinking in terms of practical Christian charity, in connection with its application in the City of Detroit, one employs the synonym, The Arnold Homes. The richest blessing of the grateful charges and the active sympathy of a responsive public have made possible the achievement of the goal, which that man of God, Charles London Arnold, steadfastly held before him during his lifetime, and which those, upon whom his mantle has fallen, likewise have always in mind and on their hearts.

'Tis only noble to be good  
Kind hearts are more than coronets  
And simple faith than Norman blood.

—Tennyson.

Dr. Arnold's last large official act for the Home was the causing to be purchased by the Board of Trustees of a ten acre tract of



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land on Seven Mile Drive, just west of the Southfield Road. Since his death over ten thousand dollars has been bequeathed to the Homes, and still more, will follow in this year. These have come to the Homes directly from what he has done and been for them. This has enabled the management to bring the work down to the present with but small indebtedness.

The Homes now stand at the threshold of a great era in their history. The image of these buildings to be erected is sealed as with his seal in the minds and hearts of those men of beautiful Christian character whom God has raised up to finish his work.

Not till the loom is silent  
And the shuttles cease to fly,  
Shall God unroll the canvas  
And explain the reason why  
The dark threads are as needful  
In the weaver's hand  
As the threads of gold and silver  
In the pattern he had planned.



## Editorial

### BOOK REVIEWS

*The Gwinnett Bible and Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration*, by Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia.

The two pamphlets named above are present indications of the continuing interest and activity in the field of historical research of Charles F. Jenkins. (Another indication of even more emphatic form is the announcement of his "Biography of Button Gwinnett" from the press of Doubleday, Page & Company, but not having the volume before us, this note confines itself to the booklets.) The first records the bringing to light of the family Bible of the famous Signer, containing one satisfactory signature of Gwinnett, develops several interesting theories covering its history, and recommends that the State of Georgia or a Georgia institution acquire the Bible, thus placing within the State at least one signature of this Georgia Signer, active Revolutionary patriot, Governor and Speaker of the Assembly.

*The Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration* describes some of the aspirations, methods, and difficulties of the autograph collector, and lists the complete institutionally and privately owned sets of the signers, with the prices the various signatures brought at the Manning and Williams sales. In this monograph Mr. Jenkins gives later information upon Gwinnett signatures, writing: "In April of this year (1926) Miss Ruth Blair, the State Historian of Georgia, discovered a Gwinnett autograph among the record books in the State Capitol, so that Georgia now possesses an autograph of this eminent man. It is especially interesting to discover that the collection of Colonel James H. Manning, of Albany, New York, contained the letter from Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, dated July 4, 1776, in which the Signer writes: "I arrived in Congress (tho detained by Thunder and Rain) time enough to give my Voice in the matter of Independence." It recalls the stirring events of that Independence Day, when Caesar Rodney rode to Philadelphia from Delaware and arrived at the State House in his boots and spurs, just in time on the morning of the 4th to cast his vote in favor

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of independence, thus securing the vote of Delaware. We recall the rhymed version, by George Alfred Townsend, of Thomas McKean's soliloquy as he waited on the State House steps for Rodney, his colleague, which concludes thus:

“Silent, hand in hand together,  
Walked they in the great square hall;  
To the roll with ‘Aye’ responded  
At the clerk’s immortal call;  
Listened to the Declaration  
From the steeple to the air;  
‘Here this day is made a nation,  
By the help of Delaware!’ ”

Mr. Jenkins doubtless regards these monographs as a small part of the day's work, and such, in comparison with his more pretentious productions, they are. It is, however, the labor of love that is most appreciated, and these minor, rather informal, contributions to historic lore have a decided place and no inconsiderable value.

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### THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

*History of England*, George Macaulay Trevelyan. Longmans, Green & Co.

*England Before the Norman Conquest*, R. W. Chambers, M. A., D. Litt. Longmans, Green & Co.

George Macaulay Trevelyan's new history of England has been spoken of very favorably by the English reviewers and the claim has been made for it that it will be likely to supplant the history of John R. Green as a textbook in the English schools. This claim is sufficient to characterize it. The history does not make any pretensions to carrying with it much that is original. It does not claim to be a work replete with new views and new discoveries or to aim at subverting old theories and traditions. The author has clearly aimed at producing a readable volume, that will not tax the reader too much and that will be comprehensive also. He has carried his story very much further than Green. His history is more than a history of England, for the early chapters are concerned with Great Britain centuries before the first Angle or Englishman appeared within its borders. Green began his history with the coming of the Anglo-Saxons in the fifth century. Mr. Trevelyan's first chapter is

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on Early Man, and then on the Iberian and the Celt. Moreover he takes in the Great War and brings his history right up to the present time, while Green wrote fifty years ago. His style has not the swing and verve that Green was able to put into his narrative. Green had a new idea of history writing and reveled in it, writing with an enthusiasm that made his work something of an historical romance. Mr. Trevelyan in this work does not indulge in any fine writing. His style is rather conversational. He makes a good many assertions that will arouse controversy and that have already aroused dispute. Stubbs warned Green that English people were disinclined to make much study of England before the Norman Conquest for the reason that the Anglo-Saxon period was marked by little achievement. Green, however, persevered and became the first English historian to succeed in throwing over the pre-Norman period of English history a veil of romance. His successor has followed in his footsteps, and has painted a picture of the German inhabitants of Britain that may stand with that of Green. Nevertheless he, like every other English historian, has eventually to acknowledge that the Norman French conquerors swept the feeble Anglo-Saxon organization almost completely away, and that every department of the national life in England, literature, art, law, and all the rest, has since been built on a Norman-French basis.

The author has made no attempt to write a full narrative of events. That would be impossible within seven hundred pages. He has written an essay which seeks to analyze the social development of the nation in relation to economic conditions, political institutions, and overseas activities. He calls it also a textbook insofar as it preserves the narrative form in brief, deals in dates, and gives prominence to leading events and persons. He deals with the mingling of the races from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest. Differing from Green, he attributes to the period from the Conquest to the Reformation the making of the nation. The Renaissance, Reformation and sea power development are dealt with under the Tudors. The Stuart era is associated with parliamentary liberty and overseas expansion. Then follows the period from Utrecht to Waterloo, when sea power and aristocracy grew in strength, and England saw the first stage of the industrial revolution. Then we have the later Hanoverians, the age of machinery and the transition to democracy. The period of transition goes on. Where will



## EDITORIAL

England be, where will Europe be, when fifty years after this a new popular historian with a new idea will succeed to Green and Trevelyan? Events succeed each other much more quickly these days. The Great War threw western civilization into the melting pot, and a long perspective will be needed to get a proper view of the new world that is to succeed the old.

Mr. Chambers' book is not a history, but a book of historical sources. It gives us a great number of quotations from contemporary documents dealing with the Anglo-Saxon period in Great Britain. Contemporary Anglo-Saxon documents are meagre and we note that English historians have begun to turn to ancient Irish annals for new light on contemporary British history. The authorities range from Julius Caesar, and Tacitus, through Bede, and Boniface, to Wulfstan, the Annals of Tighernach, and the Irish and Icelandic sagas. The book might interest an occasional casual reader. To the historical writer dealing with Great Britain and Ireland before the French Conquest it will be especially convenient and valuable.

BENEDICT FITZPATRICK.





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Lewis















